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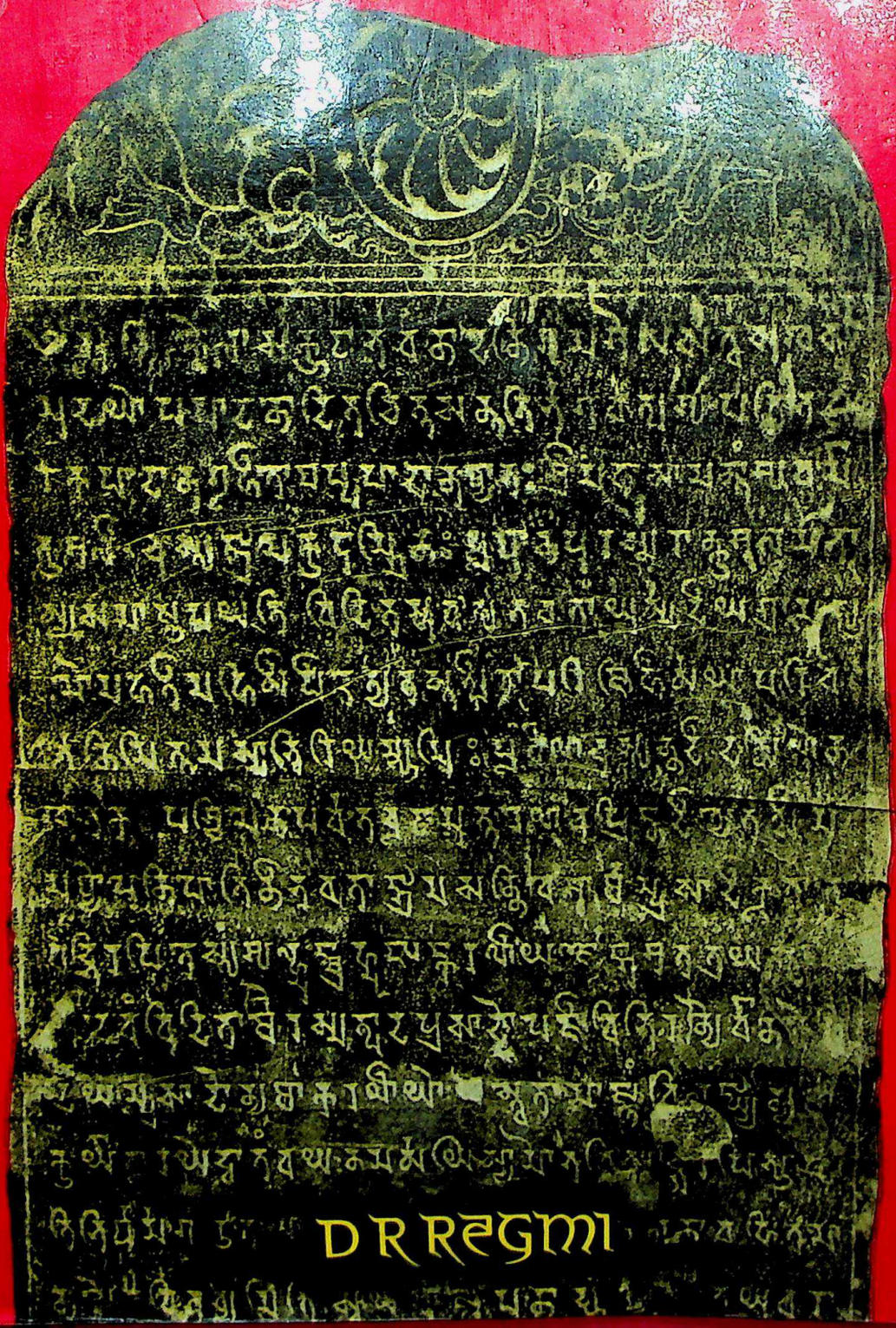
Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal



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INSCRIPTIONS OF ANCIENT NEPAL

VOLUME THREE: INTRODUCTION TO THE INSCRIPTIONS

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INSCRIPTIONS

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OF ANCIENT NEPAL

D R REGMI

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PREFACE

THE first collection of Nepalese inscriptions appeared in 1888 with the publication of Bhagwanlal Indraji's book 'Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal', in which 15 inscriptions of the ancient period with photocopies of the rubbings are published. They include 3 of Mānadeva (1, 2, 3), 1 of Śivadeva (5), 3 of Amśuvarmā (6, 7, 8), 3 of Jiṣṇugupta (9, 10, 11), 2 of Śivadeva II (12, 13) and 2 of Jayadeva (14, 15), 1 of Śivadeva I (S. 535) and the rest of unnamed kings. Bhagwanlal Indraji's was the pioneer work in this field.

Bendall had preceded Indraji. He visited Nepal in 1885 and published 3 inscriptions in his book 'A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Researches in Nepal and Northern India during the winter of 1884-85'. They were additional records. The inscriptions are one from Bhadgaon (Golmadhitol), one from Sundhara, Patan and last, the stele of Gairidhara in Patan.

Bendall was followed by S. Levi who added more inscriptions in the third volume Le Nepal printed and published in 1902 in Paris. Levi reproduced the Changu Pillar inscriptions with more lines added to Bhagwanlal Indraji's but added 20 of his own. There are altogether 21 inscriptions in the book. Our inscriptions nos. 2, 3, 10, 25, 27, 46, 49, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 64, 75, 94, 106, 135, 139 and 143 are exclusively credited to Levi.

Bendall was shown utmost courtesy by the Government. He had free access to the newly constituted Bir Library where he obtained a palm leaf copy of the manuscript of the old chronicle composed about the end of the 14th century. The chronicle, some leaves of which are reproduced in photos in two articles (attached to Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1903, pp. 1-32 and to H.P. Sastri's Catalogue of Palm leaf and Selected paper mss in the Darbar Library, Nepal, 2 volumes, Calcutta, 1905, 1906) are a rare find for the early medieval period.

The chronicle (he designates three sections as V^1, V^2, V^3) as compared with the colophon dates of the mss available in H.P. Sastri's catalogue and others laid a sound basis for a correct history of the period of the country up to Jayasthitimalla's time. But Bendall had failed to understand the importance of the chronicle in the light of the colophon dates. Colophons were much limited at the time the catalogue came out. But it cannot be denied that there was an element of unconsciously committed negligence. Bendall's History serves the purpose of introductory history as he also claims it to be so for that period. But the first section of this chronicle is much too complicated and erroneous.

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After Bhagwanlal Indraji, the next historian of repute was Sylvain Levi who visited Nepal in the last days of Maharaja Bir Shumsher. Levi was fortunate enough to be allowed to stay longer than any other scholar. He was an erudite scholar of Sanskrit, vastly learned in orientology and possessed a thorough knowledge of the history of India, Tibet and China. While in Nepal he used his time and energy to collect rubbings of inscriptions available to him. He also obtained chronicles compiled by efforts of scholars of the early 19th century based on both Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions, which he used along with the inscriptions, to write his history of Nepal. But he did not know that he had ignored many inscriptions. S. Levi utilised Chinese sources no doubt. But this did not compensate the loss suffered on account of the negligence of locally available materials which with a little more effort could have been at his disposal. Even the account of Hiuen Tsang and Li I Piao he could not use in the proper direction as he was misguided by prejudices in favour of Tibet. He misread Tibetan history as narrated by Bu-ston, and could not find out the exact dates of Srong Tsang Gampo. Then he wrongly concluded that the epoch of the later group of inscriptions was to be sought in 595 A.D., some 48 years earlier to the actual date as it will appear later. His errors were, however, more due to his inability to trace related indigenous data of the period. The volumes Levi produced nevertheless bear the impression of a superb work of a man who was vastly learned in orientology. The 21 inscriptions though mostly incorrectly read are ably edited and presented with comparative notes full of references to standard classical texts. But as inscriptions are not the main source materials for Levi's chronology and history the books he wrote might be ignored for the present.

Levi while editing the inscriptions adds notes quoting chapters and verses from allied Indian classics, which had relevance with reference to the subjects mentioned in the many passages of the records. The treatment is masterly in so far as the same helps us to understand the terms and facts common to the inscriptions and literatures of both Nepal and India.

He has brought out wealth of materials, which on all accounts are valuable. But Levi has not been able to explain many classical Sanskrit terms as well as had failed to grasp the implication of non-Sanskritic words used except in a few cases. It so appears that Levi and others suffered from no official restrictions but then had no proper guides and if they failed to achieve anything substantial it was because conditions in Nepal were not ripe for a full scale research in the country.

None of these scholars could stay in Nepal for a long time. No one could go outside the Valley. But even their stay in the Valley was for a limited duration of time. They could hardly stay for more than a fortnight. There were no efforts made to prolong the stay and make an extensive and intensive search for the objectives. But their eyes also failed them. They could have marked the steles for rubbing as they walked and saw them. But they were not so watchful.

Prof. Tucci who came to Kathmandu in 1929 en route to Tibet did not find it possible to spend more than a few days and there was little time for him to divert his attention to the study of Nepalese historical sources. But Tucci's performance was surely better while he conducted his tour of west Nepal in 1954.

K.P. Jayaswal was the last of the old guards to come to Nepal in quest of historical materials and for visiting sites. As in the case of Bendall and Levi he was treated as a state guest and got the same facilities. But his stay was only for ten days and he could hardly do anything but enjoy a glimpse. He could not discover any new materials. Yet he wrote a book publishing the same with the name 'History and Chronology of Nepal', which is based on insufficient and unreliable materials. Nevertheless some of his observations have attracted notice of scholars.

In the late forties the Bir Library collected rubbings of inscriptions. This was the richest collection thus far made. Some of our scholars utilised them in the next decade for publishing in monthly magazines. However, the printed items were much limited and Nepalese themselves hardly get the credit for writing up till then.

Since early 1951 foreigners were allowed entry by the Government and Nepal was no longer a closed land. The Nepalese also were permitted to work in the field unhindered as the foreigners as research scholars. If previously the Government frowned upon such research activities, this was no

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more the case when gates of freedom had been opened. In this period many who had found the atmosphere uncongenial earlier but who continued their taste for such work seized the opportunity to collect suitable materials for history writing. I also tried the hard job along with others. But there were several handicaps, which few could overcome, the greatest being shortage of money and materials. Physical labour alone could not do the miracle. Resources were equally essential specially when one had to plough a virgin soil.

As far as the search of inscriptions by the Nepalese themselves goes the names of two Nepalese, Baburam Acharya and Mahant (monk) Naraharinath, come readily to notice. Both were connected with a monthly in Sanskrit devoted specially to historical writing. This monthly, however, ceased publication after a year and then M. Naraharinath on his own published 3 magazines one after the other, the last of which was Itihāsa Prakāśa, ill assorted but valuable. The various issues contained only a few inscriptions of the Nepal Valley. But pages were filled with copies of texts of copper plate inscriptions and chronicles of 11th-16th centuries from Jumla and other principalities in the far west and in early sixties Khardar Baburam Acharya was employed by the king to write a biography of Prithivinarayan Shah but he had to dictate his writing on account of blindness and old age. M. Naraharinath left his job unfinished to go to politics, and his material is not duly utilised in the field of paleographical research. There was little work done until R. Gnoli, an Italian scholar, brought out his collection.

Amongst the foreigners the names of Professors G. Tucci, R. Gnoli and Luciano Petech are prominent. All three writers are historians in their own way. Petech wrote about the early history of Medieval Nepal based on collections of ms colophons made by Pandits of the Bir Library. But R. Gnoli who has published quite a large number of ancient inscriptions is more relevant for us. R. Gnoli published all the data available to him, which included also those already published. His book 'Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Character' published with photostat copies of inscriptions is by far the largest collection of inscriptions published until 1958. Gnoli not only published new materials but corrected errors in the reading of the script made by Bendall, Indraji and S. Levi. He did not, however, visit sites but depended solely on the impressions collected by the Bir Library (now National Archives). If Gnoli himself had undertaken exploration he could have obtained more materials.

In the sixties the quarterly *Abhilekha Saṅgraha* brought out inscriptions, some old and some new, the former with improved reading. Later another qŭarterly 'Pūrnimā' continued the same laudable job. The sum total of the research appeared 18 years later in a separate book 'Lichchhavi Kālka Abhilekha' edited by Dhanavajra Vajracharya. The work was published by the Centre for Nepalese and Asian Studies, T.U.

The number of inscriptions published by Gnoli was 93. These included all the texts of inscriptions published by previous compilers. Gnoli's volume shows also new reigns such as of Rāmadeva and Gangadeva, which he misread as Gaṇadeva. More inscriptions of Śivadeva I and II and Amśuvarmā and Jiṣṇugupta and his son Viṣṇugupta have found place in his work. Gnoli's collection also covered all inscriptions of Narendradeva, Śivadeva and Jayadeva. But his reading in some cases is defective and he has also left many lines unread, which he could have read with more effort as the rubbings clearly show them. But the 51 documents newly added are of real historical importance. Gnoli's collection in spite of limitations is an outstanding contribution to the literature on the subject.*

In Gnoli's collection there are several one word or 1 or 2 line inscriptions of no particular significance and so the number might be reduced to some extent. It also might be noted that the actual number of such inscriptions is much less than given in the compilation of Dhanavajra, a young researcher referred to in our text a little later as DV in abbreviated form, whose book has appeared in 1977.

Gnoli was followed by Thomas O. Ballinger who published photographs of 5 inscriptions but without reading anything except the dates.

***Gnoli omits plates for inscriptions nos. 7, 24, 30, 31, 48, 49, 75, 79, 81, 82, all Gnoli's numbers.**

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The Na-bahil stone is the most important of them because it contains a charter of Amśuvarmā in the old era (500+). The photographs appear in Vol. 4 of the American Oriental Society published in 1958.

But Ballinger was not a historian and treats his subject casually and therefore the 5 inscriptions he brings out in the photographs might not have the importance of other compilations.

It must be said to the credit of Dhanavajra Vajracharya that though coming two decades after Gnoli's volume his collection stands foremost, in respect of the number of inscriptions, of all the contributions so far made in the sixties and seventies. It outbids Gnoli also as far as a few more important records go. We have already made passing reference to it and I think that this must be separately treated to realise its true import which we have done in the next few pages.

Dhanavajra's collection surely deserves fair treatment and therefore we are proceeding to make a wider reference to his work. But it is not the last volume on the collection of ancient inscriptions. Dhanavajra is followed by Hariram Joshi. Hariram Joshi's volume, however, contains just reproductions of the texts of 175 inscriptions, some published by R. Gnoli and others by Dhanavajra. He also published photographic copies of 65 steles. But it appears that Joshi did not try to correct Gnoli, and he also adopted texts published by Dhanavajra in the quarterly 'Pūrnimā', which the latter had later compiled into a book as he came out with a new volume 'Lichchhavi Kālka Abhilekha'. The 'Pūrnimā' versions in many instances were erroneous, which Dhanavajra himself corrected in his forthcoming book. But Joshi by adopting what was published in 'Pūrnimā' seems to ignore the errors creeping in the texts published in that quarterly. This shows that his aim was just to collate the published materials. Thus Joshi's work might pass as one more compilation on the subject and not as a work of search and research. But for half a dozen new photographs he deserves the credit due to him. The performance on the whole may be important enough to draw close attention. If he had done his own reading the value of the work would have been really high.

As we have already said, Dhanavajra's collection is the latest work on the subject. It contains some new inscriptions not available in R. Gnoli. Although the collection goes without photostat copies of the rubbings yet the Nepali translation and explanations add a special importance to it. Dhanavajra's collection is exhaustive and shows considerable improvement on the reading of some inscriptions including mostly those of R. Gnoli, and is certainly by far the largest collection of Nepalese inscriptions so far published. Dhanavajra has published 190 inscriptions and this collection is impressive no doubt. But Gnoli's work with photographic plates has also its own special features. In fact Dhanavajra also has accepted a large number of inscriptions from Gnoli as they stood. Dhanavajra has improved on Gnoli's reading of some lines in so far as they go as regards many others. The collection, however, includes numerous one or two line inscriptions, which have no historical value as in the case of R. Gnoli. If minor one or two word or one line or two line inscriptions were not counted the total number would be considerably less in the collections of both Gnoli and Dhanavajra.

It is not my intention to disparage any attempt to include in the publications one or two line inscriptions. This has been the practice without exception since a long time and Gnoli and Dhanavajra were not expected to follow any other course. I have myself done it as I could not avoid the same. But what I want to stress is the fact that the collection would not have looked so large as it appears when everything is assembled.

In spite of a large number of one or two line inscriptions Dhanavajra has added quite a good number of inscriptions, which are not available in Gnoli. Of course, he also availed of many rubbings collected by the Bir Library, and it was important as many of such inscriptions had escaped the Italian scholar's notice. Dhanavajra has also added on his own yet more inscriptions.

As we go through Dhanavajra's collection it appears that if there are new additions already enumerated many inscriptions given by Gnoli are also as great many without any correction and some with minor corrections and yet a few with major corrections. Dhanavajra also has corrected dates in some cases where they were wrongly read. But such instances are not numerous. The inscriptions from Gnoli accepted with minor corrections or no corrections number nearly 56, and all are important

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ones. Such inscriptions belong to various reigns extending from Mānadeva to Jayadeva but they appear more in number since Gaṇadeva's reign. The inscriptions of Dhanavajra over and above what Gnoli gives might be distributed over a long period to different reigns.

Whatever it might be Dhanavajra's collection has the largest number of inscriptions published thus far. To his credit it should also be said that he gave a correct reading to doubtful letters, which earlier had confused Gnoli. They might be limited, but they have their own importance.

He has surely presented an epigraphic survey down to details. But in this attempt Dhanavajra himself had committed mistakes in reading though to a limited extent. He has also left gaps in lines of a few passages, which required filling. I have corrected the wrong reading as well as filled the gaps. This fact apart, the translation in Nepali of the inscriptions as done by him is not as intelligible as it should be. Dhanavajra has tried to pass many Sanskrit words as Nepali, which is a source of confusion. The words used in the inscriptions came from classical Sanskrit and it was difficult even for a well versed Sanskrit scholar to understand them. This is the reason that makes Dhanavajra's translated passages unintelligible even to Nepalese readers. My translation into English though meant for people knowing the English language and with or without Nepali does not suffer from this defect. The translation conveys the exact meaning of the words used in the epigraphs as I understand them. But many words being obscure could not be rightly translated.

Dhanavajra's explanations offered to every inscription represent a fresh attempt to give fuller information about so many things connected with the theme of the record. He must get the credit for what he has done. However, numerous loopholes are traced there in the book, and he has also skipped over quite a few words which have important bearing on economic and political subjects. All these need elaborate treatment, which also I have done here, but such cases are limited in number.

The present volume was scheduled to come out quite early in the sixties. The inscriptions were collected since quite long long ago. But on account of the author's preoccupation with political and later with other academic activities, the author could not give close attention to the final phase of writing and there was a considerable delay in finalising the manuscript. Now it is ready and I am placing the same before the scholarly world.

The volume carries photographic plates of the inscriptions published here under different captions. Their number is much larger than that of R. Gnoli or Hariram Joshi. There are 80-90 more plates than in R. Gnoli's collection.

Altogether I have published 164 inscriptions, out of which a large number of smaller records with no historical significance also have got place to keep up with the usual practice. I have left 23 inscriptions given by Dhanavajra but added a few new ones. But those omitted or adopted are not historically important. However there is much scope for search as the new finds in the Changu and Pasupati area go to prove.

Now, a few words about the arrangement of the inscriptions.

The readers should refer to the contents for the identity of the number in the translated part allotted to inscriptions in the original Sanskrit.

And one thing more. There has been a mistake in the numbering of the inscriptions from 54 to 58. The readers should correct 58 to 54, and then 54 to 55 followed by 56, 57, 58 (original 54). I regret this mistake.

The readers are also requested to note that in the English translation the word *malla* has been translated as deer or goat or some other animal. This might mislead them. But it is not the intention of the author to translate *malla* as a particular animal as far as this is done in the translation text. The readers might refer the question to the special note volume (III), where the subject is dealt with in detail.

I should also like to submit that the word dūtaka coming at the end of the text before the date line has been translated in different possible versions, all of which might not be strictly correct. The exact meaning is found in the part of the book giving special notes, etc.

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The book is divided into 4 sections: (1) the text, (2) the English translation, (3) the plates and (4) special introductory notes for every inscription in historical perspective. The fifth section is being published as a separate volume under a new caption 'Nepal as Known from Inscriptions'. The corrigenda and addenda find place at the end of the 4th section.

Lastly, I owe a debt of gratitude to all the scholars who have worked in the past on the subject, in particular to C. Bendall, Bhagwanlal Indraji, Sylvain Levi, J.F. Fleet, Baburam Acharya, M. Naraharinath, R. Gnoli, Dhanavajra, H.R. Joshi, S.M. Rajavamsi, M.P. Khanal, Pantha brothers and others for enabling me by their contributions to bring out this collection of Nepalese epigraphic records.

I regret that the photograph of the Dumja stone inscription is missing.

Kathmandu, Nepal

D. R. Regmi

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

a (अ)	ka (क)	dha (ध)
ā (आ)	kha (ख)	na (न)
i (इ)	ga (ग)	pa (प)
ī (ई)	gha (घ)	pha (फ)
u (उ)	ṅa (ङ)	ba (ब)
ū (ऊ)	cha (च)	bha (भ)
ṛ (ऋ)	chha (छ)	ma (म)
e (ए)	ja (ज)	ya (य)
ai (ऐ)	jha (झ)	ra (र)
o (ओ)	ña (ञ)	la (ल)
au (औ)	ṭa (ट)	va (व)
am (अं)	ṭha (ठ)	ś (श)
ah (अः)	ḍa (ड)	ṣ (ष)
	ḍha (ढ)	s (स)
	ṇa (ण)	ha (ह)
	ta (त)	kṣa (क्ष)
	tha (थ)	tra (त्र)
	da (द)	jña (ज्ञ)

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GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

Ben	Bendall
Bh	Bhaṭṭāraka
BLI	Bhagvanlal Indraji
CIII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (J.F. Fleet)
DV	Dhanavajra Vajracharya
Gn	R. Gnoli
HR	Hariram Joshi
L	S. Levi
M	Mahārāja
Md	Mahārājādhirāja
Pm	Parameśvara
Pbh	Paramabhaṭṭāraka

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INTRODUCTION

The Name 'Nepāla'

How Nepal as a name of the country whose histroy is like that of any other country came to be known as Nepāla?

The Tistung inscription of Vasantadeva addresses the people in plural number dative such as *Naipalebhya*. Here Nepāla is being used to denote the people inhabiting the country of Nepal.

There are other places where Nepāla figures. The two inscriptions of Amśuvarmā also from Tistung use the word Naipalebhya. Viṣṇugupta addresses the Nepalese feudatories and officials as Nepāla simantapatinah in Yangahiti and Bhṛṅgāreśvara inscriptions. Narendradeva addresses the people in the word Nepala simāntapatinah in the Anantalingeśvara stele and Śivadeva, his son, uses Nepatāntavartinyah in the Bhṛṅgāreśvara inscription.

Nepal is called *bhukti* in the inscription of Balambu by Śivadeva and *mandala* in Jnāneśvara stele by Jayadeva II. So long we were used to believe that the word Nepāla was of non-sanskritic origin. It was suggested that Nepā was the original word and Nepāla was derived from it. But I think that this view is erroneous. 'Nepāla as it comes from the ancient past was the original word and it has nothing to do with 'Nepā' or 'Nepāra', which is amply proved by the inscriptions.

Keeping in view the fact that a large number of inhabitants were of Mongoloid stock migrating from the east the views that Nepāla originated from a Mongoloid language obtained backing from the supporters of the Mongolian theory.

It, however, seems certain that in view of inscriptional and other data of the Indian treatises beginning from Kautilya obtained through the centuries, Nepāla was the proper name and it was not and could not be a derivative of another word of a different family. Rather, the case was reverse.

But what does Nepāla mean? Does it mean a country protected by the sage called Ne? No doubt it is a Sanskrit word and it meant the country as well as those who lived here. But we have yet to find out why it was called Nepāla.

Nepala as suggested by S. Levi might have derived its name from *nipa*, meaning as it goes to cause to imbibe as a verb or a water jar or a lake as a noun. By vṛddhi it becomes Naipa. Nipa obviously means a tank or a lake in the present context. In the legend past the Nepāl Valley was a lake with hoary

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antiquity. Later the lake dried up and as the soil was fertile anybody who came here deliberately or perchance got stuck up, because he could enjoy the benefits of sufficient food without much effort. Those who came here in course of migration believed that the Valley, a former lake (nipa) could support a large number of people and hence they gave it the name according to its potential supporting capability to be associated with pālayati and lastly the name Nepāla came to birth.

As we go through the inscription we come across words like Nepala, just Nepāla and then Nepāla bhukti, Nepālaviṣaya and Nepāla maṇḍala.

The word Nepāla used both for the country as well as the people comes in Vasantadeva's inscription of Tistung.

Then there is a long gap in the use of the word until Narendradeva's Yangāhiti charter (n. 117) addresses the future (bhaviṣyato) kings of Nepāla (bhaviṣyato Nepālarājasamyak pratimānyanudarṣayati).

In the Garhidhara inscription Narendradeva addresses his charter to the present and future kings of Nepāla. Similarly his Anantalingeśvara charter is addressed to the present and future authorities who guarded the borders of Nepāla (Nepālasimantapātinah sarvādhikāradhikṛtān).

Narendradeva's son Śivadeva addresses all the state employees, those who earned their livelihood at his feet, and who lived within the frontiers of Nepal.

The Balambu inscription of Śivadeva (n. 136) calls the country Nepāla bhukti when he addresses the people, the authorities in the position, members of the royal family (rājapuruṣān) and all those who got livelihood from the king. If Nepāla is known as a bhukti in this inscription, the Jnāneśvara charter calls the country Nepalamaṇḍala (n. 144).

Whether a bhukti or maṇḍala Nepal was a kingdom (rājyam). We should not take the meaning of bhukti or maṇḍala as a division or district unit as it is associated with the name of the country. Nepāla was not a part of a kingdom but a kingdom itself. Therefore bhukti or maṇḍala as a part does not fit in the contexts.

Inscriptions

Anything inscribed on a copper or gold-plate or a stone is an inscription. Inscriptions are of two kinds depending on their content. We have only inscriptions on stones.

If it is of the nature of a royal command or order it is a charter, which we have described fully while dealing with the Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva. This is being treated in the description as a model. All the charters are drawn in accordance with the characteristics present in it. This the stands as a specimen copy for all the charters that follow.

The other kind of inscriptions is not the charter but a record of building a shrine for a deity or a land grant made to temples by kings or individuals. There are no privileges granted to the people, but rules are framed for their guidance in regard to the worship of the deity and management of funds at their disposal. Such inscriptions belong mostly to Mānadeva's period. They may go without the name of the king or even if the king's name is mentioned, it just indicates as to who was reigning and when the structure or grant was created.

Non-official acts of piety are evident in the inscriptions of

1. Bharavi's Water Conduit,
2. Sikubahī Umamaheśvara Pedestal,
3. Bankali Image Pedestal,
4. The Tundikhel Water Conduit Inscription of Amrtavarma (Patan),
5. Chapatole (Patan) Buddha Image Pedestal,
6. The Tyagaltole Vahi Stupa,
7. Mangal Bazar (Patan) Stone,
8. Chaṇḍeśvara Platform Stone Slab, and
9. The Tebahal 2-line invocation to Lord Buddha, which records the construction of a well and a conduit by Priyapāla.

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These are the main inscriptions of the earlier period and some others of less significance belong to the last phase of the late Lichchhavi Period. The themes in these inscriptions are religious as well as secular.

Inscriptions are divided into two groups each following its own era.

The first group ranging in chronological order starts from S. 386 and ends with S. 535.

The second group starts from S. 29 and ends with S. 301.

The last few inscriptions of the old era and the first few inscriptions of the new era have a common figure, Amśuvarmā, and it appears that the new group follows the old group in chronological order.

Different dates have been offered for the two eras. But we shall discuss this question later in a separate section.

Broad Features of Inscriptions

Many inscriptions here speak of temple donations and religious buildings. Some are charters issued by kings which either talk of a royal gift of water sprouts and canals for irrigation and for their preservation land grants are made. The villages and pānchālikās enjoying royal gifts are exempted from royal dues payable by the people of certain areas, villages or pānchālikās, banning the entry of certain offices of state concerned with the task of tax collections, or entry of watch and ward. The recipients are favoured further with other facilities as the charters announce. Some charters define the adjudication procedures in respect of certain crimes enabling the local bodies or assemblies to do the judicial work, but at the same time ordering them to approach the royal courts for ultimate decision.

The word Lichchhavi used to indicate the family line is first used by Mānadeva's daughter but never by Mānadeva and his successors over a period of about 126 years of reign and then after this Śivadeva I. But since then it regularly appears as the familiar identity of the rulers, although there is no evidence of how the Lichchhavis came to Nepal and held power for a considerable period of time. This creates some confusion as it is impossible to say anything of a conclusive nature in this respect.

Mānadeva does not issue any charter. The charter or the order of the king regulating the enjoyment of certain privileges of the villagers in respect of certain matters begins from the reign of Vasantadeva since S. 428. Similarly forts, market areas, townlets and taxes appear since his time. But yield of paddy fields from a certain measurement of land appears as early as the very earliest record of Mānadeva.

In the early inscriptions of India before the Gupta dynasty and even in the time of Guptas before Kumara Gupta the word *om siddham* generally occurs in the beginning. In later inscriptions *svasti* is often found but *siddham* is more in use. Also the word *jayati* in some of the earlier inscriptions occurs. *Siddham* must not carry a similar meaning as *om svasti*, a word invoked to bless the occasion of issuing a charter or record and wishing of welfare and happiness. *Siddham* means 'everything accomplished', whereas *svasti* means 'welfare'.

The Nepalese inscriptions always began with *svasti* which literally means 'to your prosperity'. After the king's full royal titles the charter proceeds to wish the people of the locality who are addressed. The king asks of their welfare and prosperity (*kuśalamābhāṣya*) and then the main purpose of the charter is explained.

The inscriptions then delineate the boundaries of the areas concerned which is very elaborate. This area is either declared free of certain charges or to enjoy immunity from the jurisdiction of one or more offices.

All these features are shared in common by both the Indian and Nepalese inscriptions.

The custom of having an important personality as dūtaka, the witness or appointed agent, either the crown prince or a powerful minister or dignitary is common to both Indian and Nepalese inscrip-

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tions. Copper plates are reputed for their abundance in India but they are completely absent in Nepal. The Indian copper plates have also the seal of the office, adhikarana of the capital or province (viṣaya or bhukti), while the Nepalese inscriptions have nothing to do with copper plates or their seals, because there are no copper plates.

As common to both the inscriptions whenever and wherever they are installed they happen to record the grant of land or construction of a temple or a monastery (Buddhist) or a water conduit or canal (*tilamakam*) for the purpose of irrigation.

In the Nepalese inscriptions as in the Indian while the kings announce favours the people were also asked to live in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and in fearlessness and each doing one's duty, while paying taxes such as bhagabhogakara pindakadanadi pratyaya and obeying what they heard of the king's orders conveyed through the steles (*śilāpattakam*). The decree also mentions in particular future kings' duty that they should preserve the gift of their predecessors (*svavamśyānukrameṇa*) belonging to the dynasty. This is not always mentioned but here and there kings refer to such a claim. There was, however, no reference to the Lichchhavi family except in two cases: once by Śivadeva I and once by Narendradeva.

After the delimitation of the boundary, the decree in conclusion expressly warns all those in service of the king mentioning them as those who 'earned their bread at his feet' (*asmadpādopajīvinah*) against intrusion and tells them not to cause even the slightest trouble to the inhabitants of the village and desist from violating the provisions of the royal order. The inscribed royal charter enjoins the future kings to consider it as their duty to protect such acts of piety as gifts made by the pious kings in the past (*pūrvvarājakṛta prasādanuvartibhi*). The address to the future kings in some charters reminds them of Vyāsa's saying to Yudhisthira that 'whoever destroys his own or another man's pious gifts will commit a sin, which will land him in hell to be born as a worm and live for 60 thousand years in human excretion' (*svadattam paradattam vā yo haret sa vasudharam ṣaṣṭi varṣa sahasrāṇi viṣṭāyām jāyate kṛmi*). But this is mentioned without any reference to Vyāsa. There is a threat of dire consequences from the donor if he happens to be a king issuing the charter against all evil doers and a warning not to tolerate any impious act leading to the damage or destruction of the gift in question, and punish any one guilty of such irreligious and sacrilegicus performance (*vayam tam na marṣayisyāmi*). This is a common feature of the Nepalese as well as of the Indian inscriptions belonging to the 4-8 centuries, when North India was under the Gupta dynasty.

The Charter and the People

How the charters treated the people and future kings? The idea of a treatment to the people by the rulers is obtained from the fact that no charter was issued without enquiring of the welfare of the people of a certain locality, to whom the directives were extended.

Not only that the issue of the charter was accompanied with the word 'the king politely informs' and in some cases informs after paying 'regards' (manayate), but they also bring to notice the fact of the king's pleasure over some good work done by the donees and thereby express his appreciation.

But order is order. The king did not allow anything to come in the way of his charter being implemented to its letter and spirit.

The tail portion of the stone carries with it some injunctions to the state employees and the officers and sends warning to them and other mischief makers that if they harmed the gift, they would be punished. The kings coming in future were asked to treat the gift in the nature of a prasāda (favour) created by others dedicated to *dharma* (dharmagurubhih gurukṛta prasādānubartibhi), which they were used to protect. The expression is much common with the inscriptions of Śivadeva and Amśuvarmā.

The people in general were provided steles for information. It is they who were to know of the favours conferred on them. They were asked to live in peace, mutual confidence and in an atmosphere of freedom from fear but it was also emphasized that they were to always engage themselves in

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carrying out their duty, and at the same time not hesitating to pay taxes due to the state. The taxes were bhāgabhogakara hiranya pindakadanādi bhiupakurvadbhi (n. 20).

The expression was general and all this figured in some form or other in every charter since the Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva.

The emphasis on tax payment is to be noted.

The emphasis on tax differred from one record to another in respect of wording, Śivadeva's inscription of Lagantole (Kathmandu) with date S. 119 uses almost similar expression samuchita bhāga bhoga hiraṇyādi sarva pratyāyaṁ eṣaṁ upayachchhadbhi. The taxes here were bhāga, bhoga, kara and hiraṇya. The Kisipidi inscription (n. 25) uses the expression samuchita karaddantah, which means paying the usual taxes. Many inscriptions did not speak of the tax payment.

The king adopted an injunction properly providing guarantees for the protection the gift should enjoy at the time when it was declared but he also laid down a basis for its future continuity and eternal existence as a work of merit.

The personage who was the author of the charter entrusted the task of protecting the grant, whatever its shape might be, to the charge of the people who enjoyed the benefits and asked government servants not only not to interfere with its provisions but also to help in the enforcement of what has been laid down in writing on stone. The king also appealed to future kings to regard the provision as a grant of past kings offered in course of the performance of meritorious deeds by the teachers of virtues, and to extend them every protection.

The charter in India also reminded all concerned to beware of the dangerous consequences that might follow its destruction or anything done to tamper with it. The king says 'whoever breaks my order he shall not tolerate them' and then goes to appeal to future kings to think of Vyāsa's saying to Yudhisthira 'protect with care every gift whether conferred by you or by another person. If any one does otherwise he will fall in hell and live there in the form of a worm for sixty thousand years. This is the bridge of virtue for men in this world. It deserves to be protected by you.'

After the subject of the gift was made known the charter proceeded to declare the boundary lines of the areas within which the privileges conferred could be enjoyed. Then there is an advice to the people who were informed of the royal grant. This advice was tendered to allow them to live in peace without fear and in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and goodwill paying the usual taxes in cash and kind. They were also to obey the king's orders when they heard about them. The state servants were asked not to tamper with the grant. If any state employee or anybody does contrary to royal injunctions he would meet dire consequences.

The king granted privileges, one of which was tax exemptions. Taxes were removed from fishes and their smaller varieties, malla potanam matsanamabadhanena (Bungmati and Otu steles) and customs on mask and flywhisk (Tistung) were removed. The Thankot inscription of Jiṣṇugupta frees the inhabitants of Thencho village from the tax on cloths, and announces concessions in respect of taxes on goats. The subject of royal order was also the repair of a temple (Sundhara, Patan and Ādeśvara) or completing canal (Bhairava dhoka, n. 79) or distribution of canal waters for irrigation (Minanath, n. 138) or making of a water conduit (Balambhu n. 102 and Naksal Bhagvatibahal (n. 127) inscriptions). The Naksal Gairhidhara (n. 74) inscription prohibits the entry of Lingval officemen, bulls, horses, chariots and carts into Jonjonding village.

When the people of a certain area felt harassed due to one reason or another, the king provided relief to them through a charter as Narendradeva stopped entry of the men of Bhaṭṭa Māpchoka offices into the delimited area of Yupa grāma dranga.

If it were only for the information about water conduits, canals and temples these inscriptions would have been of little use in history. But they tell us good many other things more of the time they are dated. They tell us about the kings, sometimes their genealogy and on few occasions about their conquests and adventures. From the content we learn about their ministers, army head and royal kith and kin, who had held high posts. We also know which kings were puppets and who were really powerful. Some inscriptions are exaggerating in the praise of their kings, their qualities of head and

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heart or of the man behind the throne and the presentation looks vulgar. We may not find fault with all that is mentioned but such were the kings or men in power and affluence. They had queer habits. On the whole inscriptions are informative for the history of the period, and above all they represent unchallengeable evidence of the presence of historical figures while they lived. Without inscriptions there will be no history for the ancient times. As the only indigenous source of history writing for Nepal, they are so vital to us. But the information they give us is quite insufficient and poor even for systematic chronology.

We have produced here texts of nearly 175 inscriptions, which are divided into two groups, the first coming earlier in chronological order number about 70 with dates between S. 386 and 535, and the second following them number about 100 with dates between S. 29 and S. 301. All the inscriptions are presented in chronological order.

But inscriptions and dates are not enough to present a correct history; unless epoch dates are ascertained, the factual history might be lost in the jungle of confusion. There will be no correct genealogy of kings if dates are otherwise placed. We already suffer for lack of trustworthy sources. The epoch years are the light which show the time the inscriptions belong to. We cannot afford to neglect this factor and we shall do so only at a great risk. We are likely to misrepresent a period due to misplacement of dates.

India being a large country saw its own empires, one or more at a time. Sometimes feudatories functioned as kings. They could show themselves as kings and embodied the state power and it is for this reason they did not hesitate to threaten to punish the evil doer, even though the sin might have been committed after the death of the donor. Ordinarily any donor would say 'Fie on those who commit a sin like destroying pious deeds performed by themselves or others, and may the violator be guilty of five great sins (*panchāparādhatvena*) and punished accordingly.' But authorities would talk of bodily punishment and fines.

The charters while announcing pious gifts might also in many cases grant privileges in the nature of tax exemptions or immunity from the harassment caused by the entry of security police or collectors of taxes of a certain kind, which it called a pious gift, prasāda and obviously such a charter was issued by a king or by a regional overlord.

Chronology

All the Indian inscriptions issued by the kings or their feudatories show their genealogy, long or short. In giving genealogy the founder of the dynasty, the donor's parents, grand parents, great grand parents are mentioned with their queens. This is true of all the Imperial Guptas of the secondary lines and Vakataka and Naga princes as well as Palas. The Vākātaka queen Prabhāvatī mentions also her father's line in her inscriptions. This is unlike the Nepalese records where except the Changu inscription of Mānadeva I and the Pasupati inscription of Jayadeva II, nobody talks of his genealogy, immediate or distant. But even the genealogy given by the aforesaid two inscriptions is not a long one and no woman ancestor figures there. But Jayadeva II in his Pasupati inscription gives his mother's name as does Mānadeva I in the Chāñgu Pillar Inscription.

The Vākātakas followed in no measure a different practice. A queen of that dynasty, Chandra Gupta's daughter, Prabhāvatī, even gives the genealogy of her father.[1] And remember that there were not so many other royal families contending for power. If one reads the history of Chandellas, Gahadwalas and the Paramars in North India of the 10th-13th century, he will find that no inscription fails to give their lineage, whatever the circumstances.

The next Imperial dynasty, the Pālas, ruling east of Banaras over the vast tract of the Gangetic plain upto Assam in the east, had followed the same practice.

Dynasties ruling over not a large tract and comparable to the Nepalese rulers did not rest content without tracing their family history. So it has so happened that unless the ruler concerned was of an obscure origin and had a particular reason to hide his ancestry, he proudly proclaimed himself to

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be in the succession line of a particular dynasty he belonged to.

Similarly the Gangas of Orissa, the Senas of Bengal and the Andhras of Godavari-Krsna basins unfailingly mentioned their history in their records of the same period. Going far back to the 8th century A.D., the Pallava ruler gives a long list of his ancestors inscribed on a stone so safely preserved in the Vaikunthaperumal temple in Kanchi. They trace their descent from a Brahman sage, Agastya. I do not think that Chalukyas and Cholas had a different practice. If anybody goes to Trichinapalli and Tanjore temples and looks into the stones with inscriptions, the chronicles are visible to an interested visitor. All these at the first instance give the dynastic history of the rulers concerned.

Subsidiary rulers like Maharaja Hastin who traces his origin to Maharaja Prabhanjana's dynasty[2] in Khoh copper plate, Maharaja Jayanatha who claims to be a descendant of Maharaja Kumaradeva in Kartlai copper plate, Maharaja Samundra Sena who traces his family origin to his fifth ancestor to Ma Sa Maha Varuna Sena and many others have left records to testify the correctness of our conjectures.

The seal is not found in the Nepalese stones, the genealogy of the ruler is also missing. However, the portion conveying instruction for the protection of the gift as laid down in the charter, the manner of the purpose of the gift placed in the inscription are similar to the records of the Gupta period of history.

Reckoning Years

In the early inscriptions the records were dated from the founding of the reign, but the months were indicated by 6 seasonal two monthly periods. The practice was common in the inscriptions of Śaka Ksatrapas (Indo-Scythians). The Mauryans (Ashoka) and their successors coming immediately after him gave only regnal years.[3] The Kuśāna in the beginning gave regnal years adding, however, month by name and also fortnight as one and two (bright and dark).[4] But later it took the form *chaturtrimśadadhika śatatama śravaṇa māśaya divase trayovimśe, 23,* etc. But much later the months (Vaiśakha, Pausa, Āṣādha etc.) disappeared and reckoning was done by the 3 monthly seasons (4 in a year)[5] called months interspersed by reckoning according to solar months and days.[6] Kaniṣka followed this practice by and large while sometimes using the seasonal reckoning and at other times discarding it in favour of the tithi system.[7] The naksatras appear for the first time in Kaniṣka period. But a week day (vāra) appears only since the time of Budhagupta in his Eran inscription (copper plate) of Sam. 165 *Aṣāḍha māsa śukla 12 śuraguru divase.* But we have only one inscription and one ms. colophon giving a vāra (week day).

The Eras

The pattern was the same throughout the reign of Kaniṣka, Vaṣiṣka, Hubiṣka and Jubiṣka. According to a large section of scholars, the era used in the inscriptions belonged to the first regnal year of Kaniṣka, 78 A.D., later called the Śaka era. The lunar and solar calendar appears prominently and wholly since the Gupta-Vākātaka period though the old system continued in limited sphere side by side. Like the system af reckoning of the Gupta Emperors in India the Nepalese inscriptions adopted first the Śaka era and then Amśuvarmā (Mānadeva) era in official records.

Epigraphically the inscriptions show late Brahmi of North Indian variety and they are written in Sanskrit invariably.

All the inscriptions came in regular succession according to dates. From inscription no. 1 to no. 67 the inscriptions are referred to one era, and all the others coming thereafter are referred to another. The first date given by the inscription is Samvat 386 in the first order, while there is Samvat 29 in the second order. We have discussed the eras in a separate place. But there are no records giving the regnal year of a ruler, nor months and fortnights at any time appear as seasonal periods. They simply give month, fortnight and day besides the year of a particular era. This must have been so because

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our inscriptions start from the late 5th century A.D.

Epigraphically, all the inscriptions are in late Brahmi script with some minor variations appearing from time to time in the copper plates and steles from the 5th to 8th century in North India. The language used in these is Sanskrit, in some in chaste and in others in corrupt form.

Epigraphy

The script in use in the inscriptions generally is called late Brahmi of the northern variety. It is the same script which was in use in North India during the Gupta period, 4th to 7th centuries A.D.

Some people have read in these inscriptions 3 varieties of scripts and they call them Pūrva (early) Lichchhavi, Madhyama (middle) Lichchhavi and Uttara (later) Lichchhavi depending on the time the inscriptions were issued.

Actually speaking there is one variety running through all the inscriptions. Certain letters are a little affected by what we call changes in the way of writing. But they should not be taken as a separate variety.

Till Amśuvarmā's time the letters were maintained as they were in Mānadeva's time. Thereafter they appear to change slightly but the same way of writing appears and disappears again and again. It is only since the latter half of the 8th century that the changes appear distinct. The changes in the later period, i.e., after Amśuvarmā started with Jiṣṇugupta's inscriptions and they became conspicuous in the inscriptions of Narendradeva.

We shall describe the epigraphy of the period thoroughly in the next volume 'Nepal as Known from Ancient Inscriptions'.

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1. C III, 21.
2. C II, 26.
3. D.C. Sircar, pp. 114.
4. No. 32 Parjar stone inscription of Kaniṣka gives month by name (Sravana masadi prathama), 33, 34.
5. Sarnath, Hemanta 3 dina 22.
6. Manikeola stele of Kaniṣka I regnal year 18 Kārtika māsasya divasa 20 atra pārvāyām.
7. Sui Bihar ,C.P. regnal year 11, Jeda Inscription, regnal year 11, Huviṣka's Mathura Pillar Inscription śaka year 28.

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Part I

MĀNADEVA I TO ŚIVADEVA I

MĀNADEVA

1. Changu Pillar Inscription

The inscription starts with invocation to *Nārāyaṇa* seated in *Dolādri*, whose praise is profusely sung. The inscription is on a pillar broken in three.

This is the first dated inscription with Samvat 386, month of *Jyeṣṭha*, bright fortnight, first day, and *adhijit muhūrta* on that day, while the moon was with the constellation *Rohiṇī*, one of the 27 *Naksatras* (asterism) through which the moon travelled in two fortnights forming one lunar month.

As the epoch year of the era used here will be discussed later, we proceed to discuss other points relating to this inscription.

The inscription is on a pillar broken in 3 pieces, and accordingly the writing also is split as has been suggested in the introduction to the text.

The site is the top of a hill, the projecting point of a ridge running from west to east. This top is a repository of a row of houses and temples dedicated to Viṣṇu (called Nārāyaṇa) whose sanctuary occupies the centre. The pillar is just in front of the western doors of the main temple.

The hill is known as *Dolādri* in the inscription and Chāñgu in local parlance, both having the same meaning. The word *dolā* in Sanskrit carries the meaning of 'trembling or swinging' and with *adri* (hill), another word, it would mean a 'swinging hill'. The word Chāñgu means the same, a swinging or shaking hill. The ridge in the west extends upto a point on the mountain skirting the valley, near Mahādeo Pokhari supported by the same.

Because the temple is situated on the top of the Chāñgu hill, the deity is known as Chāñgu Nārāyaṇa. How the name Chāñgu came to be applied is not known. It is obviously the translation of *Dolādri*, on which Nārāyaṇa takes his abode. The *Dolā*, i.e., swinging is an act of Viṣṇu in the rainy season for a seasonal frolic.

Although the inscription belongs to Mānadeva, it should not be considered that the temple was his creation or he had set up the image of Nārāyaṇa in it. They existed before his reign.

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The inscription first gives Mānadeva's genealogy starting with Vṛṣadeva. But he nowhere claims his Lichchhavi lineage.

This genealogy is in line with the piece given in the Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva II.

But as we have said earlier, while the latter speaks of the ancestor Lichchhavi by name (not by race) the Chāñgu inscription does not say anything about the ancestors of Vṛṣadeva.

I do not think that the poet's panegyric should be a subject of discourse at this stage. It is enough to say that the 3 ancestors who ruled before Mānadeva were independent kings ruling in Nepal, the boundary of which was still to bee xactly traced. The kingdom should not be a large and extensive one. The area must just be the Nepal valley and a little more of land in the three directions. In the northern side the frontier might have touched the Himalayas thus giving Nepal a command of passage to Tibet. But nothing is certain. As Dharmadeva is credited with setting up pillars in the country, it is possible that he had erected the Chāñgu pillar also. But this is also just a possibility because nowhere this pillar has been particularly mentioned to have been erected by him or by Mānadeva. What is certain from the records is the writing on the pillar which was the work of Mānadeva and his mother. As some lines are missing from the western side of the pillar, we are in the dark about many things and events which could have been brought to light otherwise.

The 4 generation genealogy provided in the list is as follows:

Vṛṣadeva, his son
Śankaradeva, his son
Dharmadeva married to Rājyavatī, their son
Mānadeva

The Chāñgu Pillar inscription is valuable, as it is one of the two inscriptions to produce Royal genealogy, the other being the Pasupati inscription of Jayadeva. Unfortunately no other inscription produces anything but the ruler's name. Even the ruler's immediate ancestry is omitted. This is very much unlike the records of the contemporary India, which give a full genealogy of the man who issues the record, and the genealogy is for generations together.

The inscription gives a very vague account of Mānadeva's victorious march in the west and the east. It appears that Dharmadeva, his father, had died while there was a *yajna*, offering of clarified butter and grains, along with other eatables to gods over the sacrificial fire, in process. His death was sudden, and the entire people assembled there were overwhelmed with grief. Rājyavatī found herself so much aggrieved that she thought of burning herself (becoming Sati) along with the dead. It appears that Mānadeva learnt the news of his father's death through her. But the son persuaded her not to resort to the extreme measure of self-immolation, and as a result he could console her and pleased her by promising to go on march of conquest to quell the revolting barons. Perhaps the news of Dharmadeva's death has spread around, and the feudatories were trying to defy the central authority. This must have been the reason prompting Mānadeva to undertake the journey against the enemies. After the mortuary rites were over, he, though quite young, immediately started to lead the expedition. His maternal uncle was his principal aide.

But after the couplets speaking of his victories in the east and the statement that he had conquered Mallapuri on crossing the river Gandak in the west, the question as to where he had crossed the Gandak, and of all the seven Gandaks, which of them and then the identity of Mallapuri, the town of the Mallas still remains. His march towards the east is more obscure so we do not know how to make out a compact story out of these vague fragments. The story of the victory over Mallapuri across the river Gandaki is treated in the text of a different book 'Ancient Nepal'.

A glimpse of social conditions might be obtained from the events narrated in the inscription. But we should not expect much from such a study. As feudatories are mentioned in the inscription, we are entitled to envisage existence of lords in areas not directly ruled by the central authority who was the king himself. Similarly the use of horses and elephants in a way which involved marching into

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rugged territories and crossing of torential rivers is in evidence as we read the story of Mānadeva's military campaigns. In the same story we read Rājyavatī had desired to throw herself into the funeral pyre to die with her husband from which it so appears that the custom of Sati in the then Nepal was in vogue and practised by the gentry.

We shall have to say more about Mānadeva and his ancestors. But all this will find place in the narratives given in 'Ancient Nepal'. After all this section is not meant to cover aspects of history. We take up here only the considerations of subjects as they arise immediately in various inscriptions.

It appears that the custom of mounting the funeral pyre along with the dead husband's body was in practice in Nepal in those days. But it seems that it was not a compulsion to follow the husband on the pyre as Rājyavatī's case shows. The question, however, is discussed at length in the next volume where we have to say a great deal also about women's rights in those days.

The era in Mānadeva's inscription started 386 years ago as the date of the record Samvat 386 shows. Authors in general have now come to the view that the inscription is referred to the epoch year of the Śaka era. As earlier said there are two groups of inscriptions, one group adopting dates from S. 386 to S. 535 and another from Samvat 29 to 301 with the epoch year in 576 A.D. or Śaka 498.

There are also unwarranted suggestions made in regard to Nepal's frontier lines by some scholars. But this also could be rightly considered in proper perspective in the text of 'Ancient Nepal' or elsewhere. Of course, the basis of determining the boundary will be provided by the statement of this inscription as well as others.

Some think that Dharmadeva was killed by his enemies, and the death was announced when sacrificial performance was going on and this came to a stop as soon as the royal family heard it. As his mother was prepared to burn herself over the funeral pyre at the news of her husband's death Mānadeva persuaded her not to do so but to live and continue to inspire him for victorious war against his enemies and other achievements. The sacrificial fire was still lit when Mānadeva accompanied by his maternal uncle marched onto the east and then to the west where he fought the Mallas and suppressed them. He returned to his capital with plenty of booty and abundance of glory. He and his mother made liberal contributions to the Brahmanas and completed the ritual sacrifice. As a few letters are now broken, it is difficult to say if Mānadeva had constructed the pillar or had just inscribed the lines on it. But it should be a victory pillar with *Garuḍa* on it and this can be implied. At any rate the site and the image of *Dolādri* Sikhara Nārāyaṇa lies there since a long time. This much we can say for the dynasty of Mānadeva for the present.

But the inscription on the pillar is undoubtedly the first available inscription in Nepal. Because of its unique feature in having a Naksatra or asterism (Indian inscriptions of the earlier and contemporary period have also Naksatras in the date figures) it presents a verified date (=464-65) in terms of the Śaka era. For this reason the inscription is all the more important.

Some people have challenged its first position in the chronological order but the Chābel stone given the first place has no date figures due to damage. If we have to accept the Chāñgu pillar inscription as the first ever produced epigraphic record in Nepal the advantage is that our choice is one which has an ascertained date Samvat 386, with all the particulars except the week day which appears even in India only in the Eran copper plate inscription of Budhagupta's reign dating GS 165 Āṣādha Śukla 12, Thursday. It has been found advisable to put a dated record in advance to the one with damaged year figure, when also the epigraphical affinity is not at all affected. The Chābel inscription belongs to the same group of inscriptions as all inscriptions of Mānadeva and Vasantadeva as far as epigraphy is concerned. It does not show any variation in scripts.

I am glad that the author who had supported the proposition of the Chābel inscription being the earliest epigraphic record has changed his stand and acknowledged the priority of the Chāñgu Pillar Inscription over all others.

Mānadeva is one of the famous rulers of Nepal. In the 5th century his place is outstanding. He ruled for more than 40 years as his inscriptions running over a period of 386 to 427 show. But where-

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as we know that he died in Samvat 427, we do not have an ascertained date for his birth and coronation. Similarly, his predecessors mentioned in his inscriptions are little known from other sources. It is also difficult to know how Mānadeva omits names of rulers flourishing earlier to Vṛṣadeva. As we have already suggested he omits all references to his being a descendant of the Lichchhavi family. Mānadeva, however, is the first ruler to have been known through inscriptions and whose reign is not obscure.

In the lines inscribed on the stump of the fallen pillar there is mention of a grant of land (measurement not specified), which was to yield 54 mānikas of paddy as contribution to the worship of the Lord. The land is said to be situated in Khakapring grāma. The 4th line runs . . . . . *dommana mani 20* . . . . . but all this is obscure.

Two words often appear in connection with the donation of land, and they are related one to the measurement of land, called *bhūmi* and another to the measure of the produce, called *mānika* or *mani* or just *mā*. But how to fix up the measure, and determine the measurement as *mānika* and *bhūmi* respectively is a difficult question.

As the subject requires more data and these are provided by inscriptions nos. 9 and 10, and others following we intend to take up their consideration as we discuss the two records at an appropriate place.

Rājyavatī

She is the mother of Mānadeva. She is described as a lady of high birth and 'wife of Dharmadeva, dear to her husband as Lakksmi was to Viṣṇu'.

She appears in the inscription in a condition of a consort who was overwhelmed with grief as if stricken with fever having heard the sad demise of her husband.

This is what the inscription says about her love to her husband and son Mānadeva: "Then she called her son to her presence. With tears in her eyes she told her son, 'What shall I do in this mortal world when your father passed away? My life is useless now. Oh my son! I like to be burnt alive with his body. I shall follow him without waiting for a moment and I want you to rule. But the son's heart was melted and he placed his head at her feet. He told her that if she is separated from him, 'I shall end my life before she goes sati', and he was weeping. The lady felt bound to her son's words as if she was a bird in a cage and she decided to live, and she resembled Arundhatī at broad day light. She vowed to live in chastity and with her son performed the last rite of her husband."

The poet adds: 'Mānadeva thereafter started on a campaign of conquest and came back after a victory over the sāmantas in the eastern region and Mallapuri in the west situated across the turbulent Gandaki.'

The pillar was obviously a victory pillar but the inscription does not say if it was built by Mānadeva.

Why the mother was brought to the scene or whether the war was undertaken to revenge his father's death is not at all evident nor it does say that the feudatories against whom the campaign was conducted had revolted. The story of the campaign is introduced in a fashion which does not suit the occasion because it lacks the explanation of motive.

But Rājyavatī's image emerges as a strong woman. Perhaps the king was an immature youth and needed guidance readily coming from the mother. She had abandoned her desire to become a sati for the love of her son.

The Gandak and the Mallas

In the 17th verse king Mānadeva asks his maternal uncle to cross the turbulent Gandak, while in the 18th the poet talks of Mānadeva's victory over the town of Mallas or Mallapuri.

We do not know which of the seven rivers constituting what is now called river Gandak was

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meant in the panegyric. And Mallapuri also remains still unidentified. As the poet talks of a whirlpool and rapid current of waters, the Gandak river seems to run in a hilly belt. But more than that nothing can be surmised. Similarly location of Mallapuri or whether it was the place where the Mallas lived cannot be decided easily. Only deeper research might reveal new facts to enable us to write more about them. The Mallapuri therefore is still an unknown place.

The Practice of Sati

The story of Rājyavatī trying to burn herself with her husband's dead body reminds us of the long standing practice of becoming a sati as then it was so called in the very beginning of our history. Although there is no other statement of this type in other inscriptions suggesting the practice of sati, it is enough to see that women burnt themselves along with the corpse of their husbands on the funeral pyre, and the practice looked as old as our history.

The theory behind the custom of Sati was that a woman had no separate existence of her own independent of the husband and she died once her husband breathed his last. This conception was shared in common by all the old societies and the practice was prevalent in Europe as well as in China. The Indians retained it till the mid 19th century. The Sati system was abolished by Jang Bahadur in Nepal in the late fifties.

The following will show how Manu defines a woman's attitude towards her husband.

नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथक् यज्ञो न व्रतं नाप्य पोषणम् ।
पतिशुश्रुषते येनेतेन स्वर्गेमहीयते ।। 5/155
पाणिग्राहस्य साध्वीस्त्रीजीवितोमृतस्यवा ।
पतिर्लोक मभीप्सन्निनचरेद् किंचदप्रियम् ।। 5/156
कामंतु क्षयेद्देहं पुष्पमूलफलैः शुभम् ।
नतु जानापि गृह्यात् पत्यौ प्रेतेपरस्यतु ।। 5/157

The service of the husband is the foremost duty of the wife. She who serves her husband faithfully gets a high place in heaven. A wife has always to perform what her husband likes. Even after his death, the husband's wishes were to be honoured by his wife. A widow will live on fruits and roots and she should not even think of another male.

To Manu a woman once betrothed to a man is always tied to him (IX.71). He says when a father promises to marry his daughter to someone, he commits a sin if this promise is broken. But Yājnavalkya (I.65) favours a second betrothal if the man chosen is better than the first.

The Mahābhārata is full of anecdotes describing women following their husbands on the funeral pyre. Vasudeva's dead body was burnt along with his four living wives Devakī, Bhadrā, Rohiṇī and Madirā.[1] When Pāndu died, queen Mādri offered herself to be burnt on the pyre in spite of persuasion by sages around her to the contrary. Her argument for immolation was that she was young and might go astray in the absence of Pāndu, and she may also be partial to her own sons if Kunti the elder cowife followed the husband. She pleaded that the latter should be spared in the interest of the family.

अद्येवानुयास्यामि भर्तार मपिपलायनम् । नहि
तृप्तास्मि कामानां अष्टामागनुमान्यतम् ।। वर्त्ते य
न सभावृत्ति जात्वहं न सुतैषुते ।।

We also know of Krishna's wives Rukminī, Sahyā, Gāndhārī, Hemavatī and Jambavatī followed their husband on the funeral pyre.[3] Satyabhāmā, however, chose to enter the forest to do penance, *tapasyā*. But a large number of Mahābhārata heroes and Yādavas during a drunken bout in a family feud did not have widows on the funeral pyre, which means that becoming Sati was voluntary and not

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obligatory. But the Padmapurāṇa in Ch. 279 says that the wives of Yādavas followed their husbands on the pyre. The Rāmāyaṇa epic goes without reference to any practice of Sati.

In Kashmir in the early medieval period not only wives but mothers, sisters, sisters-in-law, and also servants, ministers, and nurses were burnt.

Kalhana narrates how a dancing girl (devadāsī) who loved king Utkarṣa burnt herself with his corpse as he committed suicide in her apartment (VII, 850-59). Sometimes ministers and other servants also willingly offered to join the dead master by burning themselves on the pyre. In 902 A.D. Śankaravarman died struck by an arrow aimed by a Chandala posted on a hill summit in the battle-field. Before dying he advised his chief queen Saugandhā not to burnhe rself with his dead body but keep herself alive to look after his son. The death was kept a secret as the army was on its march in an enemy territory. The royal body was cremated at a place called Botyāsaka, which lay within the king's empire. Two queens went Sati and one Jayasimha, an official, two servants Lādar and Vajraṣara also followed (V, 218-227). Kalasa (1063-1089), son of Ananta (1028-1063) succeeding his father when he committed suicide ruled about 25 years died as a result of overindulgence in sensual pleasures and his dead body was burnt along with Manmanikā and 6 other queens and a concubine Jayamatī. In another anecdote Kalhana narrates how after Harṣa (1089-1101 A.D.) had treacherously killed Malla at the instigation of Sahi kings of Afghanistan his consort Kumudlekhā, and Vallabhi, her sister, burned themselves inside the palace. Asamatī and Sahejā, Malla's daughters-in-law, wives of Salhana and Radha, fell on the same pyre and extinguished themselves. They were followed by six female attendants (VII, 1485-1489). Malla's mother who was watching the fate of her son from across the river also burnt herself to death.

Harita and Vyāsa support the Sati custom and praise all those women who burn themselves on the funeral pyre.

पूर्वभृता हरे दग्नि मन्वारूढाहरेदधम् ।
भर्तुर्घनममावेतु जीवान्तु सत्सुवन्धुषु ।।
ब्रहमघ्नेवा कृतघ्नेवाभित्रघ्ने येच्चदुष्कृतम् ।
भर्तुः पुनति सानारीतमादाय मृतानुयौ ।।
मृते भर्तरियानारी धर्मशीला दृढव्रता ।

(Hārita)

अनुगच्छतिभर्त्तारं तस्यास्तुयत्फलम् ।।
तिस्रः कोट्टाऽर्ध्व कोटिभयानिलोभानिमानिमानवेताव
न्त्यक सहस्राणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते ।।
मन्त्र ग्राही—यथा सर्ववला दुद्धरतेवलाइ ।
तद्वत्भर्तारमादाय मृतंयाति त्तपोवनात् ।।
मातृकं पितृकं त्चैवयत्रकन्या प्रदीयने ।
कुल त्रयंपुना त्येषाभर्त्तारं यानुगच्छति ।।

The Brahmapurāṇa is also an advocate of widow burning on the funeral pyre.

मृते भर्तरि सत्स्त्रीणांनचान्याविश्वतगतिः ।
नान्य द् भर्तृवियोगाति दाहप्रशमनेभवेत् ।।
देशान्तरमृने तोस्मिन् साध्वी स्त्री तत्पादुका द्वेयम् ।
निधायो रसि संशुद्धा प्रविशेज्जायतवेदसम् ।
ऋग्वेद वादात् साध्वीस्त्री नभवेत् आत्मघातिनी ।
त्र्यहाच्छौचेतु निर्वृत्ते श्राद्धंप्राप्नोति शाश्वतम् ।।

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Widow burning apart, a great majority of women outsidet he royal families were condemned to live as ascetic sublimising their sex and avoiding luxuries.

Lastly while everything is said about the medieval practice of Sati, it remains a fact that it was not a universal practice and only applied to high caste people.

The custom of Sati was supported by many law givers but was discouraged by Manu, Yajnavalkya, Viṣṇu, Nārada and Bṛhaspati.

According to Aparārka, a commentator on Yajnavalkya, ordinarily the Śruti, i.e., Veda prohibits immolation, even the widow entered the fire with her own will. On the other hand many medieval thinkers also discourage the practice of Sati but prescribe a life of extreme austerity.

Parthanasi:

मृतानु गमनंनास्ति ब्रह्मण्या ब्रह्मशासनम् ।
इतरेणांनु वर्णानाम् स्त्रीधर्मोन्यंपरः स्मृतः ।।
उपकारं यथाभर्तु जीवन्तोन तथामृता ।
करोति ब्राह्मणेश्रेयो भर्त्तुः शोकवतीसती ।।

Birata:

अनुवर्तेतजीवन्तं ननुयायान्मृतंपतिः ।
जीवेद् भर्तृहितकुर्य्याद् मरणादात्मघातिनी ।।

Angirah:

यास्त्री ब्राह्मणजातीयामृतपति मनुसा स्वर्गा ।
त्मघातेन नाऽत्मानं नपतिन्नयेत् ।।
व्याघ्रपातः न म्रियेत सस्त्रा ब्राह्मणीशोक ।
मोहितं प्रवज्यागतिमान्पीति मरणादार्तिघातिनी ।।

Viṣṇusmrti:

मृतेभर्तरि ब्रह्मचर्यं तदन्वाहरणंवा ।

Angirah's opinion above expressed goes counter to what he suggested earlier but others have spoken against the custom. By pravajyā the author means avoidance of enjoyment. This also means living the life of a monk abstaining from liquor, rich food, sexual intercourse, etc. To Viṣṇu, however, the abstinence is an alternative to being burnt alive on the pyre. But he has not shown preference to any particular course of action.

Aparārka commenting on Satī practices says that if a widow burns herself along with her husband on the same pyre out of extreme grief there is no blame. But there was no room for coercion.

It appears that although for centuries from the early period of history, the custom of Sati was practised, the law givers expressed contradictory views and on the whole there were very few who forced this practice on an unwilling widow.

Nepal: Boundary and Antiquity

In line 17 of the Changu Pillar Inscription there are 5 damaged letters. They are so damaged that none can decipher what these letters actually are. But Dhana Vajra makes a conjectural reading which comes to be filled as Śrī mannepāla rājyammahat. His intention is to show that the name 'Nepāla' was known to inscriptions from the very earliest time. The expression before the conjectural reading is 'kulakramadāgata', which literally means 'to have devolved on him through generations'. The writer intends to show that Mānadeva's ancestors were ruling over the kingdom since quite a long time.

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The conjecture might be true or not. But if it is correctly made, the reference to 'Nepāla' comes here as the earliest. Otherwise, the earliest record to mention Nepāla for the first time would be the Tistung stele of Vasantadeva.

Here the same writer hazards a conjecture about the frontier line of Nepal of the Lichchhavi kings. He thinks that Nepal existed within the boundary similarly extended as at present since the Lichchhavi period. But he forgets that the modern frontier lines of Nepal in the east and west were the creations of the British, with whom Nepal was compelled to sign a humiliating treaty in March, 1816. We have also seen some people arguing for the same case on the basis of a find of a few Lichchhavi coins at a place in the Mahakali and Seti zones. But this is just like trying to establish the extension of Kushana sovereignty in Nepal because a coin each of Kadphises I and II were traced in the Pasupati area of the Valley. The argument loses ground. The existence of some images and inscriptions of the period in Gorkha, about 50 miles west of Nepal Valley does certainly pose a problem and we are apt to assume that the frontier lines even farther by Aramudi's exploits on the bank of the Kālī Gandak near Palpa so vividly narrated by Kalhana in the 12th century. Kalhana, however, picked up his theme from the traditional account of Jayāditya Muktāpida's victorious march in the east of Kashmir. Possibly the tradition mistook the area governed by Aramudi for Nepal. If Aramudi's territory was Palpa, then obviously it was contiguous to Nepal. This gives us a clear idea of Nepal's size and boundary. Some writers take Lanjujaka of a ms. colophon of the 12th century as the present Lamjong, the name of a district in the upper reaches of the river Marsyangdi, not far from Gorkha. But Lamjong (fort) is a Tibetan word probably current in practice as the Gurungs of Tibetan origin descended into the Marsyangdi valley and gave it a name to this effect in the late middle ages. However, this emigration took place long after the Tibetan empire had disintegrated in the 11th century. Thus the attempt to push Nepal's frontier beyond Gorkha fails in its objective. Even Gorkha's claim to be an ancient site could be disputed. It is doubtful if the boundary line extended beyond the Trisuli Gandak valley in the west and the Sunkosi-Rosi confluence in the east.

The northern boundary could be the Himalayas just north of the Valley. But except the routes to Tibet, the border region was hardly under control. It was a hilly forest belt where no human beings lived. Similarly, the southern frontier lines could hardly have transversed beyond the Churia ranges. From Hiuen Tsang's account it appears that the areas from west to east, which we now call Nepalese Terai were separate political entities with no connection with Nepal. The tribal kingdoms of the Śakyas, Koliyas, Lichchhavis and members of the Videha clans had spread all over the Terai region in the 6th century B.C. Later there sprang a Khasa raj in the western hills and Terai. In the same way Maithili kings since the late 11th century, Nānyadeva and his successors controlled the larger part of eastern Terai. Then came Danwars and Danuwars. Before this, today's Terai was either no man's land or ruled in parts by tribal chiefs in the time following the Vṛjjis. At any rate the Terai was never a part of Nepal until the Baisi and Chaubisis extended their respective southern frontiers to cover these areas. The state of Nepal must have existed within the hills north of the forest belt in and around the Valley what was known as Nepāla.

The frontier of Nepal in the south is exaggerated much more than what is warranted by facts. To the question of estimating the actual extent of territory we shall come a little later. But in the south Nepal must have not comprised area beyond the Churia ranges and that also at one point south of the Valley. It is quite likely that Nepal of old had in the south roughly the same boundary as far as the Churia ranges. In the south, again, the frontier line extended west to east from no defined lines. All was jungle south of the Valley and south of the Banepa-Khopasi and Trisuli Gandak hilly regions. In the mountains it did not surely cover the basins of the rivers Bheri and Karnali and not even those of Rapti and seven Gandaks in the west. In the west Terai the present districts of Taulihawa (Kapilavastu) and Majhkhand to the immediate west of the River Gandak did not fall within Nepal. Hiuen Tsang who visited Kapilavastu, Lumbini and Ramagrama, all important historical sites in this area, does not say anything about their relations with Nepal. There is not

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even a distant reference to Nepal while he describes these places. It appears that Nepal's western boundary in the Terai did not extend beyond the Gandak. East of Kapilavastu about 40 miles (200 li), the Chinese Buddhist traveller noted to have passed the deserted capital of the Koliya clan, Ramagrama; Hiuen Tsang said that the country was 'laid waste and wild' and its population was scanty at the time he visited. The Koliyas were Buddha's mother's paternal family.[1] It is quite possible that the Koliyas occupied the area from the border of the river Gandak westwards covering the present Parasi district of Nepal and a part of the Deoria in U.P. But this was a very old story. In our time the Koliyas were long extinct as were the Śakyas. But what is of interest to us is the fact of Hiuen Tsang's observation about these tribes. Hiuen Tsang did not notice any political connection of this area with Nepal.

Coming to the eastern boundary the Nepalese documents do not mention any places to have been within Nepal beyond Dolkha. But we can push the frontier line to the Tāmākosi. However, this does not apply to the ancient period.

To sum up, Nepal was situated over the hilly region extending west to east from the river Budhi Gandak to the river Sunkosi and a little further. The actual line probably lay between the river Trisuli Gandak in the west and confluence of the Sunkosi and Rosi in the east. The northern line probably touched the snowy ranges of the Himalayas. There could be a confusion as to the southern boundary. In all probability the boundary might lie along the Churia ranges.

At the same time we can also suggest a patch of territory like a no-man's land between Nepal and its southern neighbour whose frontier touched the outskirt of the forest belt.

Hiuen Tsang's Kama-lupo (Kamarupa) is identified with west Assam of the British Indian Empire. We know that there intervened a large territory between Kamarupa and Nepal, and this is in evidence as we go through the inscriptions available to us in North Bengal in the district of Dīnajpur and Murshidabad. The grant of land in the former by a Pāla king for the Kokāmukhavarāhaswāmi in the copper plate records shows who was ruling over the Varahaksetra region. North of this the region which is called the Kiratadesa, the land of the seven Kosis, was situated. As Gauda constituted territories like Malda and Murshidabad districts at the northern end between Assam and North Bihar in the 5th century A.D. we are sure that as no name of Nepal comes to have been a contiguous country in their north, we could not even imagine that Gauda comprised Nepal's eastern hills. On no account Nepal's eastern boundary could be stretched as far as Assam. We have sufficient ground to believe on Puranic traditions and Hiuen Tsang's travel accounts that Hiuen Tsang called Gauda the country of Karṇasuvarṇa (kiecka)—lo-na-su fa-fa-la-na. The country is said to be far from Tamralipti to its northwest at a distance of 700 li, about 140 miles. The country referred to is certainly what they called Gauda, now west Bengal, whose border touched the foothills of the sub-Himalayan region in the north. It appears that in Samudragupta's time all this area came within Pundravardhana. The writer of the inscription of Harisena did not try to know that a considerable stretch lay between Assam and Nepal both in the plains and hills and he had no knowledge of the hill areas at all. In the same way he did not know that the eastern border of Kartipura, the modern Kumaon, was not contiguous to Nepalese border of the west. Between Nepal and Kartipura there lay a large patch of territory which was either uninhabited or if it was inhabited people owed allegiance to none. I do not know how Dhanavajra could say that the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Harisena placed Nepal between Kumaon and Assam with contiguous border with both the countries in the west and east. Although Nepala is placed as a frontier kingdom between Kamrupa and Kartipura in the list of countries lying across the frontiers of Samudragupta's Empire, there is never any suggestion as to their boundary and contiguity. The line 22 mentions the frontier kings (pratyantanripati) in the passage thus: Samatata-davāka Kāmarupa Nepāla Kartipurādi pratyanta nṛpatibhi Mallavārjunayana Yaudheya Madrakābhira Prārjuna sanakanīkakākakharaprikādibhiścha sarvakaradānājñakaraṇapraṇāmāgamana paritosisita śāsanasya. J.F. Fleet[2] translates the line as 'Whose imperious commands were fully gratified by giving (all kinds) of taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance by the frontier kings of Samatata, Davāka, Kāmarupa, Nepāla, Kartripura and other countries and by Mālavas, Arjunayanas,

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Yaudheyas, Mādrakas, Ābhiras, Prārjunas, Sanakanikas, Kakas, Kharaparikas and other tribes'. Fleet interprets by ādibhiścha that Malavas and other countries also lay outside the frontier of the Empire.

Nothing concrete about the contiguity of Nepāla with Kamarupa on the one hand and Kartipura (Kumaon) on the other is available to us. We should not think of the present boundaries of Kumaon (division), Nepal and Assam (which has 4 states, Assam, Meghālaya, Mizoram and Arunachal at the moment) to imagine that Assam covered Bhutan and Sikkim as well as North Bengal and Kumaon did not include areas east of the river Mahakali. There were large stretches of territory in between Assam and Nepal and Nepal and Kumaon which were forests and hills and they were not parts of any kingdom. It appears that the author of the inscriptions had no knowledge of Geography. He knew just one fact that there were kings whose principalities lay outside the Gupta Empire and these were Assam, Nepal and Kartipura. Perhaps all these lay to the north and northeast of Magadha.

The suggestion that these countries were the frontier kingdoms whose rulers the scribe must have seen at the court of Samudragupta came off hand. Whether it is in the east or west Nepal's frontier line did never touch Kamarupa or Kartipura he did not take note of, nor contiguity of Nepāla with Assam and Kartipura were known to him.

Hiuen Tsang said that Nepal was 4000 li (660 to 800 miles) in circuit. He mentions several states, one of them Kapilavastu having the same circuit (4000 li). But it is difficult to explain how it could be adjusted to the length and breadth which can only be imagined. I think as Sir Alexander Cunningham once surmised that the location of the kingdom of Nepal can only be the part covered by the Valley and surrounding areas to a little extent. The outline of the frontier which we have drawn in the last paragraph will fit in the scheme of Cunningham's description. But the exact size of Nepal is difficult to assess. However, we cannot take Hiuen Tsang's note on its face value, and we must also know that Cunningham is not a very reliable geographer to interpret the Chinese pilgrim's notes.

For the present it is immaterial whether Hiuen Tsang visited Nepal or wrote his notes in Vaisali or Vrzzi (Chen-shu-na). Hiuen Tsang's note is not conspicuous for its exactness. He was not a correct observer and he made mistakes as Fa-shien two hundred years earlier did. He suffered from handicaps of language, and he did not always find reliable guides. Even with this the distance measured by him would not have been correct as it was a guess work. The account of his going to Nepal is also subject to doubt. If his account is based on heresy then certainly it could not be accepted as the whole truth.

Hiuen Tsang comes to describe Nepal after Fu-li-chih (Vrjji) where he reaches from Shih-fei-to-pu-lo (Svetapur) after travelling north-east 500 li (84 miles). The capital of Fu-li-chih was Chen-shu-na. There were Buddhist monasteries of both sects, as well as Brahmanical temples. But Watters suggests that Hiuen Tsang did not actually visit Fu-li-chih. All that he wrote about the country and Nepal (Ni-po-lo) was based on heresy accounts he obtained while in Vaisali. The details of the journey from Vaisali to Vrzzi is lacking as the journey from Vrzzi to Ni-po-lo. According to Hiuen Tsang Nepal was situated 1500 li or 250 miles north of Fo-li-chi. But he does not give a description of his journey nor the points through which he walked. He proceeds straight to give its location, size, people, etc., as he does so about the distance from the Vrzzi country, a fact which we have already mentioned. There are significant observations in the narrative but it does not in any way fully indicate if he had personally visited Nepal, the capital or any part of it. In the pilgrim's notes there is a reference to the capital 20 li in circumference, but its name is missing. It is approached through mountains. Therefore scholars are divided over the question of Hiuen Tsang's visit to this country. Watters who has the translation of the life of Hiuen Tsang to his credit casts his doubts but thinks it not improbable. However, the narrative about the pond and the royal palace must have been based on Wang Huen Tse's account as contained in Fang-chih, Ch. 2. This source places Ni-po-lo and Fo-li-chi in North India but the pilgrim calls them to have been situated in Mid India. S. Beal who translates the pilgrim's notes and life by a disciple does not give credit to the story of the pilgrim's visit to Nepal. Cunningham in his book 'Ancient Geography of India' improvised in the light of Hiuen Tsang's travel cannot even by implication suggest that Hiuen Tsang actually visited Vrzzi or

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Nepal. But it is surprising that he fixes even dates for the visit. The treatment looks superfluous and observation lacks serious approach.

As a matter of fact the pilgrim's journey to Vrzzi and Nepal is just noted with 'the distance' but no events or description connected with the journey or places he passed through, back and forth, finds mention. The noting on his return to Vaisali also arouses suspicion. The commentator says nothing about how he came to Vaisali. He just mentions 'From Vaisali he came to Magadha (Mo-kei-to)' omitting the other part to say that he came back to Vaisali (Watters, Pt. II, p. 84). But S. Beal's translation mentions both Vrzzi and Nepal with the expression 'After li (direction) we come to or arrive at'.

Julien, the French translator of Hiuen Tsang's life, believes inadvertently that the pilgrim had visited both Vrzzi and Nepal. But S. Levi who has a standard volume exclusively devoted to studies of Nepal to his credit contradicts him, and thinks that Julien had inadvertently made an error.

Julien had come to a conclusion which goes against his own argument. It was suggested by him in the beginning of his note that two words 'hing' and 'Tchen' were used in the sense of walking and reaching respectively when Hiuen Tsang's movements were narrated. Tchen in Chinese carried a general meaning to indicate an approximate distance to reach a particular place in Hiuen Tsang's travel, while 'hing' meant that the pilgrim had walked. The word 'Tchen' has been used in the case of Hiuen Tsang's visit to Nepal, but in the case of others including Vrzzi (Fo-li-chi) the account uses 'hing' and this S. Levi argues should decide the fact that the pilgrim had not visited Nepal. He might have, however, travelled as far as Vrzzi country. But the account of travel back from Vrzzi to Vaiśālī to Magadha made in similar condition as his supposed travel to Nepal looks different. This, however, we can ignore as we know that he gives the impression of walking to such places in his account.

Taken as a whole the argument about the Chinese pilgrim's visit is irrelevant, and so is his observation about the circuit 4000 li because even if he had visited Vrzzi and Nepal the areas involved in the circuit he mentioned in his note are far from being correct.

But Hiuen Tsang's note serves a very important purpose. For the first time we learn from a Chinese source about Nepal, that it existed as far back in the mid 7th century and it was in a flourishing condition.

Antiquity

Nepal, however, was known to Indian literature and inscriptions quite earlier. Leaving aside minor sources, the first reliable authority to take notice of Nepal is Kautilya. He mentions Nepalese wool of a particular description:

अष्टप्रोति संघात्या कृष्णाभिङ्गिसी वर्षवारणमपसारक इतिनैपालिकम् ।

(2.11.100)

Kangle (II, p. 119) translates the passage as follows: 'The black bhingisi, made out of a collection of eight woven strands (and) the apasaraka which keeps of train that is woollen cloth from Nepal.'

The next authority is the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Harisena, Samudragupta's minister (date line worn off). Here while mentioning frontier kingdoms and tribes in the Gupta empire the writer places Nepal along with Samatata, Kāmarupa, Dvāka, Nepāla and Kartipura (सर्वकरदां आज्ञाकरण प्रणामागमन परितोषितः) as frontier kings paying tributes.

Harisena's inscription predates Changu Pillar inscription of Mānadeva by about one hundred years.

The Artharva Parisistha has placed Nepal along with Udumbara and Kamarupa (Weller, Ind. Studien, VIII, 413, X, 319). In the Brhatkatha Paiśāchi of Guṇadhya there is a line about one Raja Yaśaketu who was ruling in the city of Siva in Nepāladeśa (Somadeva, Kathasaritsagara, XII, 22,

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V. 3; Ksemendra, Brhatkathamanjari, IX, V, 728). In the sixth century A.D. Varāhamihira has mentioned Nepal along with certain other hill principalities (Levi, II, 63). Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra has also a like reference (XIII, 32). Śuśruta whose age is fixed before the 4th century A.D. also talks of Nepal but this might not be a part of the original text. The Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya which was traced out by I-tsing in 700 A.D. gives a story about how Buddha persuaded some of his disciples not to enter Nepal, as in his conception the country was impassable, and full of ferocious tribes (Levi, II, p. 181) and wild animals who attacked travellers.

The great Varāhamihira, a reputed astronomer of the latter half of the 5th century A.D., is another reliable authority. In his well-known book 'Brhajjātaka' he mentions Nepal twice. We quote the two passages from Brhajjātaka (with Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary):

भिन्नः सितेनमगधान् यवनान् प्रलिन्दान् । नेपाल भृङ्गि मरूकच्छ सुराष्ट्र मद्रान् । पाञ्चाल कैकय, कुलूतक पूरूषादान् हन्याहुशिनरजनानपि सप्तमासानू । IV, 22

अन्तर्वेदी सरयूं नेपालं पूर्व सागरम् शोणम् स्त्री नृपयोधकुमारीन् सहविद्वद्भिर्वुधोहन्ति । V, 65

I do not think that in view of the above materials we need any more evidence of Nepal's antiquity, and we may conclude that though Nepal's first available inscription is dated 464-68 A.D. (S. 386), its history goes back much earlier.

In the third part of the record viz the Changu Pillar Inscription there is a story of Mānadeva's conquest of Mallapuri in his westward march. He crosses the river Gandaki which is turbulent in its flow. King Mānadeva had a force of infantry, cavalry and elephants and after crossing the river Gandaki he reaches Mallapuri and quells it after challenging the feudatories who succumb to his valour.

Mānadeva's claim to victory over the feudatories and Mallapuri might not be disputed. But the identity of Mallapuri is yet to be established. Some say that it was somewhere in the present two districts of Gorakhpur and Deoria of the U.P. State, on the Indo-Nepalese border which then constituted the kingdom of Mallas. Others support the claim of Gulmi and Parbat districts of hilly Nepal in the central west zone as the course of the river which in its turbulence answers the description of the inscription which certainly points to a mountainous river. But as this is dealt with in detail in our book 'Ancient Nepal', we see no utility to pursue the matter at this stage.

2. Naravarmmā's Inscription of Lazimpat

This is an inscription of Naravarmmā, who had set up a Śiva linga in the area called Lazimpat now quite close to the Royal Palace to its north.

The king's name is missing in the damaged portion. But the date Samvat *388 Jyeṣṭha śukla 14* falls with the regnal years of Mānadeva, S. 386-427. So there is no doubt that the ruling king by whose grace (as the donor admits), the linga was set up was none else than Mānadeva.

It will be seen that from the history of ancient Nepal that Śiva and Viṣṇu were the principal deities of the royal family, and inscriptions testify to their devotion as they speak of the installation of the Viṣṇu images or Śiva lingas.

3. Trivikrama base inscriptions of Lazimpat and Pasupati area

In both the inscriptions on the base of both the images of Trivikrama Viṣṇu in Lazimpat and Tilaganga (Pasupati area) there is a reference to Mānadeva who had built the temples. The date is 389 *Vaiśākha śukla diva 2.* The inscriptions commemorate the occasion of the establishment of the image of Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu in a temple for the enhancement of the merit of his mother Rājyavatī.

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At the moment the images exist without any shrine to house them. The Trivikrama images are so excellently carved on stone that they can stand in comparison with the best art objects of contemporary India. They represent Nepal's highest achievement in art in ancient age.

The Vāmana (dwarf) form of Viṣṇu in his 5th incarnation is generally described in Visnuite literature. Some other conclusions relating to the images and inscriptions will come for discussion in the compendium volume 'Ancient Nepal' (4th edition).

4. Trivikrama base inscription near Pasupati

This inscription also occurs on the pedestal of a similar image of Trivikrama in the Pasupati area across the river in a field. It bears the same date line.

A Nepalese writer has tried to make capital out of the Trivikrama image to prove that the Mongoloid Kirātas had helped enough to keep high the banner of Nepal's independence as against imperialist thrust from the Gangetic plain.

Seeing that a horse standing in the Bali-Vāmana scene in the panel in the two stones, Lazimpat and Tilaganga and in two others (Changu and Pharping) and connecting this story with the horse on the capital of the Lumbini pillar of Aśoka, which had fallen down hit by a lightning according to Hiuen Tsang (and now lost) a writer creates a cock and bull story that it was Sthunko, a Kirāta ruler belonging to a fictitious dynasty of Nepal, who out of a desire to avenge the imposition of Aśoka's domination over this country had deliberately struck the capital of the pillar and let the horse fall down. Mānadeva had only commemorated the occasion by presenting the same horse in the panel by which the writer intended to convey a sense of revenge through art by Mānadeva for Nepal's defeat at the hands of Aśoka. But is fact very little is known of the Kirāta dynasty, their identity, the area they ruled over and how they stood in the overall situation in the geopolitical context of the sub-continent in those days. The Aśokan Pillar was set up in honour of the Buddha and no one except an infidel would work to destroy it. So even if Sthunko was a historical figure he would not touch the sacred pillar if he was not barbarous himself. And why should Mānadeva, a pious man, be zealous enough to give honour to Sthunko, an iconoclast revenger. So the story of Sthunko's exploits is absurd.

Trivikrama is the name of the incarnation of Viṣṇu in the form of a dwarf. The Amarakośa (1/1/20) gives Trivikrama as one of the names of Viṣṇu. He was called Trivikrama because he had conquered the three worlds. In Mahābhārata (13/149/69) he is addressed as ānanda, nandanodaṇḍa, satya dharmmastrivikramah. Viṣṇu had placed his three legs, one in heaven, one in the sky and one on the earth according to the response of Bali, the king of the underworld, who had conquered the three worlds of Gods, Gandharvas and men.

The *Harivamśa* calls him Trivikrama, because by his three steps he had conquered the three worlds of heaven, sky and earth. He had put his three legs on the earth to deceive Bali who had agreed to give him a piece of land covered by his three steps (Balivanchanārtham bhu vyoma svarbhu pādānyāso).

The story goes that the vanquished gods driven from their home in heaven propitiated Viṣṇu who promised to restore them their dwelling. He became a dwarf Brahmana and went to Bali who was celebrating his victory by performing a horse sacrifice (aśvamedha). As the dwarf reached king Bali's place of sacrificial altar (vedi) it was a time when he was offering gifts to Brahmanas. Seeing a dwarf Brahmana the king asked him to tell him what he needed and he promised to fulfil the demand. Viṣṇu in dwarf incarnation knew what should be his demand (they were lands covered by his three paces) and he asked the king to give him just a plot of land covered by three steps. On Bali assenting that the dwarf Brahmana would get it, the three steps were measured. But it so turned out that it was no longer a dwarf stretching his little legs. It was the great Viṣṇu himself appearing with all emblems and with three legs, one raised upward stepping into heaven, another into the sky and yet another into the earth.

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In Śruti Trivikrama is said to have put forward his three paces (tri pādānivichakrame) over the earth, sky and heaven. The Harivamśa states further:

Trirityevam trayolokah kīrtita muni sattamaih vikramamanstutah sarvanstri vikramosi Janārdana, which will read in translation: 'Oh Janardana, you have conquered the three worlds, and you were famous for it and you are praised always by sages.' Mānadeva was a devotee of Viṣṇu as the Changu Pillar shows. He had chosen Trivikrama for worship to cause enhancement of his mother's merits.

There are at least 4 bas relief images of Trivikrama, one in Lazimpat, one in Tilaganga (across the Bagmati near Pasupati), one in Changu and the last in Pharping. All reveal excellent workmanship.

5. Śivalinga Inscription of Kṣemasundarī at Lazimpat

This inscription on a Śiva linga set up by Kṣemasundarī dated 390 *Jyeṣṭha* month, bright fortnight, 7th day shows the donor as one of the wives of Mānadeva. Kṣemasundarī is here called a wife (*patnī*) of Mānadeva. The word *patnī* signifies the married status of the woman. But we do not know if she enjoyed the status of a queen.

We should not confuse the poet's flight of imagination with the real character of the historical personage concerned whose portrait is drawn in the panegyric. Nor the respect shown to deities within Brahmanical fold or even outside by a person, be he a king, prince, minister or feudatory or a citizen should be exaggerated to emphasise a sense of tolerance as something extraordinary and exceptional to Nepal. This was a common feature in the whole of ancient south Asia as it is now at the present time. There was nothing exclusively venerated Śaivism or Viṣṇuism or Shaktism or even Buddhism in those days. It is known to all that although the Gupta emperors called themselves *Paramabhāgavata*, they set up Śiva lingas and made bounteous offering to the Buddhist Sanghas both of Hināyāna and Mahāyāna sects. Their inscriptions bear testimony to their love and regard for all sects and religious beliefs. We shall have to say more and with historical proofs on this subject later.

6. Inscription on a Śivalinga on the hillock near Budhānilakantha

This inscription like the first of the series is Mānadeva's own which he got inscribed on a Śiva linga in Samvat 395, first *Āṣāḍha*, bright fortnight, 12th day and is also important for Mānadeva's devotion to Śiva. The whole inscription except the date line contains stanzas in praise of Śiva. Mānadeva is here called *nṛpati* and there is no word of eulogy.

The expression first Āṣāḍha readily suggests that there is also the second Āṣāḍha implying that the month was intercalated. Hereafter we shall find that whenever an intercalated month finds mention it is either Āṣāḍha or Pauṣa and no other month. Intercalation of Pauṣa or Āṣāḍha is unknown to inscriptions in India. But two astronomers, Nārada and Bhāradvāja, talk of Āṣāḍha and Pauṣa intercalation, and they have laid down a rule by which if a month is intercalated within a certain period of 6 months, either Pauṣa or Āṣāḍha is intercalated depending on the order. The Vedānga astronomy has a similar method of intercalation in the five yearly yuga system, one occurring in Āṣāḍha at the end of 2½ years and another in Pauṣa at the end of the fifth year. Nārada and Bhāradvāja differ as to the order; one takes the ayana system and the other the chaitradi year system.

The problem, however, is complicated because of the question of verification. We have therefore shifted the argument to a later place devoting exclusively a larger space to it. But let us look into the subject briefly to explain the characteristics of Bhāradvāja-Nārada system.

Astronomical Data

As we go through the inscriptions we notice two important features.

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First, none of the inscriptions except two show week days, and these belong to the later period and occur at the interval of nearly 300 years.

Second, wherever intercalated months have come to view they are shown either in Pauṣa or Āṣāḍha and in no other months.

The epoch years being so far not determined we are unable to fix a chronology of kings of the period. There is, however, circumstantial evidence which might help us to give approximate dates, but they are only approximates, and we shall have to conduct further enquiries to arrive at conclusive dates for the epochs.

The following are the verifiable dates as they give us week days: (1) The Changu Narayan Kavacha (coat) Inscription 31 Māghaśukla 13 Puṣyanakṣatra Saviturdine verified for Sunday, February 4, 608 A.D. (Śaka 529); (2) Sahottaratantra S. 301 Mādhavemāsi (Vaiśākha) Śukla Saptamyām Puṣya (asterism) Daśaśatakiraṇe (Sunday) Siddhiyoge verified for Śaka 800, 878 A.D. April 13, Sunday (expired). The tithi śukla (.48) Puṣyanakṣatra (.56). The ending moment of 7th tithi is after 29 ghati (11 hours 30 minutes) and of Puṣyanakṣatra 33½ ghati (13 hours and 30 minutes).

Now the question is as to why only Pauṣa or Āṣāḍha of some particular years is intercalated and not other months in any year.

We have found that there are 7 cases of intercalary months which could be divided into two groups, one group with Pauṣa intercalations and the second group with Āṣāḍha intercalations:

Dates in Inscription	*Month Intercalated*	*Śaka years Expired True or Spasta*	*Concurrent True or Spasta*	*Years Mean*
Viṣṇumati hill S. 395	Āṣāḍha	394	S. 395 (Bhādra)	Āśvina
Bahalukha S. 435	Pauṣa	435 (Āṣāḍha)	436 (Āṣāḍha)	Chaitra
Satungal S. 449	Āṣāḍha	448 (Kārtika)	449 (Kārtika)	Pauṣa
Brahmatol S. 479	Āṣāḍha	478 (Bhādra)	479 (Bhādra)	Kārtika
Deopatan S. 487	Āṣāḍha	486 (Āśvina)	487 (Āśvina) Phalguna	Pauṣa
Budhanilakantha 517	Āṣāḍha	516 (Bhādra)	517 (Bhādra)	Āśvina
Satungal 519	Pauṣa	519 (Āṣāḍha)	520 (Āṣāḍha)	Āṣāḍha
(Inayatol Bhadgaon) 31	Pauṣa	529		
Sundhara 34	Pauṣa	532		
Motitar 250	Āṣāḍha			

We have here definitely a system which differs from the intercalation system usually adopted by the siddhāntas. But if we trace the history of this kind of intercalation we shall find that this is rooted in the Vedānga astronomical system. We have the same months intercalated in the Vedāṅga system as we have seen in the system prevailing in our inscriptions. The Vedāṅga Joytisa proceeds from a

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five yearly yuga system and it has two intercalated months within this period, once at the end of 2½ years and the other at the end of five years. The months involved are (1) Āṣāḍha, the month at the end of the first period, and (2) Pauṣa at the end of the second period.

The system, however, is linked with the sun at the Nakṣatra Dhanistā in the beginning and half of Aśleṣā in the middle. The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa system seems to prevail in Kauṭilya's time and a littel further uptill the 1st century A.D. when the Sūrya Siddhānta came into the field and it introduced a new system of intercalation.[3]

Under the Sūrya Siddhānta the intercalation of a lunar month takes place when there is no Sankānti in a lunar month (amāvāsyā to amāvāsyā), i.e., the first day of the solar month does not occur (asakrāntimāsa). It also introduces a system of Kṣaya month in condition when there are 2 sankrantis within a lunar month. The Kṣaya means a lost month.

Whenever there is a Kṣaya month, we have two lunar months intercalated, the first is the third month preceding and the second occurs in the third month following.

Intercalation of a lunar month is necessary to create a balance between the lunar and solar month in view of 11 days' difference in a year by which the former is short of the latter. The main purpose is to remove the imbalance caused by this factor in the observance of festivals, which is seasonal in character and occurs according to the lunar calendar. If there was no intercalation then the seasonal character of festivals would have been disturbed and a festival occasion which should have occurred in autumn might occur in rainy season or at any time in rotation without regard to its basic seasonal character.

Our calendar is luni-solar. The solar month is of nearly 30½ days and lunar month of 29½ days (according to tithi). Consequently the solar year is 365 days 15 ghatika and some palas while the lunar month is of 354 days. In about 32-33 months there occurs a doubled month. In actual terms a lunar month is doubled after 2 years 8 months and 17 days and then it is brought in line with the solar month.

By astronomical calculation one comes to know beforehand as to which month is intercalated. It is a lunar amānta month without a Sankranti, which means that the solar month has started before the New Moon day of a particular lunar month has gone beyond the next New Moon day. Therefore the lunar month is without a Sankranti meaning the sun is still a little far from the new sign of zodiac (rāśi) at both ends. So nearly the difference of a month occurs which has got to be filled by intercalating that particular lunar month. The doubling causes the following month to become a part of the intercalated month so that there are two lunar months bearing the same name.

The system of Pauṣa-Āṣāḍha intercalation which the ancient inscriptions followed in Nepal is unlike the system of Vedāṅga astronomy. The Vedāṅga astronomy does automatically work to cause intercalation at the 30th (Āṣāḍha) and then the month at the end of the yuga but it is so only if other things are equal. However, we have now to tread a new ground. Our system works on the basis of the months actually intercalated. There is a rule which is referred to by two noted astronomers, Nārada and Bhāradvāja. Each envisages two 6 monthly periods, one bringing about doubling of Pauṣa and another doubling of Āṣāḍha. But they differ as regards the months in the grouping.

Bhāradvāja seems to follow the lunar ayanādi year as his year begins with Māgha śukla, the first part ending with Āṣāḍha causing Pauṣa intercalation and the second, starting with Śrāvaṇa and ending with Pauṣa to cause intercalation of Āṣāḍha.

Nārada follows the Chaitrādi year. The two periods of the Nārada cover months Chaitra to Bhādra, and then in the second phase, Āśvina to Phālguna. The first group brings about Āṣāḍha intercalation while the second causes Pauṣa to intercalate. Here we must remember that it is not actually Āṣāḍha and Pauṣa months which are intercalated unlike in the Vedāṅga system. The intercalated months might be these months but months other than these two also are intercalated according to the rule. But this is not so important as the group system, Chaitrādi or Māghādi lunar, which shows Āṣāḍha or Pauṣa intercalation as the case may be. The verification and other problems will be discussed at their proper place.

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This is no place for a discussion of the epoch of the eras involved in the two sets of inscriptions. We shall do so in another volume. For the present it will suffice to observe that the system of intercalary Āṣāḍha and Pauṣa of our inscriptions is referred to in a particular text of astronomy called Sumati Siddhanta. But more than that the most important text is the Dharmanirṇaya Tithi Sāra Saṅgraha, the source and age of which are unknown. The text as a whole does not concern with the study of astronomy, but the passages which talk of Pauṣa and Āṣāḍha intercalation do and our main thesis depends on them. The passages look obscure but they are relevant.

The source of the passage in the *Dharmanirṇaya Tithi Sāra Saṅgraha* is unknown. A part of this passage introducing Nārada's scheme looks similar to the passage in Sumati Siddhanta but we have no knowledge of how Bhāradvāja's scheme which is available in the Sumati Siddhanta came to be adopted in this text, and when we know that it was Bhāradvāja whose scheme was followed and not Nārada's, we are all the more curious to know of the source; until we get a full text of the Siddhanta, we can only speculate. We also want to look into the text of the copy available in Kerala. But at any rate we can entertain a view that originally the Siddhanta included the scheme of Bhāradvāja and the passage is missing as it is a fragmentary manuscript.

Both Bhāradvāja and Nārada are little known as astronomers. The passages in Sumati Siddhānta and *Tithi Sāra Saṅgraha* are the only extant sources which tell us something about these astronomers. Their astronomical works are not available. They were certainly as ancient as our first inscription, otherwise the inscription of S. 395 (Visnumati hill inscription) would not have shown an intercalary Āṣāḍha, when we know that according to Surya Siddhanta the month intercalated is Bhādra of S. 394. Obviously the Nārada-Bhāradvāja scheme of intercalating Pauṣa and Āṣāḍha is a new device, which is very much related to Surya Siddhanta, though distantly it is inspired by the Vedanga astronomical system as regards the months intercalated. But when these astronomers flourished and wrote their thesis we do not know. It will be of great benefit to the historians and to the astronomers in general if we can get the original works of Bhāradvāja and Nārada. And there is one aspect of the scheme, to which our attention is drawn autonomically. This is the currency of the scheme only in Nepal and in no other parts of India. This fact is unusual and is significant for us.

7. Stone Inscription of Vishalnagar, Tuṇaldevi

It is true that the stone with inscription has nothing to do with the illustration as Gnoli has shown in his book. But it is not carved on wood as he says. It is carved on another piece of stone at the south western corner as a part of the platform. The date is of no significance. The picture of Bhairava (?) is done on a separate slab of stone in the same row of the platform. However the date is 397 Jyeṣṭha māsa śukla diva 2 and this might help us to establish a link between the inscriptions.

8. Deopatan Inscription of Ratnasangha

In both inscriptions of Ratnasangha on Śivaliṅga at Deopatan near the sanctuary of Pasupatinath, the donor is Sārthabāha Ratnasangha. A Sārthabāha in the Dictionary means the leader of merchants or pilgrims. Sārtha by itself means a travelling company of merchants or caravans. In olden days people travelled in large company with protective weapons, because the highway was desolate and there was fear of ferocious animals and dacoits. Nobody could think of a travel either alone or in a small company if one was to avert disaster. Sārthabāha Ratnasangha of our inscriptions represented merchant community, and the reference shows that there was a flourishing trade between Nepal and the outside world or within the four corners of the country for the internal trade.

Sārthavāha occurs as an important dignitary in the inscriptions of contemporary India, specially in the north and north-east. Nagara Śreṣṭha Rivupāla and Sārthavāha Vasumitra figure in the inscription of Mahārājā Jayadatta under Pm Md Budhagupta at the viṣaya (district) of Kotivarṣaviṣaya

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(Damodarpur). The C.P. bears the seal of Kotivarṣaviṣaya. It records a donation by the lord of the viṣaya in the reign of Budhagupta with Gupta year 115 (=495 A.D.) in honour of Svetavarāha with his abode in the Himalayas (the present Varāhatīrtha in Nepal near the source of Chatrā canal). In the C.P. inscription of the year 224 (=542 A.D.) with more or less the same details but with M.

9. Deopatan Inscription on Śivalinga, Prabhukeśvara

This inscription in a courtyard of a house in Deopatan belongs to the reign of Mānadeva. It records the setting up of the image in the name of Prabhusangha by the leader of a merchant community, Ratnasangha. This had recorded grants of land at several places in donations to Lord Prabhukeśvara. The date is 402 Jyeṣṭha śukla pakṣa divā 13. There is a donation of lands at different places.

10. Te-bahal (Kathmandu) Inscription of Guhamitra

This inscription dated Samvat 402 without particulars mentions king Mānadeva's rule, at the date while he consecrated the image of the Sun God called Indra. The donor is Sārthavāha (leader of the merchant community) Guhamitra.

The Sun God being talked in the inscription should suggest that there was a separate cult of this God. The Sun is one of the 12 ādityas. He is named Indra here. Both might mean Vedic conceptions of Viṣṇu in 12 forms.

11. Inscription in the Compound of Paśupati on a Śivalinga

The three-line inscription of the time of Mānadeva was inscribed by Jayalambha who established the Śiva linga with the blessing of his king's feet, and for his merit. The date is 413 Jyeṣṭha śukla diva 11. The donations: bhumi 450 piṇḍakaṁ 200, the income to go for the expenses required for Kāraṇapūjā.

The Kāraṇapūjā occurs here for the first time and needs to be explained what its characteristics are. At several places Kāraṇa pūjā comes for mention with its paraphernalia, which provide knowledge of its essential features. This, however, is explained in detail in the book 'Ancient Nepal'. However, we can take a brief notice of the nature of the Pūjā at this stage.

Kāraṇapūjā

Kāraṇapūjā in general is a worship offered to a deity. Its form might be tantric or non-tantric. When it is tantric it is accompanied with the offer of alcohol and meat. In the other case, the alcohol is completely absent and meat is avoided. Kāraṇa literally means a deity who is the cause of the universe, according to lexicon.

The Kāraṇapūjā, which we have mentioned here, is non-tantric involving no use of alcohol and meat in the worship. To meet the expense of the pūjā, there was a donation of land, which yielded in grains specially paddy as rent or revenue for the year. The period is not mentioned but we guess it so as the quantity is large enough. The expenditure was to be met out of sale proceeds of the paddy realised in payment.

The following are the inscriptions entioning Kāraṇapūjā in addition to the one we have under notice here:

1. Khaprinchhe water conduit, n. 26, where a pūjā for the sage Vaiśampāyana is mentioned.
2. Kevalpur n. 101, for the worship of Narayanaswami in Nupunna village.
3. The Patan (Gairidhara) inscription (n. 121), dated S. 83 gives a description of how the pūjā was to be performed. The additional information provided is about the cleaning, plastering and other decorative features in the temple.

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4. The 4th and last source (n. 136) is the Balambu inscription of Śivadeva. It talks of the temple of Puttīnārāyaṇa and Kāraṇapūjā of the deity. A village by name Dāvākoṭṭa is donated by the king for this purpose as well as for the repair of the temple and image enshrined therein. The revenue of the village so long acquired by the State treasury was now diverted to this end.

The Kāraṇapūjā as described by the Gairidhara inscription is the performance of worship by persons of divine knowledge and those engaged in religious acts, who are also men of noble character and conduct. The Pūjā actually starts with the bath of the image followed by offering of flowers and eatables to Him and fragrance, burning incense, lighting lamp and muttering of prayers amidst playing of musical instruments suitable to the rainy season, and the whole looks as if the birth day ceremony was held.

The Kāraṇapūjā has a common feature with the daily worship in a temple as described in the inscription of Bhaumagupta's mother (n. 33). It prescribes bathing of the body of the deity, the offering of flowers and singing in His praise and adoring Him, burning of incense, lighting lamp and presentation of eatables near the ground at the altar, where the Śiva lingas or Viṣṇu symbols are placed.

As the four passages indicate, the Kāraṇapūjā is done only in the case of Viṣṇu and Śiva. These deities are never propitiated with the offer of animal sacrifice and they go without violence though Viṣṇu's incarnations are involved in acts of violence.

We now face a question why the ordinary Pūjā like the one performed on daily basis is given the name Kāraṇapūjā? We have seen that in literal sense the Kāraṇapūjā is nothing but an oblation in honour of a deity who is taken as the cause of the universe. This is generally a term taken to be an attribute of Śiva and Viṣṇu by followers of the cults of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Their texts, for instance, the Mahābhārata (13/149/54) talks of Viṣṇu as the one Supreme Power—*Adikāraṇatvāt Viṣṇu*, and Śankarāchārya's Śiva is the Kāraṇa i.e. creator of the universe. The following is what Śankara says of Śiva:

Ajam Sāsvatam Kāraṇām Kāraṇānām
Śivam Kevalam bhāsakam bhāsakānam.

The Sārthavāha

From the 4th to the 11th century A.D. poets from Kalidasa to Kalhana use the word *sārthabaha* for a leader of merchants in their epics, dramas or long poems as they narrate stories of trade and commercial transactions with their merchandise travelling from one region to another, the tradition of Simha Sārthabaha is carried by *Gunakāraṇḍa Vyūha*. This tradition is also popular in Nepal, where an image of Lokeśvara stands in a baha called Tha-bahil, northern part of Kathmandu. The bahā or monastery is otherwise also called Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra. The legend is connected with Kathmandu, and Simha Sārthabāha was said to be a merchant of the country. The legend says that the image from a bewitched island, where Simha and his comrades had been enticed by ogresses, was set up by Simha Sārthabāha. He had managed to escape on horseback at midnight. We are told that a company of merchants had been captivated by their beauty and were led to their castles and got married with the she-devils who were man-eaters but had appeared as beautiful fairies. Simha Sārthabāha and merchants had no idea of the feigned appearance. So they were married to the fairies, and for some time lived in happiness. The awareness that the women were devils came in dreams to the merchant leader, who was asked to flee the land and set himself free from the clutches of the enticers by Bodhisatva Lokeśvara himself. It is said that other merchants fell a prey to the she-devils, as they would not believe the story of the dream, while Simha Sārthabāha escaped as he rode a horse who was no other than the Lord himself. But the she-devil who was his wife was also cunning and possessed capacity to run as fast as Sārthabāha and she also did reach Kathmandu. There she played another trick. She enticed the king and became his consort. Meanwhile Sārthabāha came to know of the she-devil's entrance into the palace and by his esoteric knowledge destroyed her mischievous potentialities. When she was vanquished the

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she-devil expressed a desire to be allowed to live in Nepal and her desires were granted. Simha Sarthabaha commemorated the occasion by building a temple and vihara to honour Lord Avalokitesvara. As the fairy had desired to live near Sarthabaha, he also fixed her abode close to the compound of the sanctuary of the Lord. A temple by the side of the main gate of Thabahil still stands housing the she-devil in the form of a stone, which is worshipped as ajimā (mother goddess). It is said that she gets the annual worship on the first day of planting season in the Nepal valley.

The great epics, *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahākāvyas* and other poetic works (dramas and ong poems) also narrate the story of many Sārthabāhas carrying merchandise. But the story we have narrated belongs to *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*, which, however, does not mention Nepal.

The Sārthavāhas also appear in Indian inscriptions. Some of them played an important part in the administration.

In the Damodar copper plate of the reign of Kumāragupta GS 124 one Sārthavāha Bandhumitra appears as one of the administrators in Kotivarṣa viṣaya under Chirātadatta who was the viceroy of the bhukti of Pundravardhana.[4] The same Sārthavāha figures in another inscription of the same date GS 128.[5] Then comes another copper plate of Damodarpur referring to one Sarthavaha in the administration of Kotivarṣa viṣaya ruled by Viṣayapati Svayambhuvadeva under the viceroyalty of Mahārāja Mahārāja Kumāra Deva Bhattaraka in the bhukti of Pundravardhana under the Gupta Emperor in GS 224. The adhisthanadi karana included Nagara Śreṣṭha Ribhupāla and Sārthavāha Sthānudatta as members along with one prathamakulika prathama kāyastha. The record is addressed to Kotivarṣa viṣaya, and the ruler had been pleased to make a donation of land to Śveta Varāhāsvāmi in order to provide materials for his daily worship and repair of the image. There are more inscriptions of this type which bring out Sārthavāha, a leader merchant, who also was a member of the adhikaraṇa of a viṣaya (i.e. district administration).

In addition to inscriptions contemporary and post-contemporary literatures of India talk of Sārthavāha again as a leader of merchant community.

Land System

We have seen that as we look into the land grants three words come before us in this connection, and all these three words are the only indications of land measure and a contribution to be paid by the cultivators.

The three words are mānikā or mā, the grain measure, bhūmi, the land measure and piṇḍakam, contributions in paddy or grains.

All these three words, mānikā, bhūmi and piṇḍakam still remain undefined, and people can only make a guess about their exact meaning. But they come so often in land grants that we cannot avoid the discussion.

In my book 'Ancient Nepal' I had given the measure of mānikā as equivalent to about half a kilogram (2.2 lbs) of grains, and measurement of bhūmi about 2 acres.

In a recently written book a Nepalese writer has tried to fix up the measure of mānikā and measurement of bhūmi. He argues his case to prove that mānikā is equivalent to what we have today a muri, 20 *prastha* (*pāthi*), each prastha being 16 anjalis equivalent to about 8 kilograms. To prove his case he quotes statements of inscriptions giving produce of lands to the donees, one of the strongest points he puts forth is from the Chowkitar inscription, where bhumi 4 has been set aside to yield mā 1 to Śollādhikaraṇa and Kuther adhikaraṇa each, and this is done to make up the loss sustained by the State through certain donations. If mānikā was a small measure of paddy, the loss would not have been such as to be taken into account seriously with a provision of a substitute quantity going to the State. In the Anantalingeśvara inscription there are donations of paddy and in terms of mānikā. One such donation is 140 mānikās to ten temple boys and 300 mānikās to ten temple maids. D. Vajra thinks that it is for a year. To the writer unless a mānikā is to be taken as a higher measure than the present *mānā*, it is difficult to think of the provision as above fixed as sufficient quantity of grains to last for a year. The

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complication arises because the passage is silent about the period. According to the present reckoning the quantity of 140 mānikās is about 17 prastha or pāthi and 360 mānikās to about 40 prastha or pāthi. The usual requirement of grain for an individual for a year is 9 muris or 180 prasthas or 1440 mānikās. It is certainly inconceivable to talk of 140 mānikās as means of grain subsistence for 10 males for a year. But it is also wrong to suggest that a male would require 14 muris for a year instead of 9 muris, of course, unless it is envisaged that a person might consume for each meal more than 2 lbs keeping also in view the fact that it increases in volume after boiling. But the postulate is absolutely wrong. While considering the capacity of any kind of measurement lineal or otherwise, it should be noted that in the inscriptions where mānikā is mentioned, at no place an exact idea of the meaning is obtained. The Anantalingeśvara inscription also is not clear as to where a provision of paddy is made if it was meant for a year. Nowhere the amount of grains has been said to have been fixed for a year and here lies the rub.

At one place in our inscription we find the word prastha used for a measure of rice. However, a prastha could be easily understood. A prastha as a measure of capacity is thus presented: prastha = 16 palas = 4 kuduvas = ¼ of adhakas. The word kuduva occurs in the inscription of Narendradeva's reign (n. 118). There was a metallic container to measure the capacity of each until the metric system was introduced a decade ago. But the ratio between a mānikā and prastha is not defined, though if a mānikā is 2 anjalis it is 8 mānikās or 16 anjalis if the same is multiplied 8 times.

The expression piṇḍaka occurs in a land grant along with dhānya mānikā, i.e., grain measure and bhumi, i.e., some area of land which comes to mean so much bhumi and pindaka of so much dhānya mānikā. It does not surely mean the produce of dhānya grains per bhumi whatever a bhumi means, but it might mean so much mānikā per bhumi both in totality and a plot singly.

A writer thinks that a piṇḍaka is a rent paid by a tenant to the landlord whether an individual or an institution. The grant of land might be made either to an individual by the land owner or the king as the case may be. The pindaka represents a grain measure in terms of mānikā. But when a pindaka and bhūmi are used together, does pindaka mean rent to be paid on the basis of land of a particular measurement? D. Vajra, however, goes further than this to say that wide difference between pindaka and mānikā could be explained by the fact that the land was of a different nature.

Bhūmi comes as a measurement of land. DV thinks that the area involved might be about a ropani of 4 muris, each muri being 4 × 4 cubits = 16 sq cubits. In terms of foot measure a ropani is 74′ × 74′ and 13½ ropanis of land will cover the extent of an acre. If we accept this contention our earlier theory that a bhūmi might measure 13½ ropanis or an acre falls through. But whether it is a mānikā or bhūmi, the exact measurement in any term is just a speculation. I might also add DV's laboured attempt[6] to bring in the Newari word 'bum' not as a corrupt form of bhumi but as an evidence to prove his assumption of a bhumi as an area covered by a *ropani*. Authors are of opinion that this suggestion might not be taken seriously. A bum in Newari means just land. Probably the idea of the area is obtained by 'pi' and measurement in terms of a number by 'chha', 'ni', 'son' etc. The statement is confusing. When the digitals are used to convey the measurement of a plot of land, then alone 'chhapi', 'nipi', etc. are used and in no other case. Most probably 'pi' is also a corrupt form of 'ropani'. But this provision also might not hold good.

The inscriptions of Nepal as they talk of *bhūmi* in relation to a land grant make it follow by words *piṇḍaka mānikā* enumerating the quantity of grains involved as rent or revenue. A *piṇḍaka* literally means subsistence or daily bread or livelihood. As *piṇḍaka* invariably occurs with *mānikā* in connection with the land grant, it might carry the sense of contributions in terms of a grant measure from the land granted, which is specified.[7] But the Chapatol inscription uses the word Pinda as a contribution made to the landlord, and here this means that the donee which might be a temple or sangha or agrahara, is also known to Indian and Nepalese records. Without the help of concepts in Indian records it appears difficult to find out the exact meaning of many words in our inscriptions unless they are so suggestive as to reveal or expose a meaning on their own. So let us refer to Indian records. A *piṇḍaka* occurs in EI, IV, VII (p. 254) and in many inscriptions of the Pala period in the sense of a tax or con-

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tributions from a field producing grain. According to U.N. Ghosal *piṇḍaka* carries the sense of *hiraṇya*, a word already explained or tax assessed in lump, here probably from a cultivated land of any area specified in the grant to the donee, who obtained it. The donee is the land owner who owns it tax free realising his rent from the cultivator. D.C. Sircar in his glossary quoting the passage *samuchita kara piṇḍakādi samasta pratyayādi* concludes that it was a tax, the same as *bhāgabhoga* assessed in lump.[8] There is the Khalimpur C.P. inscription of Dharmapāla which shows a grant of 4 villages along with *atratyahaṭṭikā talapataka* within their limits. It was made clear that the land was tax free, and the tillers of soil were to contribute to the donee customary taxes, revenue in terms of produce.[9]

Some Indian scholars suggest that a bhūmi has an area of just less than an acre. The Chammak C.P. inscription of Pravarasena II allots 800 bhūmis of land to a corporation of 1000 Brahmanas. Obviously by a Brahmana the meaning of a family of one Brahmana was also involved, and in a proportionate degree one Brahmana family obtained $\frac{800}{1000}$ bhūmi. The produce was surely for maintenance. It must be for that reason that the Indian authors take 4/5 of an acre as the measurement of the area covered by bhūmi.[10] D.C. Sircar thinks that the bhūmi is equal to 4 bhūmāsaka.[11] But he does not explain what bhūmāsaka means. Dr. Salatore regards it as equivalent to a kulyavāpa which measures 8 droṇas. Bhūmi is certainly in its literal meaning a kṣetra i.e. a cultivated field. Puspa Niyogi thinks that kṣetra is just a plot and many plots constituted a bhūmi. In IA, XVII, p. 7ff a copper plate of the reign of Somavarmādeva and Aṣṭadeva (c.11th century) of Chamba gives the record of a grant of 15 bhūmi of land situated in different maṇḍalas, which were in the ownership of the queen mother. But bhūmi yet remains to be accurately measured.

The measurement of bhūmi, literally a land small or vast, cannot be ascertained unless more evidences are forthcoming or a search is made into classical treatises. The same can be said of mānikā if it is not equivalent to one anjali as defined by our dictionaries and classical writers. This is true, land was of various qualities giving different quantities of produce, but the question of a definition of piṇḍaka has yet to be solved.

Is piṇḍaka a rent for the bhūmi of certain measurement as mentioned in the grant? Or is it a tax just as other taxes levied on land by the Government? Apart from land grants, which yielded piṇḍaka as mentioned in the inscriptions, it is also seen that gardens and orchards given to the villagers to maintain a canal fetched income called piṇḍaka, which were to be collected by the donees (धुपमाकम्वाटिका अविप्रसादीकृत यथा कालंपिण्डक मपिउप संहृत्य) as suggested in Chhinnamastika or Tavajhya stele of S. 48. We have to consider the meaning of piṇḍaka in that light.

Like the Khalimpur inscription one of our inscriptions also uses the same expression. This is the Yaṅgubahi inscription (n. 117) and the expression piṇḍakādi pratyāyān occurs there. If pratyāya carries the sense of a tax, then piṇḍaka also is a tax, because the expression means taxes such as piṇḍaka and others. If piṇḍaka has occurred in this way in the Yaṅgubahi inscription, Śivadeva's Lagantol inscription (n. 132) with the expression samuchita deyabhāgabhogakara hiraṇyādi sarvvapratyāya also carries the same meaning in regard to bhāga, bhoga, kara, hiraṇya and others (taxes). These are all taxes on different things, which we have already dwelt upon. If piṇḍaka is put into the category of pratyāya then it is surely a tax. It can turn into a rent if there is a landlord and the cultivator is just a tenant then piṇḍaka can be a rent as it is paid to the proprietor of cultivated field. Thus piṇḍaka can carry different meanings in different situations. The inscriptions of the North and North-Eastern India can offer a guideline to understand the land system.

The land system of ancient Nepal is not yet an established fact. The land measure remains unknown and so is the grain measure. The word piṇḍaka as we have seen might be a tax or rent, but it has got to be ascertained, which we think we are yet not in a position to achieve. I think that it requires deeper search for materials which coming to light might make it easy for us to determine the nature of the land system.

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12. The Inscription of Chā-bel

This is a 7-line inscription slightly damaged on the left margin where the date without the year and the king's name occur. The year portion of the date is damaged, so it is difficult to ascertain the regnal year of the record. Epigraphically the script comes in line with those of the Mānadeva period (we shall discuss it later). In the last line the expression *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Śrī* is visible with the name of the king totally worn away. In DV's view this is the first inscription so far available in Nepal. He thinks that some letters in this record appear a little older in epigraphical features than those of the Mānadeva's Chāñgu Pillar inscription and on that basis he attributes it to Vṛṣadeva's period following also the statement of later Vamśāvalis that the Chaitya was named Dhando. But I do not think so and now in one of his writings DV also has contradicted his old view. We have no inscriptions of Vṛṣadeva's time, and it is also not possible to make a distinction of the alphabets used within such a short period of time except in very minute details.

The V^1 does not give Vṛṣadeva's name. But the later chronicles compiled in early 19th century are not all reliable. Even if their reliability in this matter is not questioned, the fact remains that attributing the inscriptions to Vṛṣadeva would be arbitrary just on the basis of an observation that the Dhando Chaitya was established by him. The inscription is not associated with the Chaitya. The Chāñgu Pillar inscription describes him as a follower of Sugata's laws (Buddhist in the old sense). But this could be utmost a coincidence. If the V^1 was composed in early 14th century, it does not mention Vṛṣadeva, which might suggest anything. Then it means that the tradition of Dhando Chaitya did not exist as early as Vṛṣadeva. Its silence suggests that the later chronicles borrowed the tradition from a later source. The Chaitya, however, is old and may date back to the ancient period.

The theme of the inscription is a desire of a lady who wanted to be born as a male in the next life. The life of a woman, a wife, was disgusting to her for whatever reasons that may be. She seems also to be inspired by the story of *Kinnarī Jātaka* (birth story of Lord Buddha), which gives a story of a beautiful queen of Banaras secretly loving an ugly dwarf. This was unusual and could not even be imagined. But it proved true when the queen was detected by the king himself visiting the dwarf at midnight and loving and caressing him. The queen had reached late that night and the dwarf was pouring his rage on her, but deep in love she did not pay heed to the dwarf's scolding. The king was amazed at this scene and returned home, and next day decided to punish his wife with the penalty of death. But his minister was wise. He persuaded the king not to act hastily in this matter until he was satisfied that every other woman behaved otherwise. The minister asked the king to accompany him in disguise in a night sojourn, which he did anxiously to get many revelations. Actually many acts of unfaithfulness on the part of the wife, even worse than loving an ugly dwarf at the cost of handsome and kindly husband came to light. The king, a Bodhisatva, was stricken with grief, took a lenient view of his wife's criminal conduct and banished her.

Māghavarṣa

The date of the inscription is given as . . . Māghavarṣé kālé Āṣāḍha su diva 10 asyām divasa pūrvāyām. The part giving the ruler's name is multilated and we see just Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājā Śrī . . .

The Māgha varṣa is obviously the Bārhaspatya year as the inscriptions of Mahārājā Hastin and his successor of the Parivrājaka dynasty of Baghelkhand show. They give the date both in terms of Gupta era (Imperial Guptas) and Bārhaspatya 12 yearly system yuga (n. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25). These inscriptions are published in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum volume III by J.F. Fleet. There are 7 inscriptions of this type, 6 of which belong to Mahārājā Hastin and 1 to Mahārājā Saṅkṣobha. The first gives the date in G.S. 156 and in Bārhaspatya year Mahāvaiśākha, and then the 3rd of lunar bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha asyāmdivasa pūrvāyām (Khoh copper plate of Mahārājā Hastin). The next inscription is dated G.S. 163 Mahāsvayuja varṣé Chaitramāsé śuklapakṣé dvitiyāyām asyam divasasya pūrvāyām (Khoh C.P.). The subsequent inscriptions give subsequent

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dates: Mahā Jyeṣṭha G.S. 170 5th lunar bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna, Māha Chaitra G.S. 191, Mahāśyavuja 198 in the Navagrama grant of Hastin (particulars peeled off), Mahāmārga G.S. 199, 10th day of Kartika (Betul grant), Mahāśvayuja G.S. 209 Chaitra Śukla 3.

The Bārhaspatya year is discussed by Fleet in his introductory chapter and later in 1963 P.L. Gupta discusses the subject in a magazine 'The Historical Quarterly' to show some of the discrepancies in the Bārhaspatya years as given in the above inscriptions.

As regards the Māgha year of the Chabel inscription it is Rajavamśi, a research scholar of the Archaeological Department, who drew our attention to the Bārhaspatya year in this inscription but he did not know that there were inscriptions in India which gave the kind of year along with the Gupta era and the subject has been discussed in detail by Fleet. Varāhamihira devotes a chapter (8th) to the Bārhaspatya year system in his book Bṛhatsamhitā which was also unknown to Rajavamśi.

In the very first verse the renowned astronomer of the 5th century describes how Bṛhaspati's year is created. The verse says 'a year is named after a nakṣatra with which Bṛhaspati makes its appearance in the sky for the first time in the year and this is done in the order of months' (नक्षत्रेण सहोदय मुपगच्छति । येन देव पति मंत्री तत्सज्ञं वक्तव्यं वर्ष मासक्रमेणैव). Bhaṭṭotpala flourishing in the 10th century who comments (in Śaka 888) on this verse states that the rising of Bṛhaspati along with a nakṣatra (asterism) means that it had disappeared, i.e., set on a different nakṣatra or to state the same thing back again, the Bṛhaspati once set with a particular asterism makes its reappearance along with another naksatra, and the name of the year follows the name of asterism with which it reappears to our view in the sky. Bhaṭṭotpala explains it by example. If the Bṛhaspati has set while he was with asterism Rohiṇī, and reappeared along with Mṛgaśirā, the name of the month would be after Mṛgaśirā. According to the commentator this view is supported by Kāśyapa and Garga.

According to Garga the Bārhaspatya system involves 12 yugas of 5 years each and the first Āryabhata laid down that the Bārhaspatya year is like the solar year consisting of sāvana days (a sāvana day is from sunrise to next sunrise) and the months are rāśiguṇa, i.e., moving from one sign of zodiac to another beginning from the month of Āśvayuja. But a year is lost after 170 years. Varāhamihira, however, starts his year with Kārtika. In verse 2 he envisages a year when Bṛhaspati rises in the sky with either of the Nakṣatras coming in order from Kṛttikā and onwards.

The two asterism rule holds good in all cases except the 5th (Phālguna) upānta (Bhādra) and anta (Āśvayuja). Utpala Bhatta prepares a table for the Bārhaspatya year system according to the Nakṣatra, with which the planet appears to our sight after a gap of disappearance for some time.

(1) Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī	Kārtika	(7) Viśakhā, Anurādhā	Vaiśākha
(2) Mṛgaśirā, Ārdrā	Mārga	(8) Jyeṣṭhā, Mūla	Jyeṣṭha
(3) Punervasau, Tiṣya	Pauṣa	(9) Pūrvaṣādha, Uttarāṣādha	Āṣāḍha
(4) Aśleṣā, Māgha	Māgha	(10) Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭā	Śrāvaṇa
(5) Pūrvaphālguni, Uttara Phālguni Hesta	Phālguna	(11) Śatabhiṣā, Pūrvabhādra, Uttarabhādra	Bhādra
(6) Chātrā, Svāti	Chaitra	(12) Revatī, Āśvini, Bharuni	Āśvayuja

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We have divided the asterisms in twelve groups, each group giving a Bārhaspatya year, in the 12 yearly yuga system. To elucidate, if Bṛhaspati rises with any of the asterism in the first group it will give the year called Kārtika. If it rises in any of the Nakṣatras of the second group, the year is Mārgaśirṣa. The third group will give the Pauṣa year and so on and so forth.

Some astronomers do not agree with Varāhamihira as to grouping of Nakṣatras and months named after them. Kāśyapa thinks that Śrāvaṇa and not Āśvina should belong to the 3 asterism group because upānta and anta mean the 10th and 11th month and not 11th and 12th. Garga also calls Śrāvaṇa tribha as it is of 3 Nakṣatras—Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭā and Śatabhiṣā. The month of Bhādra derives its name from one of 3 asterisms, the two Bhādras and Revatī, the Āśvayuja covers only 2 asterisms, Aśvinī and Bharaṇī.

In the Māghavarṣa of our inscription the Bṛhaspati must have appeared in the sky along with one of the two Nakṣatras, either Aśleṣā or Māgha.

The Bārhaspatya year is otherwise connected with the 60 Samvatsaras variously named and they together form a cycle and the cycle moves, one after the other. The Bārhaspatya years are significant because each affects human destiny in one way or the other. Some years are good, and some are bad. Some bring prosperity, others bring disaster. Varāhamihira, Pārāsara, Garga and others have had much to say about the events taking place in a particular Bārhaspatya year, which goes to influence conditions under which mankind is living.

It is difficult to connect this case of feminine disloyalty with her own desire to become a male in the next birth. She says that she was tired of being a woman. Why so? From times immemorial lack of fealty has been the common feature in the character of both sexes in many cases. Here the donor's statement is a reflection on a woman's fealty, which looks sweeping. We are unable to understand the underlying motive behind the mental exercise of the lady with which she had created the object of her donations. The carved story of the Jātaka and illustrations referred to in the inscriptions are missing.

She says that she built a temple (bhavana). Surely it is not the Chaitya. But no ruins are traced. The bhavana that the record speaks of must have been destroyed in course of time.

This inscription as it talks of Sangha and worship of Mahāmuni is a proof positive of the fact that in the very early history of Nepal, Mahāyāna Buddhism was also a popular religion along with Hināyāna and Brahmanical ritual practices.

The term *mā* or mānikā used invariably for measurement of grains occurs regularly in the inscriptions when they talk of land grant and we have already touched upon the subject.

Dhanavajra is particularly struck with one point in determining the priority of the inscription over others in respect of time. The date figures of the inscription give the Bārhaspatya year as well as the years appearing in other inscriptions without exception. He did not himself know about this kind of year until Shankarman Rajavamsi, a researcher in the Archaeological Department, could argue on this line. This is interesting, but the evidence of Vṛṣadeva to have been the ruler while the record was issued is not strong. We shall, however, take the discussion of the Bārhaspatya system of year reckoning at another place. The absence of the year symbol makes it difficult for us to determine the place of the inscription in the series.

Dhanavajra thinks that it is the earliest inscription of ancient Nepal so far available to us. He attributes it to Vṛṣadeva's time.

We have placed it as no. 12 in our series just to show that it is not the earliest record. Others also have challenged Dhanavajra's conclusion.

However, there is no authoritative evidence on which we could base our statement as to its exact position in the series. Scriptwise it can be placed anywhere in Mānadeva-Vasantadeva period.

Dhana Vajra's conclusion is based on the fact that the inscription shows an unusual date, the Māgha varṣa. There is no doubt that this is a Jupiter's year and the inscription is the lone instance of a record adopting this kind of the year in the whole series.

As we find the same Bārhaspatya year in the inscriptions of the Paribrājaka dynasty giving dates

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in Gupta era, 153, we must take it that the Bārhaspatya year system was widely accepted in Baghelkhand region in the late 5th and early 6th century A.D., which coincides with the years of Mānadeva and Vasantadeva. The inscriptions of the Mahārājās of Paribrājaka dynasty in many ways agreed with the charters of Vasantadeva. But they preceded his reign. And this is not agreeable in normal course. It is always so in evidence that new cultural influence works slowly and by stages; we have not seen any common cultural influence working simultaneously in both India and Nepal. What India thought of such influence yesterday Nepal does it only today. Naturally the Bārhaspatya year came to be adopted in Nepal in course of time at a date later than in the country of Paribrājaka Mahārājās, whose records are the only ones for the whole of India, north or south, to show a Bārhaspatya year in the date column. I presume that the Chabel inscription cannot belong to any date prior to Mānadeva and that it can be placed anywhere in the late 5th century or early 6th century A.D. If we accept the hypothesis according the inscription to Vṛsadeva's reign, i.e., 3 generations earlier to Mānadeva, this would put the date of the inscription to the late 4th century A.D. and this will go against historical perspective, for then we shall have to accept that the system of adopting the Bārhaspatya year appeared in Nepal earlier than in the country of the Paribrajaka Maharajas. We cannot, however, even imagine that Nepal had shown the way and the Paribrājaka Mahārājā had only followed it. We cannot forget that this is a stray inscription perhaps introduced as experiment with the Baghelkhand influence, which had failed because no other inscription follows its system.

13. Lazimpat Inscription

This is the inscription at Lazimpat on a Śiva linga dated 419 in the name of Mānadeva constructed by Guṇavatī, the wife of Mānadeva.

The date 419 Jyeṣṭha śukla diva 13 occurs in the first line. Guṇavatī as the queen of Mānadeva was not known to writers until two decades back.

About the status of Guṇavatī one writer has suggested that she was a concubine as her name goes without 'Śrī' and 'Devī'. But as she claims him to have been her own husband, the mere fact of 'Śrī' and 'Devī' missing from her name may not warrant such a conclusion. But she may not, however, be the chief queen or queen of queens.

We know that the kings married more than one wife in ancient times though they allowed one of them to enjoy the status of mahārajñī or mahiṣī at a time. So there is no wonder that Guṇavatī was one of Mānadeva's lawful wives.

14. Palanchok Inscription

For the first time Mānadeva is given here the title Bh. Mahārājā. The date is 425 Māgha, bright fortnight, the day of full moon. On this day Samraṭ Gṛhapati's wife, by name Vijayasvāminī, establishes the image of Vijayeśvarī (misspelt Vijyaśvrī).

The expression *varṣaśatam samājṇāpayatah*, which literally means 'ruling for 100 years addresses' is also used here for the first time. This usually means an expression of a wish on the part of a citizen donor that the monarch should have a reign of 100 years.

Samraṭ Gṛhapati was so long regarded as Mānadeva himself. I made the same mistake. The word samrāṭ was misinterpreted. It is, however, now clear that this was meant for a man whose wife was a donor in this stele. Gṛhapati literally meaning 'the master of the house' might suggest the status of the donor's husband. Kautilya in 'Guḍhapuruṣottupatti' (4/4/90) defines Gṛhapati as a rich peasant with plenty of lands and other resources. Gṛhapati is also a name of the god of fire. Gṛhapati is also used in the sense of a sacrifice called sattra. The fire associated with Gṛhapati is called Gārhapatya Agni (अग्निर्गृहपतिर्नाम नित्य यज्ञेषुपूज्यते).

Gṛhapati is the title for the performer of a Vedic rite called Sattra *yāga* which includes *dvādaśāha*

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described in detail as to its procedure in *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* and other treatises. The name Samrāṭ was enjoyed by a person who either performed Rajasūya Sacrifice in the capacity of a king or any other Sacrifice of that kind in a different capacity. The Sacrifice is elaborately described by *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* as well as other Sūtras of the Vedic texts. The *Sattra yāga* and other sacrificial offerings are mentioned at fullest length in the Vedic ritual traditions. This is how Kātyāyana puts:

सत्रयागकर्तरि यजमाने वहुपु गृहपतये (यजमान यत्कर्मतत्गृहपतिकरोति). सम्राट् इति समोमन्दारस्य येन राजसूयेन ईष्टं यो मण्डलेश्वरः राजसूये साध्यचक्रवर्ति साध्या साध्ययोगविशेषः । राजसूय याजि चतरघि सीमावच्छिन्नाया भूमे ईश्वरः ।

The man who performs Sattra yāga is called Samrāṭ. The householder himself performs the sacrifice. He is yajamāna.

An inscription of the later Gupta period (174 Āṣāḍha 10) shows also one Gṛhapati Sthapati Samrāṭ Sarvachchharvadatta as dūtaka. This is a charter issued by Mahārāja Jayasena, a descendant of Mahārāja Kumāradeva (CIII.3 n. 26).

Because Gṛhapati is accompanied by the word Samrāṭ it seems to have a meaning other than the literal. Obviously the two have got to be explained with reference to the sacrificial rites, which gave the performer the titles, Gṛhapati and Samrāṭ. The rites were Vedic, which had continued to exist intact in ancient Nepal.

15. Keltol Inscription

This is an inscription of the reign of Mānadeva but without any date. His praise is sung by the donor calling him, 'the protector of the earth' and 'loving his subjects like the father and ruling according to the tenets of the Vedas and scriptures'. The occasion was the inaugural ceremony of the opening of a water conduit.

Every king in Nepal or India was regarded as the loving father of his subjects. This is not something new. No other adjectives should be taken at their face value or in terms of the meaning they convey. Manu asserts the indispensability of the king in his society as also do other lawgivers. He says:

अराजके हिलोकेस्मिन्सर्वतो विद्रुतेभयात् । रक्षार्थस्य सर्वस्य राजानम सृजन्प्रभुः ।। 7/3 ।। विद्या विनीता राजाहि प्रजानां विनयेतरतः । अनन्यां पृथिवीं मुक्त्ते सर्वभूतेरतः ।। 7/4 ।।

The king was created by God as he was supposed to save the country from chaos. Only a poet and learned king dedicated to the service of the people will reign over the earth in order to protect the people. Our inscriptions shower praise upon praise on Mānadeva foi his munificence, his fatherly attitude to his subjects, his desire to serve the people with mercy and high sense of polity. But we do not know if Mānadeva or any other king could have abandoned autocratic feudal habits and behaviour to earn these epithets. By the very nature of the institution, the monarch becomes a dictator.

16. Svayambhu Stele Inscription

This inscription of which left margin is damaged and without date originally found in the Swayambhu[12] area but now lost is in the nature of the Chāṅgu pillar inscription in respect of genealogy of Mānadeva, who built a vihāra after his own name.

I am not explaining the significance of the passages in terms of their literal meaning, which could be misleading from a historical point of view. But nevertheless from first to last the lines reveal praise of kings. The phrases used like 'to wild elephants excited' (1.5), 'full of brightness and virtuous who

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had offered sacrifices' (1.14), 'widely renowned for good actions, form without any parallel', 'engaged in his sacred duties' (1.18), 'as the deer are terror stricken by seeing the lis, so kings tremble when they face him' (1.23), 'fearless in battles' and such epithets are used for kings as we have already seen. There are other expressions which embellish the royal qualities of the ruler.

The letter रदेव in line 3 is obviously meant for Śankaradeva, the grandfather of Mānadeva.

We have already said that the Swayambhunath inscription has been put forward as the earliest inscription of Nepal by Hariram Joshi. But like other inscriptions of the time of Mānadeva, date portion of which is damaged, no conclusive statement can be made about its place in the chronological order. I cannot agree with Dhanavajra that the Chabel inscription was the earliest. It might belong to Mānadeva period. The month is shown in the date portion as Āṣāḍha and the day as the 10th of the bright fortnight. It was true that in the year of the inscription Bṛhaspati was on *Asleṣā* or *Maghā* as its year is *Māgha*. But how can one find the exact year with only this background but without its Samvat (i.e. year referred to one era) ? There will be many years forward and backward to this year when Bṛhaspati rises with *Aslesā* or *Maghā*. After all everything is reduced to a place in the 12 yearly cycle multiplied by 5, which means sixty years. All the planets and *Naksatras* have a fixed course of movement. You cannot pick up one point and say that this is correct as it does suit your need.

As for the data of Swayambhunath inscription, it might be said that all point to the description of the genealogy of Mānadeva who himself has a monastery after his name. The founding of the monastery by him is confirmed by *Gopāla Vamśāvali* (V^1, f. 4b). From the name Śankaradeva only two letters are missing. There are some expressions reminiscent of qualities of Dharmadeva although his name is damaged and lost.

In using Gopāla Vamśāvali we must be careful and not utilise the passages in spite of many errors to suit our convenience. But as the V^1 was compiled after nearly 900 years of Mānadeva's reign, the errors are many and one may admit some errors could be corrected with reference to the data provided by the inscriptions.

At any rate the Swayaṃbhunath inscription does belong to Mānadeva of Changu Narayana Pillar, but might be in chronological order a little below the date of the Pillar inscription. I do not think that it has anything to do with Vṛṣadeva in respect of dates.

17. Changu Temple Gate Slab Inscription

The Changu Effigy base inscription with the date 427 is the work of one Nirapekṣa who had set up the statues of his parents and inscribed the lines on the base wishing merits in the present and future lives. He pays homage to Mānadeva saying that the effigy was set up with the blessing of Mānadeva's feet during his reign. His learning, fame and generosity are profusely admired.

The date falls near the end of his career, 427 Kārtika śukla diva 13, as the next inscription refers to him in the past tense (babhūva).

18. Sūrya Ghat Śivalinga Inscription

This writing is dated 421 Āṣāḍha śukla diva 1, and inscribed around the base of a Śivalinga at Sūryaghāt a little north of the Paśupatinātha temple, which was set up by Mānadeva's daughter, Vijayavatī, born of the queen (Devī) Śrī Bhoginī, whose name appears along with mānāṅka legend in a coin (Walsh, Pl. I 1). The inscription refers to Mānadeva as a king in the past tense suggesting that he had died in Samvat 427 between the date Kārtika śukla diva 13 (preceding inscription) and 427 Āṣāḍha śukla diva 1. It appears that Mānadeva was dead while this inscription was carved but the year had continued even after Chaitra.

As the Changu Effigy inscription dated 427, month of Kartika, bright fortnight 13th day, goes to show that the same year had continued with the Sūryaghāt Śivalinga inscription of Āṣāḍha bright half

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1st day the year 427 has not ended till this time, which means that the year 427 had not changed in Chaitra and would go up to Āśvina. In the light of this evidence it could be established that the year began in Kārtika and ended in Āśvina. Definitely it was not a Chaitrādi but a Kartikādi year.[13]

Vārta Devalābha and the System of Dolāji

It is for me not possible to imagine that Devalābha who bears an official title of vārta and is Mānadeva's son-in-law having married his daughter was brought to Nepal so as to be bred in the palace as a future son-in-law. A Nepalese author puts forward the view that Devalābha came as it were from somewhere to this country in the palace in that capacity. But the view is incorrect.

How can a reference to a husband by Mānadeva's daughter in the inscriptions can be taken to cover his status? Devalābha was an important officer of state, to whom the princess was married and there is no doubt that she shows deep respect in the record. The reference by itself is very respectful and on no account this means derogatory to a husband's status, who was independent of the wife.

Mānadeva only once (n. 14 above) in a long series of inscriptions receives the title of Bhaṭṭāraka Māhārājā otherwise he is always referred to as nṛpa, which means anything from a subordinate to a sovereign ruler, literally it means 'the protector of men' same as the Narapati or nṛpati (नृ + पा = इतिरक्षणे).

The Mahābhārata has used nṛpa referring to the king Duṣyanta (I.67.21), Yayāti (I.73.16; I.177.3), Duryodhana (I.16.79) etc. The Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa addresses Daśaratha as nṛpa referring to the departure of Ṛṣṣṛnga with his wife, Śāntā, the sister of Rāma (I.20-21). Daśaratha was the Emperor of a part of India (North) belonging to Ichchhāku dynasty.

In Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī the term rājā is used for a sovereign king (I.4.97; II.3.9). Terms like Samrāṭ and Mahārājā are used (VIII.3.25; IV.2.35) in the same sense. Bhūpati (VI.2.19) is another word but there is no narapati or Nṛpa in Pāṇini. But Pāṇini's commentator Pātanjali in his Mahābhāṣya is used to the term Nṛpati as the king is the lord of his people and protects them. Nṛpa is used only once (6-3-70).

The Amarakośa gives the general terms for a king as follows:

विराट्पा थिवक्ष्मा भूम्नृप भूप महीक्षित: मूर्धामिक्षित्त्योराजन्य: (1/8/2)

So the word nṛpa stands on the same footing as the others. The sovereign to whom all the feudatories owe allegiance is called Sārvabhauma Chakravarti in some places. If he performs a Rājasūya Yajña and also is the master of a maṇḍala and whose orders are obeyed by rulers of many maṇḍalas he is called Samrāṭ. K.P. Jayaswal in his book tries to minimise the position of the person addressed as nṛpa probably on the line of Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa (Ch. 86) which says:

चतुर्योजन पर्य्यन्त स्वधिकारी नृपस्यच यो राजातच्छत
गुण: सएव मण्डलेश्वर: तद्देशगुणो राजा राजेन्द्रप्रकीर्त्तित:

But this is contradicted by Kālikā Purāṇa (Ch. 50), which uses the word nṛpa and attributes to him qualities of a divine being:

गन्धर्वदेवमयो राजा तस्मात्त्वाभर्थये नृप:

The Manusmṛti uses the word Rājan generally, but at times also nṛpati, the same as nṛpa, the protector of men. Nṛpa is used in (7/33, 34, and 7/8), his treatise, where Manu talks of punishment to the king by the daṇḍa if he misbehaves. Yājñavalkya also puts nṛpa and Rājan on the same

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footing in his Rājadharma prakaraṇam, nṛpa in verses 3623, 3640, rājan in verses 6334, 6358, etc. Other Smṛtis also do not give a subsidiary status to nṛpa, who enjoyed a sovereign stasus. The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa deals with powerful kings identified with Gupta Emperors allegorically described.

References to the kings are made using different words, one of which is nṛpa or nṛpati. The literal meaning of both is the same. The Raghuvamś asays:

जातः कुले तस्यकुलोदकीर्त्तिः कुलप्रदीपो नृपतिर्दिलिपः
अतिष्ठत् प्रत्ययापेक्ष सन्नतिः सचिदं नृपः
प्राङ्मन्थोदनभिव्यक्ते रत्नोपत्तिरिवार्णवः

In these two cases two illustrious sovereign rulers of Ichchhaku dynasty of Ayodhya are addressed as nṛpa (नृपः).

In the Indian inscriptions nṛpa is also used for a sovereign king in all the periods. The word Narapati or Nṛpati is used in the Junagadh inscription of Skanda Gupta's reign.

Not only Mānadeva but other kings of Nepal were called Nṛpa in eulogies of the inscriptions.

There are some kings who are mentioned just as *Śrī* or *nṛpa* literally, the protector of the people, but who are master of a vast kingdom and conqueror of formidable foes. Just to cite one example King Yaśodharman of Malwa region claims in his inscription[14] to have gained mastery over a vast territory extending from the western sea to Lauhitya from east to west and from the Ganga embraced Himalayan tract to Mt. Mahendra, the foot of which was thickly covered by palmyra trees, from north to south, which was larger in extent than the Empire of the Guptas and Hunas. Mt. Mahendra could be the hill of the same name in the south. But is it the mountain of the same name in Ganjam district or in western ghat mentioned in Nasik inscription of Śrī Pulumayi? According to the inscription King Yaśodharman's feet were worshipped by Mihirakula. The lines of the inscription show him to be a great Emperor but there is just *Śrī* before his name, no Md or Pbh, while Viṣṇuvardhana of another Mandasor inscription of the Malava year 589 (=533-34 A.D.) though he refers to Śrī Yaśodharman as Janendra, king of the peoples, without the royal epithets, is shown to have assumed the titles of Md and Pbh.[15] However, the latter appears from the inscription to have been a sovereign ruler, and the former his subordinate, which goes against facts. So the mere titles of Md and Pbh do not prove the absolute independence or a higher status of a ruler. In the same way we should not be surprised to find that the Kahaum stone pillar inscription calls Skandagupta a Ksitipa, Lord of the earth. The Maukhari king Ananta Varmmā,[16] his father and grandfather are just called *nṛpa* in Barabar hill cave and Nagarjuna hill cave inscriptions, both in the Gaya district. The same is true of Iśvara Varmmā.[17] There are king who also adopt the title of Mahāsāmanta as it appears from the Nirmand (Kullu, Kangra now Himachal Pradesh) C.P. of Mahārāja Samudrasena. The inscription gives a genealogy of Samudrasena tracing his ancestry to the 4th generation back, and all these ancestors are called Mahārāja Sāmanta. It seems that the word Sāmanta carrying the meaning of the feudatory was not regarded as a derogatory title for a powerful absolute king.

As we go through the ancient and medieval history we know that the rulers whether it is in North or South India have not left their original name of the family simply because they were unsettled or eclipsed. So it is the height of absurdity to suggest that the patronymic of the rulers was lost or regained according as their fortunes changed. We have seen that the proposition has failed in so far as we examine our case in the light of Indian practices. But even in Nepal the proposition that the rulers eclipsed by their powerful ministers lose their familial identity is disproved as we see inscriptions of Dhruvadeva and Bhīmarjunadeva who always displayed their Lichchhavi lineage. There is no doubt that they were puppets in the hands of Jiṣṇugupta or his son. But they always carried the title of the banner of the Lichchhavi family (nos. 106, 107, 109, 110, 117, 118), 'ornament of the Lichchhavi family' (n. 108) or 'the mark on the forehead of the Lichchhavi family' (n. 111). Naturally the example of Vasantadeva, Rāmadeva or Gaṇadeva and his successors does not fit in here. Even DV's statement

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about Śivadeva I does not appear to be correct for Śivadeva was always placed under the tutelage of Amśuvarmā. His position as a weak monarch was no better than that of Vasantadeva or Gaṇadeva and his successors. But why Gaṇadeva should lose his dynastic identity, whereas Śivadeva, Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva retained it? DV's argument is devoid of any weight.

As we have discussed in detail in the dissertation 'Ancient Nepal' the inter-relation between Śrī Bhoginī, queen of Mānadeva and Manānka, a coin of Mānadeva, with the legend of Mānadeva, we proceed to consider points in regard to other inscriptions. But before that a few words about Mānadeva's position as a ruler will not be irrelevant.

In the inscription of the Imperial Guptas, the chief queens are described as Mahādevī.[18] Devī added to Bhoginī might not convey a different meaning. But there is no doubt that Śrī Bhoginī was the Mahārānī of Mānadeva,[19] she was his eldest queen, though no such word is used here. This is, however, a controversial question. What matters here is the absence of the word Mahādevī in Śrī Bhoginī's case.

Mānadeva being spoken of as 'the full moon in the firmament of the Lichchhavi family' by his daughter in the Suryaghat inscription so soon after his death, looks a bit odd, as not only Mānadeva but his successors right upto Śivadeva (exclusive) did not claim their descent from the Lichchhavi family. Why Mānadeva's daughter betrayed her anxiety to connect Mānadeva with the Lichchhavi dynasty is certainly a puzzle in this background. But it is unconvincing to read Dhanavajra's argument when he says that the royal family with its long past was in no need to exhibit its Lichchhavi lineage as there was no other family to vie with it in power and glory.[20] According to DV this was valid uptill Mānadeva. Then came a long spell of rule overshadowed by the Gupta Ābhiras, and now for a different reason the rulers saw no occasion to display their Lichchhavi dynastic ancestry. The Lichchhavi dynasty was simply lost in the guardianship of their Prime Minister's family. Later when with Amśuvarma's help Śivadeva asserted his power he found it possible to show his Lichchhavi origin without being drowned in the humdrum of the Ābhira glory. In regard to Narendradeva and his successors calling themselves Mahārājādhirāja the field was open for the full display of their honour, while they had a superior title to enjoy because of their Lichchhavi lineage.

I do not think that history has anywhere a parallel of a ruler or rulers not feeling urged to trace his or their origin from their own ancestral dynasty unless the same was obscure or of low origin. In the contemporary period of Indian history the example of the Imperial Guptas is enough to let anybody know how they had stated proudly their lineage in their inscriptions as they issued charters and this was done without exception tracing the origin from Śrigupta to Ghatotkacha Gupta. This goes uninterrupted upto the last scion of the Gupta dynasty even while they were ruling over a much small territory, and the founder's ancestry was obscure.

Mānadeva as King

Except for once (Inscr. n. 15), Mānadeva is not seen with the title of Mahārāja. He has a long reign of 32 years. He ascended the throne at a young age. If the Changu Narayana Inscription is taken seriously he carried military expeditions to the east and west against the revolting feudatories. But neither he nor his predecessors are given the titles of Mahārāja or any high sounding epithet in the royal charters or records, which would go to show that they enjoyed the position of a sovereign. K.P. Jayaswal at one stage suggested that the word *nrpa* generally applied to rulers of a subsidiary status. To add to this Mānadeva's reign goes without a charter. Whatever we have about him is from a few inscriptions he carved to set up a deity in a temple built by him or from those created by his loyal officers or servants or by the devotees. All records issued by those other than himself acknowledge Mānadeva's blessing and proclaim that they were issued by the grace or favour of his feet. This is a fair tribute paid to the master and protector. But the high sounding titles are not there. Of course, a reference to his personality is there. The lack of grandiose elements in the epithets may cast doubt on his sovereign status. However, instances of mini-rulers assuming bombastic titles are also common.

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Feudatories also try to show by their titles that they are no less royal than sovereign or Imperial rulers. Therefore titles might not actually represent the status of a ruler. Nevertheless as we find the titles Bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārāja which invariably occur in the *prasasti* of his successors and not in Mānadeva's own with just one exception, we are apt to be misled about his royal status and dignity as a reigning monarch. But that requires more research, which we intend to carry in 'Ancient Nepal', a separate volume.

Sovereign Ruler

Mānadeva I of Nepal is also called *nṛpa* in all inscriptions except one. We must link this practice to those already cited in the above paragraphs. Some people argue not minding the various instances as evident in North Indian inscriptions that Mānadeva was not an independent ruler because he is called *nṛpa*. But as we have seen the epithet *nṛpa* before his name does not minimise Mānadeva's position as a king of an independent country, small or large in size.

Mānagṛha

For the first time the Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva talks of Mānagṛha, from where the charter was issued. Obviously it was a royal palace where the king lived and maintained his office. The Mānagṛha was named after Mānadeva, and seems to have been built either by Mānadeva in the last part of his reign or Mahīdeva or Vasantadeva.

19. Chaṇḍeśvara Platform Stone

Because of the date line missing it is difficult to find the exact place for this inscription. It happens to be a record giving monetary units in purāṇa and paṇa. If it belonged to the period we have fixed it up here, the inference would be that the monetary units such as Purāṇa and Paṇa were in circulation long before Amśuvarmā. But as we have said it is much too early to come to this conclusion, if the statement of the inscription was to be the sole determining factor. As we have yet not found any inscription before Amśuvarmā's own which gives monetary units of purāṇa and paṇa it poses a question as to why no other inscriptions of the time before Amśuvarmā refer to monetary units. Paleography is no guide for the character of the inscription might belong to any time between early sixth and seventh century. The place we have assigned to the inscription before Vasantadeva might be wrong and in that case any conclusion based on the data in respect of monetary units will mislead us. I must therefore seek the indulgence of readers if there has occurred any lapse. It is enough to state here that there should be no confusion about the circulation of purāṇa and paṇa just on the basis of the statement of the inscription under study. This should be taken as a stray record if the placing is correct and that also if the reading of the coin term is correct and not a guess-work. Otherwise its proper place will be with the inscriptions of early 7th century A.D.

Mahīdeva

A word might be said about Mahīdeva. According to V[1] and the Pasupati inscription of Jayadeva II, Mahīdeva is the father of Vasantadeva and son of Mānadeva. He had a short reign. He has not left any record. If he had reigned for a short time, this was confined between *Āṣāḍha* of Samvat 427 and *Mārgga* of Sam. 428, the latter being the first available date of Vasantadeva.

As he is the first king in Nepal to adopt high sounding royal titles, and as some epithets suggest deep feeling of devotion to God, it will not be out of place to explain them fully in the background of a comparative study between his titles and those appearing in the Indian inscriptions.

Mahīdeva is mentioned in one of the inscriptions of Jiṣṇugupta.[21] He figures in Jayadeva's Paśupati

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stele. Vasantadeva is the last name in the older genealogy as given by Jayadeva's list. Jayadeva says that after Vasantadeva there were 13 kings and then came Narendradeva.

Vasantadeva

The son and successor of Mahīdeva was Vasantadeva who has several inscriptions to his credit extending from S. 428 to S. 454.

Much of the inscription above is devoted to land grants for the bath and worship of the image of the deity Rājyavardhanadeva and propitiating with gifts. It is difficult to identify this deity. But probably the deity is Śiva linga as the initial line 'the lord of the three universe' shows. The linga must have been installed in memory of some one called Rājyavardhana. The grants not only include fields yielding paddy, but also a jar of oil, and one jar of oil each at two other places, where grants of paddy were made to the extent of 60 and 50 mās respectively and for the worship of God there was also to be a contribution of 15 puranas.

This inscription on a slab of stone in the lower part of the front wall of Chaṇḍeśvara near the southern gate of Pasupatinatha might be of the reign of Mānadeva or of the earlier part of Vasantadeva's reign as the epigraphy of the record shows.

Before Amśuvarmā, this is the only record showing a monetary unit, the purana. But the reading might not be correct, Rājyavardhanadeva is absolutely unknown to us as a king, and we have yet to know about him. If he is not a deity, such a name seems strange.

20. The Thankot Stele Inscription

With this inscription we come to a new phase of records. First, a royal house had come into existence. Because it bears the name Mānagṛha from where the charter was issued, it is certain that this was built by Mānadeva towards the end of his reign or by Vasantadeva in memory of his grandfather. This inscription is almost a model for many others of the type that are to follow. It has all the features of a royal decree in favour of inhabitants of a certain village or the Panchali (see the pages later). Mānagṛha continues to be the palace of the kings till Amśuvarmā creates his own palace by name Kailāsakuta and it appears altogether gone out of use when Narendradeva was restored. For some time during the time of Jiṣṇugupta and his son, Mānagṛha was the seat of the puppet kings, while Kailāsakuta was the seat of the de facto rulers.

Invariably in cases of decrees or orders issued by a king, the following occur in the inscriptions.

The inscription begins with *Om svasti* and is in the form of a charter or decree and is addressed by Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja (abbreviated hereafter Bh. Maha., or just M). Vasantadeva who was a great follower of the God (paramadaivata) and meditating upon the feet of Bh. Mah. Śrīpāda (referring to his father). The identity of Vasantadeva's father is known from the Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva II. His name is given as Mahīdeva. There is no record of his reign. Perhaps he had a very short career running into some months. In other inscriptions *Bappāpādānudhyāta* appears in place of *Srīpādānudhyāta*. Why Śrīpāda is not used here is not explained. He himself is in health and wishes the same to those who had just settled down in the village of Jayapallikā along with the Brahmanas and elders and 18 prakṛtis, including dignitaries of state and professionals and castes, to whose attention the charter is directed.

The 18 prakṛti occurs here for the first time but this is the only instance where the word has been used. In Anantalingeśvara inscription the caste of Chāndāla (untouchable) also is mentioned. We shall discuss what this 18 prakṛti means.

The address is couched in a very polite expression 'viditam bhavatubhavatām'. Om svasti in the beginning signifies 'greetings for the happiness of the addressees'. The charter also wishes welfare and health of the subjects, in whose favour the decree was issued. I think that the form of address was common for all kings of the age. In the contemporary inscriptions of India the expression used is

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bhavatu esām or viditam vostu. The respectful 'bhavatām' is lacking as it did in our earlier records. The Nepalese rulers had followed a tradition of their own, which not only enjoined on them to wish for the welfare of their subjects but at the same time to respect them in words. But, of course, this came in practice later and was probably formal.

I would not take it as a reciprocal measure when people other than a king refer to the reign in the inscriptions wishing 'varṣaśatam sāgram', i.e., a rule of 100 or more to the king on the throne at the time. The donors simply could not but refer to the reign in that vein. Such a practice was adopted not only by way of courtesy reference, but it is actually the respect for and fear of the authority of the king, which led the people to acknowledge his presence in the inscriptions.

Kutumbi means a householder. So in addressing the inhabitants the decree took into account the heads of the family or house. The Brahmanas were regarded as natural leaders of the community, and they were followed by elders. So were the chiefs (pradhāna) of the locality.

The charter is intended to inform those who had just settled in the village of Jayapallikā, their leaders, the Brahmanas, Brahmuṇ, Sulham, Tepula, . . . chiefs, all village families (kutumbinah) and 18 prakṛtis, who were informed about the grant of land to the king's sister Jayasundarī to enable her to enjoy the ownership for generations together.

The village from now on obtained the privilege of a fort and was free from the entry of chāṭa bhaṭa. In the boundary Śitāṭi Gulma is mentioned, and also showing the grāma gifted as west of it. I do not think that Śitāṭi was interpreted as is done by Dhanavajra who thinks that it was first an ordinary place and later became a security area.

The Charter

The charter was called Śāsanaṁ and it was given through writing on a stone (śilāpaṭṭakam).

With the Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva starts the practice of issuing a charter granting special rights to the people in respect of departmental actions or the degree of concessions made in respect of taxes, custom duties, rights to cut grass and trees and to use water channels for irrigation, etc, etc. Land grants are made for the maintenance of the temple and its premises, water conduits built for providing drinking water facilities to the people and construction of a canal for irrigation and its repair and maintenance at the expense of the state.

Vasantadeva's charter deals with the grant of a village to his sister who was to enjoy the ownership till eternity, generation to generation. It also confers on the village the title which might go to enhance its status to that of a fort. The dignity attached to a fort was higher than that of a village. It was then treated as a security area and many benefits accrued to the people on account of this status, the agriculturists in the fort area also reaped considerable advantages.

All the charters had common features, which can be thus summarised:

1. It was issued by the king or in the name of the king by a regent. They bore high sounding titles.

2. Sometimes there was a high ranking person, perhaps the one who was a very powerful hand behind the throne interceding (Vijñāpitena) in favour of the declaration, such as Ravigupta in the case of Vasantadeva, Bhaumagupta in the reign of Gaṇadeva and Amśuvarmā in the reign of Śivadeva. In some cases the charter was given when recommended by persons near to the authority who issued it exercising considerable power as in the case of Chandravarma in the Tavajhya inscription of Jiṣṇugupta.

3. Invariably the address was made to the householders of a village (Grāma) or Pāñchālikā or grāma pānchālikā after due enquiries of their welfare.

4. Then the subject of the charter was explained in detail. This covered immunity from the king's regular and irregular soldiers, spies and departmental office holders. Concessions were given to the people to institute investigations and proceedings in respect of 5 crimes and of suspicions raised as to breach of the agreement signed in written documents (e.g. Inscription nos. 38-43). The royal favour at times took the form of tax concessions, e.g. the tax on a goat or sheep (Viṣṇupādukā foothill

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and Yangahiti inscription), fish (Chapagaon), garlic and onion (Bungmati), fowls, pigs and fishes, and goats. Large animals or birds or their smaller varieties formed the subject of tax measures (matsyānāmavādhanena paritustair). This is dealt with in several inscriptions (Bungmati and Tokha steles of Śivadeva and Amśuvarmā's time). The Tistung inscription of Amśuvarmā frees all those who had returned from outside the area after selling musk, flywhisk and copper utensils and potsherds from the obligation of paying custom dues. The tax on cloth was withdrawn in a particular area by Jiṣṇugupta through the Thankot (Narayanatol) charter.

There were matters forming a ground for extending favours of the people by the king. These matters involved expenses by the state, or the privileges given gave them enormous facilities of local development depending on the circumstances. The charter announced royal donations for a new temple, repair and maintenance of an old one, constructing a canal for irrigation or water conduits for providing drinking water. The Sundhara inscription of Amśuvarmā makes a grant of land for the temple.

Result of the Violation of the Charter

The charter which incorporated a royal grant of privileges to the people was a sacred document and close to the heart of the man who issued. He was anxious that the people should always enjoy them and none should tamper with his meritorious deeds.

When the charter was issued it was seen that the object was not tampered with and subjected to depredation. The mischievous were warned not to act against the injunction promulgated by the authority in this connection. The king's employees had to be particularly vigilant about its safety. Failure to take measures would invite the king's wrath and punishment (*aham na marṣayiṣyāma*). Kings in future were also to act to preserve the object of the charter, whatever it was. But the people of the area bore the greatest responsibility as they enjoyed the benefits accruing from the royal gifts.

The last passage in all the charters was a request to everybody concerned to protect the gift made by past kings, another appeal made it obligatory on them to treat it as a bridge of dharma as ordered by classical laws of virtue. There was in some cases a statement of Vyāsa (however, without his name) on the necessity of taking care of the gifts. This call was made to Yudhisthira, to whom the sage said 'you must protect it with due efforts, Oh! Yudhisthira.' It does not matter if the object was the donation of a past king. It involved more responsibilities because he enjoyed more merits on that account. The breach would mean a life of a worm in hell for sixty thousand years to come. The past kings were teachers, and their meritorious deeds had to be defended as a matter of duty.

The charter was conveyed to the people through a stone (śilāpaṭṭaka) and was called śāsana. The favour conceded was prasāda. The object when created was called (tisṛsta). The dūtaka was the agent whose duty was to convey the message.

All these features were common to all charters in India and Nepal. But Indian records also gave the name of the engraver and the writer in many inscriptions.

There is no seal of the king in any of the charters and this is also unlike the charters issued by Indian kings.

Pradhāna

The village with or without a Pānchālikā seems to have a principal member called Pradhana who along with the Brāhmanas in some cases and alone in many others is seen leading the villagers addressed in the charters. According to Lexicon a Pradhāna was in charge of an armed force (Senādhyakṣah pradhanasyāt). Perhaps he was in charge of the department of a local police unit. His position is equated with that of a mahāmātra (mahāmātra pradhānasyāt), a minister. This is according to Bharata's commentary on Amarakośa. The Amarakośa (3/9/57) calls him *agrīyam* the man who goes ahead of others, i.e., leads them. Let us also quote Manu in this connection:

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उपसर्ज्जनं प्रधानस्य धर्म्मतो नोपपद्यते ।
पिताप्रधानं प्रजने तस्मात् धर्म्मेणतं भवेत् ।।

The Mahābhārata (12/230/181) puts pradhāna in the category of royal sages:

प्रधानो नाम राजाच शक्तं ते श्रोतमागतः ।
कुले तस्यसमुत्पन्नां सुलभानामविद्धिमाम् ।।

It appears that the kings in those days attached great importance to the Pradhāna of the village. He was a local man of popularity, in whom the state and the people could have trust.

The Brāhmanas figure in five inscriptions of Gaṇadeva dated S. 482 along with the Pradhāna (Pradhāna Brāhmana purassarān). Śivadeva and Aṃśuvarmā in all their inscriptions used 'nivasinah Pradhāna purassarān' and had no use of Brāhmanas, whether they had to address the villages or Pānchālikās. The practice is also followed by Udayadeva's only inscription. Jiṣṇugupta addresses either village families as a whole or as those led by the Pradhāna but nevertheless Brāhmanas are missing. Narendradeva also omits Brāhmanas and addresses villagers as led by the Pradhānas (pradhānagressarān). Except in a few cases the Brāhmanas are conspicuous by their absence.

Kutumbi

All the charters or decrees issued by the kings are either addressed to the Kutumbis of a village or to officers of certain departments. Along with the Kutumbis their elders or chiefs or Brāhmaṇas also figure as leaders. This is without exception. In combination the address runs 'Brāhmaṇa purassarān' or 'Pradhāna purassarān' or 'Brāhmaṇa pradhāna purassarān'.

Kutumbi means a family or a household in the collective sense. Kutumbi is a householder, the head of the family who is charged with the care of the household. Kutumbi according to Jaladhara is one who is leading a family life or one who holds a special position in the family. He is a peasant as defined by Śabdachandrikā as quoted by Śabdakalpadruma. But it might also mean a member of the family including a servant.[22] A verse in one of the oldest authors, Manu (111.80) as commented upon by Kulluka Bhaṭṭa regards Kutumbi as head of the family. 'The seers, mānas, Gods, divine beings, and guests also pray to those heads of families for support.'[23] Yājnavalkya adopts more or less the same interpretation. In our context we should mean Kutumbi as head of the family or a householder performing similar duties.

The King and Administration

After all the king was wielding absolute powers over the life and property of his subjects and he had been ruling since the Vedic age. His presence was taken to be that of a divine being. We have quoted Manu for establishing his divine qualities. Kautilya, although expressing ideas of common interests binding the people with the king, could not hesitate to say that the royal power was sacrosanct. It was a divine power. A king was Indra and Yama both combined; he enjoyed powers by virtue of hereditary rights. This power had no checks and balances. Manu's king had divine power enjoyed through a human form. It was absolute. If any traditional checks were there, they were not so binding and depended on temperament of the ruler. If he was strong he flouted them, if he was weak, he felt himself helpless and was dominated by courtiers.

The king called himself Paramabhaṭṭāraka or bhaṭṭāraka to stress his divine character. Bhaṭṭāraka means a divinity being applied to the king who has the character of a divine being. The Amarakośa (1/7/13) states that it is a synonym for a king (rājābhaṭṭārako devah), Manu states that he is the embodiment of all divine qualities and God himself in the form of a man.

We have seen that by calling himself Paramabhaṭṭāraka a king asserted his divine authority and

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ruled his kingdom as a God in human form. There were no formal checks on his power. He was as absolute as the God himself. His relationship with the people was based on the concept that a ruler was created to command absolutely and people to obey him in absolute faith. But this had nothing to do with power relationship. We shall quote verses from Kautilya and Smṛti texts how the king should keep before him the high objective of popular welfare in governing his people. They laid utmost emphasis on the happiness of the people and sometimes even questioned his authority saying that he should never punish any one who was not guilty and did not deserve punishment. The principle involved in it was that the king should always exercise his authority with discretion and his behaviour and conduct should be above reproach. Manu's (7/16) commentator Kulluka Bhaṭṭa suggested that the king should act according to rules of Śāstras. They even reminded the king of the fate which wicked rulers like Nahuṣa and Vena met for their unseemly and immoral conduct. The views expressed by classical writers are given in the following paragraphs.

The king is regarded to have 3 powers (śaktis). The Amarakośa states:

राजां प्रभावोत्साह मन्त्रजाते च सामर्थ्ये

The king's influence lies in courage, advice and might.

According to Goraksa, a medieval writer:

इच्छाक्रिया तथा ज्ञानं गौरी ब्राह्मी च वैष्णवी-त्रिधा शक्ति स्थितायत्र तत्परं ज्योति रोमति ।

Where the desire, work and knowledge exist, the three divine Śaktis, Gaurī, Brahmī and Vaiṣṇavī also exist and there is all brightness. If he combines all these three divine powers the king becomes invincible.

Such is the king. He can never be challenged. Only an indignant people can throw him out.

Royal Devotion to Deities and Parents

Vasantadeva's name in the Thankot inscription is qualified by the words *Paramadaivata* and *Śrīpādānudhyāta*. *Paramadaivata* or *Paramamāheśvara* are used in a few places as far as Nepalese inscriptions are concerned. But in the Indian inscriptions of the contemporary period they are used quite often. All the Gupta Emperors from Chandra Gupta called themselves *Paramabhāgavata*.

Chandra Gupta II calls himself paramabhāgavata in Mathura stone inscription.[24] The same epithet occurs in Garhwa stone inscription, where Chandra Gupta calls himself Paramabhāgavata.[25] Kumāra Gupta also calls himself paramabhāgavata also in the Garhwa stone.[26] There are other inscriptions where Kumāra Gupta and his successors are called Paramabhāgavata.[27] Paramabhāgavata qualifies the rulers' names from Chandra Gupta II to Skanda Gupta also in Bhitari stone inscription.

The Vākātaka contemporaries of the Gupta emperors adopted the same epithets. Prabhāvati called herself 'a devotee of Lord Viṣṇu'.[28] Prabhāvati was the daughter of Chandra Gupta II and wife of Rudra Sena, who was related to the Naga Bhāraśiva royal family through his mother in the Chammak C.P. The Vākātaka king Pravarasena is called Paramamāheśvara.[29]

The ruler of Paribrājaka dynasty Mahārāja Hastin of the Bhumara stone pillar inscription calls himself Mahādeva padanudhyata.[30] His son assumes the epithet of Paramabhāgavata pitribhakta in his Khoh copper plate (Naugarh state in the Baghelkhand division of Central India).[31] The Valabhi dynasty of rulers called themselves either Paramabhāgavata or Paramamāheśvara, as is evident from the Maliya (Junagarh, Saurastra) C.P.[32] One of these kings was addressed as Paramāditya bhakta (devotee of Sun God) in the same inscription. It may be noted that all the inscriptions of Valabhi kings were dated according to Gupta era. To sum up, as we go through the lines of inscriptions and genealogies we find that while one king is addressed as 'devotee of Śiva', another is addressed 'as a

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devotee of Viṣṇu' or 'Sun God' or 'his father or parents'.

In some cases a person describes himself to be devoted to Viṣṇu and Śiva or to both of them.

The Thankot inscription in using the expression *paramadaivata* shows that it has followed the model provided in the 4th-6th century period inscriptions of North India more particularly in areas ruled by the Guptas or their feudatories and subfeudatories. The term *Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka Śrīpādānudhyāta* means meditating upon the feet of *Śrīpāda Bhaṭṭāraka*, which means the preceding king, who was the donor's father. Later the word *Bappāpādānudhyāta* meaning 'who meditates upon the feet of his father' was only used. But the former expression is common to all Vasantadeva's inscriptions, where the particular portions are readable.[33] The word *Paramadaivata* also qualifies the royal name in these inscriptions.

The word *Bappāpādānudhyāta* is found in all inscriptions of Gaṇadeva and Śivadeva I. From the time of Amśuvarmā down to that of Jayadeva II one more word, *Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānudhyāta*, is found. But in almost all the later inscriptions of Śivadeva I and his ruling ancestors as far back as Mānadeva I, this word is missing.[34] Amśuvarmā never used these epithets while he was said to have suggested issuing of the charter by Śivadeva I in the latter's inscriptions. He uses his epithets only when charters are issued in his own name (Amśuvarmā). As for the inscriptions issued under Jiṣṇugupta and Viṣṇugupta's de facto regime, the epithets seeking the blessing of Paśupatinatha and the father are used in combination only by their powerful regents, Bhīmārjunadeva and Dhruvadeva using only the expression *Bappāpādānudhyāta*, while Narendradeva, Śivadeva II and Jayadeva II put both the epithets before their names following the practice of Amśuvarmā and Jiṣṇugupta.

The Indian rulers seem equally respectful to their father as the inscriptions go to show.

In the Bihar stone, both Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta call themselves *tadpādānudhyāta* referring to the father. In the Bhitari inscription of Skanda Gupta the same epithet is used to convey respect to Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta. The feudatory Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa, the contemporaries of the Parivrājakas also used *tadpādānudhyāta* in each royal name in the genealogy given in their copper plates,[35] thereby showing that each successor was deeply respectful to his father or even brother. The Valabhi king Guhasena was called *tadpādasaparyyavāpta punyodayah* referring to his father, and Dhārasena, the author of the C.P. called himself *tadpādanakhamayukha samtana.*[36] In the Almat (Kheda Dt., Gujarat) Dhārasena is addressed as *tadpādānudhyāta* referring to his brother Dhārasena II.[37] In the Arang (near Rayapur, C.P. former) copper plate Mahā Jayarāja (in the seal: *srimato Jayarājasya śāsanam*) calls himself *mātāpitripādānudhyāta.*

In one Maukhari inscription the genealogy speaks of each king *tadpādānudhyāta* referring to his father (Inscription of Sarvvavarman, son of Iśānavarman).[38] More instances can be cited, but the above is sufficient to bring the point home.

Ruler as Divine Being

The title Parameśvara appears since the mid 8th century A.D. as we have already seen. The Gupta kings, descendants of Mādhava Gupta and Āditya Sena, Deva Gupta onwards to Viṣṇu Gupta and Jivita Gupta, assume the title of Parameśvara in the Deobanarak inscription of Jivita Gupta II, who himself is a great-grandson of Āditya Sena.[39] Jivita Gupta II flourished in the early 8th century. The Valabhi kings who used the Gupta era, also are given the title of Parameśvara in the Alina C.P. (Nadiad, Khaira Dt. of Gujarat) of Siladitya VII. The inscription according to Fleet is dated Valabhi year 447 and added to it 320, it comes to 766-67 A.D. The epithet Pm was an aura of divinity to these kings. The kings of the Pāla dynasty are all given the title of Parameśvara as early as Dharmapāla in the inscription of Khalimpur, Malda Dt., West Bengal (CIB, p. 95; Gaudalekhamālā, p. 11).

As we come to the Gupta period all the inscriptions of the emperors carry the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. Most of Samudra Gupta's records bear just *MD* (*Mahārājādhirāja*)[40] or *Rd* (*Rājādhirāja*) as well as *Mahārāja*. But we should not lose sight of the fact that inscriptions only

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used *Md* omitting *Pbh* in many cases or used only *Bh*[41] (abbreviation of *bhaṭṭāraka*). Chandra Gupta assumed the title of *Pbh* in two inscriptions. In the genealogy of the inscriptions no Gupta Emperor is given the title of *Pbh*, he is mentioned just *Md* so and so born of the mother so and so. Among the records of Skanda Gupta the Indore C.P.[42] has *Pbh*. Probably in one of the inscriptions of Kumāra Gupta the *Pbh* is noticed. *Mahārājādhirāja* Puru Gupta another son of Kumāra Gupta also does not have Pbh in his Bihar inscription.[43] The same thing is noticed in Kumāra Gupta II's Bhitari seal.[44] But Buddha Gupta appears in the inscription as 'Buddhagupte praśasti'.

As their contemporaries of India, whether Emperors or subsidiary kings, the Nepalese monarchs adopted the titles of *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja* upto the time of Bhīmārjunadeva and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* since the time of Narendradeva uptill Jayadeva II. The epithet *Bhaṭṭāraka* added an aura of divinity to tyeir position. The title of *Parameśvara*, which is common in India both during the 8th century and medieval period afterwards and for Nepal for all centuries of the medieval period since the 10th century A.D., is rarely used in the inscriptions of ancient Nepal. According to one reading of the Chyāsal tole inscriptions[45] there is the epithet *Parameśvara* before Jayadeva's name. But the ending cannot be as certain and it might be the just guesswork of Dhanavajra.

Taking the examples from Indian contemporary records, we see that the title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* abbreviated *Pbh Md* has been assumed by the emperors and kings as well as by subsidiary rulers. No matter how much area they controlled, kings are used to assume this title in their records. This practice seems to have prevailed more commonly since the Gupta dynasty came into power in North India. We might remember in this connection that the Maurya Emperor Aśoka was satisfied with the title of *devānāmpriya priyadarsī rājā* and Kaniska with *Mahārājā* and *Devaputra*. But some inscriptions show Huviska, one of the Kushan kings, assume the title of *Rājatirāja* (Sanchi, Buhler, EI, I, pp. 369-70). The Sātavāhanas, however, assumed simple title (just *Rājā*), although they were powerful and controlled a vast territory. Khāravela was content with the title of *Mahārājā* (Hathigumpha and Udaya Giri caves, Sirckar *Select Inscriptions*, n. 8, p. 213).

Paramadaivata which means a great devotee of the God is used by Vasantadeva in almost all his inscriptions. But such an epithet is missing from inscriptions following his reign except for once by Narendradeva who calls himself *Paramamāheśvara*, the great follower of *Maheśvara* in his Yangubahi and Vajraghar inscriptions.

Looking into the contemporary Indian scene we find that no king's or feudatory's name goes without such an epithet. In Nepal this practice appears exceptional.

Checks on the Divine Rights

If the lawgivers had treated the king as a divine being, and his institution to be sacrosanct, they also have advised moderation in the exercise of powers by the antocratic monarchy. I say moderation, because it would act as a check on his absolute powers which if exercised indiscretely might lead the country into chaos. It is just to prevent the king from misusing his absolute powers that the lawgivers have asked him to be polite, identify his own interest with that of the people and even to the extent of reminding him that kings who were impolite and acted against the injunctions of the scriptures were destroyed by God himself.

Kings received obedience and respect of the people because the latter in return obtained protection. To protect the people was the foremost duty of the king and the non-performance of such a duty deprived him of his right to draw sustenance from his people by way of taxation. He is bound by dharma to protect his people. Even Manu who is an advocate of divine right theory of kings does not hesitate to say that the king who looks on without rendering help to his people while they are being harassed by robbers and carried away by them is just like being dead and does not deserve to be called living (7/43).

Kauṭilya in a section called maṇḍalayoni 6th adhikaraṇa and 96th prakaraṇam (Chapter I) states in the 13th passage that a king who does not derive his title from his forefathers, who is greedy, whose

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advisors are of mean birth, with dissatisfied subjects, behaving unjustly towards them, remiss in conduct, of vicious temperament, devoid of energy, trusting only in fate but doing nothing, impotent, ever doing harm to his people, if kings are like this, they will be destroyed. Here Kauṭilya stresses the need for keeping the people happy if the king had to remain in power. We get more information about the king's duty from the following passages quoted from Smṛti texts.

Duties Towards the People

Kauṭilya advises the king always to remember that in the welfare of his people lay his own happiness and in that spirit he should guide the economic policies of the state (I.19.34-35):

प्रजा सुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानांच हितेहितम् ।
नात्मप्रियहितंराज्ञः प्रजानांतु प्रियंहितम् ।।
तस्मिन्नित्योत्थितो राजा कुर्यादर्थानु शासनम् ।
अर्थस्य मूल मुत्थान मनर्थस्य विपर्ययः ।।

If not in its totality.

Kauṭilya lays down a principle that nothing should be taxed twice.

The Smṛti authors also emphasised the need for a king to make his people happy. Yajnavalkya states that a king who causes harassment to his subjects gets his life, family and wealth all burnt:

प्रजापीडन सन्तापात् समुभ्दूतो हूताशनः ।
राज्ञः कुलं श्रियं प्राणांश्च दग्ध्वा ननिवर्तते ।। 341

Manu stresses that the foremost duty of a king is to act with modesty, please his subjects and protect them:

समीक्ष्य सधृतः सम्यक् सर्वान् रञ्जयति प्रजाः
असमीक्ष्य प्रणीतस्तु विनाशयति सर्वशः 7/35
तेन यत् यत् सभृत्येन कर्तव्यं रक्षितं प्रजाः
तत्तद्वोहं प्रवक्ष्यामि यथा वदनु पूर्वशः 7/36

If the king failed in his duty, and deviated from his ordained obligations he is liable to be destroyed with his relatives by the same daṇḍa with which the sinner is punished:

दण्डोहिसुमहत्तेजो दुर्धरश्चा कृतामभि ।
धर्माद्विचलितं हन्ति नृपयेव सवान्धवम् ।। 7/28
वहवोऽविनयानष्टा राजानः सपरिच्छद ।
ववस्था अपि राज्यानि विनयात् प्रतिपादिरे ।। 7/40
वेनो विनष्टोऽविनयात् नहुषश्चैव पार्थिव ।
सुदाः पैजनश्चैव सुमुखो निमिरेव च ।। 1/41
क्षत्रियस्य परोधर्मः प्रजानामेव पालनम् ।
निर्दिष्ट फल भोक्ताहि राजाधर्मेण युज्यते ।। Manu (7.144)

According to Manu the king whose subjects are molested by dacoits in his presence is as good as dead:

विकोशन्ते यस्य राष्ट्राभ्रियन्ते दस्युभिः प्रजाः
संपश्यता समृत्यस्य मृतः सनतु जीवति

Manu goes to the extent of saying that if a ruler who fails to protect his subjects has no right to be on the throne any more.

The king lost his kingdom by an act of avinaya i.e. impolite conduct. Primarily, however, the king's institution was divine and he was absolute and authoritarian.

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King as Father

In Nepal there are expressions like *piteva dayate* applied to Mānadeva, *prajāhita samādhāna tatpara* used in the epithets of Amśuvarmā (Sanga stele), *aniśamaśaṣasatva sukha samudayopapādano dita chitta* (Taukhel Inscription), *Prajahitaisi*, one who wishes welfare of his subjects (Chhinnamasta stele of Jiṣṇugupta), *Prajāhitotdyukta* (Kevalpur stone of Jiṣṇugupta) and *kṛtva lokahitodyumaprabhayā* (engaged in promoting the happiness of the people in the Lujhya stele of Narendradeva). The expression 'for the welfare of the people' (prajānām śreyasa) finds place in the Yangahiti inscription, which talks of the temple being restored, suggesting that if not in its totality Kauṭilya's precepts were followed to the spirit by our rulers to a degree. But every king promises to make his people happy. It is difficult to say if kings obliged the lawgivers by carrying out their injunctions.

The expression like 'Piteva dayate' used by Mānadeva I and 'Prajāhita samādhāna tatparah' and 'Katham prajāme Sukhātā bhaveyuh' as used by Amśuvarmā are very attractive and indicate the benevolent nature of our monarchy. But all these also go to show the fact that a ruler always adopted a paternalistic attitude towards his people. If the king loves his people as the father loves his children then the relationship subsisting between the two wears father-son character. The Prajā also means children. In the eyes of the king the people are children, to whom automatically his love goes. But a father in the old society also possesses unquestionable authority in the family affairs and the children have little say. Thus if the fatherly figure symbolises love he also symbolises dominance. The father commands respect and obedience and his position is higher than the sky, when Yudhiṣṭhira was asked by the Yakṣa whom he considered to be greater than the sky, the reply came, 'If one's mother is more esteemed than heaven and she deserved respect on that account the father yet higher received greater respect than the sky.'

The father is god like and so is the monarch as the father of his people. The king derived his authority primarily as a divine being but secondarily as a father to the people. He enjoyed godlike and fatherly qualities and hence was looked upon with awe by his people.

The expressions above quoted smack of paternalism in the king-people relationship. But this is an old practice and is inspired by the theory that the king was the father, and the people his sons. Our lawgivers thought on this line and we find the kings arrogating to themselves the role of a father in addition to divinehood already claimed.

Yājnavalkya and Manu stress the role of the king as a father in the family of his people and define his duties, one of the foremost duties was to rule over his own country (Svarāṣṭraparipālanam). He should, however, rule like a father:

ब्राह्मणेषु क्षमीस्निग्धेष्वजिह्मः क्रोधनोऽरिषु ।
स्याद् राजाभृत्यवर्गेषु प्रजासुचयथा पिता ॥ 3/13/624

For Manu the duty of a king was to protect his prajā (people), to serve the Brahmanas and not to flee from the battle-field (7/88). Whenever Manu speaks about the people he uses the word *prajā*, which means children. Kauṭilya also uses the word *prajā*, and in describing the system of rule he declares that the king's principal duty was to rule. He preserves the 4 varṇa system by means of daṇḍa, and he ensures that each one sticks to the duties prescribed for him (1.4.16). He advises self-discipline to the ruler and enjoins on him to avoid deviation from his duties.

What these lawgivers try to establish is the fact of a paternalism exercised by the ruler. This anticipates a relationship between the august father and his children. But the father symbolises both authority and love, and when it is the king there is more authority than love and this authority cannot be questioned despite safeguards in favour of the people regarded as children against misuse of royal prerogatives.

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Absolute King

Any autocrat whether a king claiming divine right or his regent placed circumstantially in a dictatorial position acted as it suited his interests. It was not obligatory on the kings to behave as our lawgivers liked them to do. The lawgivers expressed pious wishes. They were preachers. They might have been fearless preachers but the question is as to how many of the men they blessed as kings did really listen to them. Generally a strong king had his own way. If he talked of high ideals such as generosity, tolerance and nobility it was in all probability just to pay a lip service to them. It was the usual practice with kings to exercise royal powers ruthlessly and no king was an exception to it.

Kauṭilya and other lawgivers have made contradictory statements. They also speak in equivocal language. The king is asked to exercise his powers discretely and award punishment to those who deserve it. But they do not say what actions do actually invite punishment and what are the categories of persons who deserve punishment.

But more than that when the divine instrument called daṇḍa is to rule by creating a sense of fear in the minds of all gods and men alike, what other considerations can prevail to counteract its rigours. If the daṇḍa tends to be oppressive to some it is necessary for everybody because it guarantees protection to people from evil doers. This is the consolation we derive but then the fact stands that it is absolute and divine and knows no check except voluntarily accepted by the holder of daṇḍa himself who should be at least in theory noble, just and wise and conversant with all the scriptures. This is how Manu describes the king. A scholar thinks that what our scriptures say is not in recognition of divine rights of the king but to stress the fact that if he fulfilled certain duties he became divine. But the qualities of divinity are likely to be misinterpreted, and as Nārada and Manu suggest he becomes a god possessing unquestionable powers, Kauṭilya is no exception. He says that though the king should tread a middle path in respect of using daṇḍa the world must know that without daṇḍa the society will not exist. It will yield to a law of the fishes, the strong oppressing the weak. There must be a holder of daṇḍa; it is only when the king effectively uses his daṇḍa, then people can follow their traditional occupations on the right track (1.4.11-16). This is absolutism in another form and we now ask 'are there any limits to the use of daṇḍa except those which are self-imposed?' The authority of the king is said to emanate from his duty to maintain rājadharma as Yājnavalkya called it, which was to maintain the law of varṇāśrama dharma. Failure to do so might be risky resulting in the exposure of his incompetence and in his final exit. But in actual practice this is not so. The king is always a king whatever he does. As the people have no right to question the system so the way he uses his daṇḍa cannot be questioned. As one author put it: 'The significance of his political function is always acknowledged and the need for discretionary powers is admitted. The ruler may be forced by circumstances to depart from the very law in order to preserve it.' Kauṭilya justified autocracy by other means. To quote Dreikmaker again: 'The state was forced to take measures that frequently ran counter to the accepted moral standards of the community. But Kauṭilya well knew that such policies were all that could save society from collapse. He was led inevitably to a theory approximating the reason of state arguments of sixteenth-century Europe. But he sought to empasize the fact that such actions were not irresponsible. Indeed it is the duty of the ruler to his subjects that compels him to take drastic steps to ensure their welfare. Survival and progress are recognized as bestowing authority. He who protects the people is the true kṣatriya. We are told in the Mahābhārata that function, merit, and initiative had actually long been components of the traditional justification of power. They receive new emphasis in the Kauṭilyan model of the bureaucratic state and the theory of authority on which it was built. The author of the Arthaśāstra departs most radically from orthodoxy in his intimation that religion exists as a social ideology. And he threatens the base of authority when he attempts to utilize religious symbols fraudulently to accomplish the purposes of the state, for this is to transform authority into power.'

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The King's Order

Samājnāpayati comes immediately after the king or any one conferring a gift starts to explain the purpose. At the end when the explanation is complete (and if it is a land grant or the limits of the area within which the concession or favour was enjoyed by the people were drawn) the word *itisamājnāpānā* occurs. The same expression also is used by Narendradeva. Gaṇadeva, however, uses mānayati also in all his inscriptions (n. 38-43). Mānayati and bodhayati are common in the inscriptions of Bengal.

In our inscriptions all the charters before Amśuvarmā bore the expression 'Samajnāpanā' at the end of the statement before the date line. Amśuvarmā started with svayamājnā and the practice was continued thereafter up to the end of the period with only two exceptions. The charters of Viṣṇugupta mention pratimananā in place of pratipālanā, which have more or less the same meaning.

In India, too, samājnāpayati is the earlier term. But Chandra Gupta in his Mathura Pillar inscription just says *vijnāptikryate sambodhancha*. His daughter Prabhāvatī uses ānjnāpayati. We see this expression also in the charters of Dharmapāla and Devapāla in the eighth century. Narayanapala's Bhagalpur C.P. has the expression, *yatharthaur mānayati bodhayati samādiśatische*.

The Indian rulers also sometimes used svamukliajna instead of svayamājñā. Fleet renders it as the order or command of one's own mouth or *ajnaptah svamukham*. This takes various forms. But svamukhājñā is generally used, e.g. line 23 of Arrang C.P. of Maha Jayarāja. Sudevarāja in his charter issued from Sarahapura has similar expression.

But whether it is Samājnāpanā or Svayamājñā or Svamukhājñā, all carry the same meaning.

This term started in the Gupta period. But this occurs very rarely in the inscriptions of the Gupta Emperors. However, the earliest use is in the Mathura pillar Inscription of GS 61=380 A.D. While all inscriptions of Nepal have the word samājnāpayati to mean announcement of the king's charter, the inscriptions in North India with which similarities exist in many spheres, show other versions also, and sometimes not one word but 2 or 3 words carrying the same meaning are used together. One of Purugupta's inscription (Bihar Shariff Pillar) in the latter part of 5th century A.D. uses the word samājnāpayam while ending the charter.

In the Khoh (Naugarh, Baghelkhand) copper plate of Mahārāja Sarvvanātha the word samajnapayati is used in 7th line while addressing brahmanadināKutumbinā sarvvakāruncha. The Malaya C.P. of Mahārāja Dhārāsena of Sauraṣṭra issued from Valabhi (on 571-72 A.D.=252 Valabhi era) uses samājnāpayati in addressing various dignitaries and low grade servants of the state, whose titles we shall enumerate later. Śīlāditya VII again of Gujarat Peninsula (447=766 A.D.) in his Alina copper plate issued from Anantapur (Kheda Dt.) uses samājnāpayati when he has to order his subjects to announce the grant of land to Brahmanas.

Samājnapayati also occurs in the Raipur C.P. of Rājā Mahā Sudevaraja. These kings called Rājā Mahā ruled in Central India in the southern part. They used their own regnal years for date but they were contemporaries of later Gupta Emperors asserting their power and themselves issued charters.

Bhagalpur inscription is on the same line. However there is not only Narayanapala's samājnāpayati but mānayati or bodhayati, samadiśyaticha (orders, wants them to understand and directs).

State Servants

The charters in general called state servants as those who earned their living 'at our feet' (*asmadpādopajīvinah*).

Some inscriptions called them living with the favour of our feet (asmadpādaprasādopajīvi).

Yet more spoke of them to have been living by 'the grace of our feet' (asmodcharaṇopajīvibhi). We have also a few records, which show *asmatprasādapratibaddhajivanair* meaning 'obtaining livelihood as tied to our feet'.

Indian charters also spoke of the government servants in similar fashion. The Khoh copper plates of Mahārāja Hastin and his successors address the servants of state as those 'living on our resources

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(in payment thereof)'. The expression, however, is much liberally used by the kings of the Pāla dynasty ruling over the present day west Bengal and Bihar and Bangladesh. The Khalimpur (Malda district) copper plate of Dharmapāla calls all the dignitaries and men mentioned therein, who were his employees, as those earning their livelihood by the grace of the king's feet (Rājapādopajīvinah). The Monghyr copper plate of Devapāla calls them 'earning their livelihood (Svapādopadmajīvinam) by the lotus of our feet'. The Bhagalpur copper plate of king Nārāyaṇapāla calls his employees, high and low, as those 'who earn their livelihood by the grace of the king's feet (Rājapādopajīvinah).

We can multiply instances. Indian history is full of such instances when the king does make a reference to the king's employees, who were treated as no better than slaves of the king.

The state servants were also known as Vrttibhuja as appears from Tehapaligaon inscription (n. 46). They are asked not to cause harm to the gift of the king. In the Balambu inscription (n. 102) of Jiṣṇugupta two Vrttibhujah figure by the name, Ginung and Digvara vrttibhuja respectively. The expression *Ginung bhumav* suggests that these were the two places, whose revenue was offered as salary to these employees. The charter, however, has disallowed the practice to draw bṛtti from Digvāra-vastu. A vastu might refer to the income derived by the bṛttibhūja. An idea of how a state employee drew his subsistence is gained from this inscription. The Vṛttibhuja and officers (adhikṛt) are addressed in a Deopatan (Kasaintole) inscription of Narendradeva. Śivadeva II addresses all those seated in power, royal personages and vṛttibhujah (n. 136). This records the grant of Dāvākoṭṭa village to the inhabitants of Satala Śitaṭīdranga for maintenance and use and for the worship of Putti Nārāyaṇa and the temple.

When the kings address their subjects through charters or declarations, they mention a grāma or grāmapānchālikā, to which the inhabitants addressed belonged. The Thankot inscription of Vasanta-deva is the first charter and as such it also gives the name of the village, first come to notice, whom the contents are directed. The word used is grāma, and we shall define exactly what it is in the following passages.

Grāma

The word Grāma is applied to Jayapallikā, which has been a subject of gift to Jayasundarī, the king's sister.

Jayapallikā, a village which had attained the status of a fort and whose boundary lines were traced in the inscription was created in a special sense a grāma with the status of Koṭṭa (fort). In reference to the boundary the name Śitāṭī gulmaka is mentioned. We shall know later Śitāṭī or Sitatika is the name of the upland and the small valley below the ridge of Dahachok round about the Thankot village, which was then an important trade centre. But we shall locate Śitāṭī at the appropriate place later on.

The village was a gift itself allowed to enjoy the propriety and status of a well established Koṭṭa to Vasantadeva's sister and her descendants enjoying the benefits in order of succession for generations together. What specific right Jayasundarī possessed over this Koṭṭa we do not know. The inscription is not explicit nor we can know its implication. Of course, the Koṭṭa was created for Jayasundarī, and for her descendants in succession. But was it a perpetual freehold as one writer tried to show or were they only rights of administration? I do not think that the newly created Koṭṭa was just a freehold (Birta=derived from the word britta=means of earning a livelihood, which did not pay taxes to the state but was not free from the clutches of administration). It appears that the Koṭṭa was created to enable Jayasundarī to collect taxes and also to administer it. The passage (1.24), however, is not clear as to whom the inhabitants were to pay the taxes. Perhaps it was like a rent or cess paid to a landlord.

It appears that in the ancient time the Nepal valley was fairly populated and there were villages and townships but not towns as such. The population outside lived in certain specified areas but the bulk was confined to the valley. Although not large enough the people in general inhabited places in a thick cluster of houses within the confines of a small area. The townships (*puri*) called draṅga were larger from population point of view but such draṅgas were not very many.

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In a reference to the settlement gifted to Jayasundarī the Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva speaks of having created a privileged grāma in her favour. A grāma literally means a village as something different from a town or a city. But the lexicons and classical texts sometimes do not make a difference. From the allusions to grāma in our inscriptions we do not see whether it is a village or a city they refer to. Jayasundarī's grāma had now become a koṭṭa or a fort area.

In the Vedic period a grāma[46] literally meant an inhabited area such as a village (RV, II, 57, 4) or hamlet (RV, I, X) or a community or a race (RV, X, 46) or a number of men in a team or association like the army (RV, I, III, X; AV, IV, 7, 5). It may also connote a sense of people assembling together (RV, II, 12, 7; X, 127, 5). The meaning might follow *Svarasanghabheda* (स्वरसंघभेद).

A grāma is defined as a place where Brāhmanas and their servants live. There Śudras also live but not Chāṇḍālas:

विप्राश्च विप्रभृत्याश्च यत्रचैव वसन्तिहि ।
सतु ग्राम इति प्रोक्त शूद्राणां वास एव वा ।।
(Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa)

तथा शूद्रजन प्राचा: सुसमृद्ध कृषि वला:
सचापयोगम् मध्ये वसति ग्रमि सज्ञका: (Ibid.)

It is also a grāma where the various families live as one group, the houses arranged as in a cluster:

यथा कुटुम्बिन: एकीभूता भवन्तिहि । तथा
स्वराणां सन्दोहो ग्राम इत्यभिधीयते ।।

But the area is not known from the above quotations.
To Bharata as quoted by Vāchaspatyam a settlement of 4 varṇas, the Brāhmanas and others, but without a wall and ditch is a grāma:

विप्रादि वर्ण प्राया:/प्राकार परिखा रहिता वहुजन वसति:

The area of the grāma is one *dhanu* (4 hasta or cubits) in circumference according to Yājnavalkya:

धनु: शत परिणाहोग्रामात् क्षेत्रान्तरम् भवेत्
द्वे शते कर्वटस स्यात् नगरस्य चतु: शतम् ।

The area is thus measured $100 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ ft = 150 ft in its periphery. This is, however, a very small area which can accommodate only a few houses. I do not think that the Nepalese village was of such a small size.

There is a statement by Manu which places *grāma* (village) as not very different from a *nagara* (town):

अन्तमेषां पराधीनं देयस्याद भिनेद भाजने
रात्रौ न विचरे युस्ते ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च

Three kinds of grāmas are mentioned. They differ in their characteristics. They are variously called *sabdagrāma*, *bhūtagrāma* and *gaṇagrāma*. We are only concerned with the *bhūtagrāma*, i.e. a village where men and women live.

Our villages, however, do not seem to be what classical writers defined. Probably even *grāma* so called was a township or a town. The word *Karbaṭa* which comes in the view of Amara above in the category of a draṅga stands as a synonym for *pura* whose place is in the midst of a group of 200 villages situated at a convenient place where people live because of buying and selling transactions are made.[47] The Karbaṭa was a beautiful village amidst a group of villages. But some other texts suggest that a

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Karbaṭa is situated amongst a group of 800 or 804 (*chaturmasaśatam*) villages. A draṅga enjoys more importance than *paṭṭana* (townlet) say the classical writers.

Koṭṭa

The *Koṭṭa* is a synonym of durga which is a common word in literature. A durga means a place which is approached with difficulty. The Amarakośa (2/8/17):

अध्वनीनोघ्वगोऽध्वन्यः पान्थ पथिक इत्यपि
स्वाम्यमात्य सुहृत्कोश राष्ट्र दुर्गबलानिच

Hemachandra:

स्कन्धावारे राजधानी कोट्ट दुर्गे पुनः समे

Sabdaratnāvali:

अथ कोट्टो राजधानी राजधानकमित्यपि

Jatadhara:

पुरंदुर्गमधिष्ठानं कोट्टोऽस्त्री राजधान्यपि

The authorities above quoted[48] emphasise the importance of a fort, which situated with a township forms the capital of the king. Hemachandra equates Skandhāvāra with the capital and fort and it appears that a temporary residence of a warring king, which could be called a military centre for that purpose, wore also the appearance of a capital as well-guarded as it was, it also shared the characteristics of a fort.

A very elaborate description of a fort (durga) where the ruler took shelter and all its forms is given in Matsyapurāṇa (adh. 216). It appears that the primary motive of building a fort was to create a place of vantage for the habitat of the ruler, his palace, his wealth, his cattle, the temple, his horses and elephants and soldiers so that the security of his person, his secretariat, the state treasury and the symbol of state authority as represented by him might be secure.

Koṭṭa literally means a fort or a stronghold meant to provide a ready-made place or standing device for defence. As the expression *susthita Koṭṭamaryādā* goes, it was a place endowed with well-established structure because it was a base of protection and defence against enemy attack, rebels or aggressors. *Koṭṭa* was very essential in military strategy. According to Medini the word *Koṭṭa* is derived from *Kuṭa* carrying the meaning of devices overwhelming the enemy by one's courage (कुट्यतेप्रताडयते शत्रुरत्र अनेनवा । दुर्गमाश्रित्य प्रवलविपक्षमपि प्रतापयितुंशक्यते इत्यर्थः कुटप्रतापेनवा अधिकरणवा करणे घञ्वा घञ् इति शब्दार्थे). It is to be noted that the word is synonymous with *durga* of Kauṭilya who devotes to it a part of a chapter of his treatise called *Dūrgavidhāna*. The *Bṛhatsamhitā* also talks of *Vanadurga*.[49] A *durga* means a fort. But it is also used as a township and capital according to Hemachandra. The fort in early medieval period was restructured with a wall around, and a moat to surround. The access was only from one point through a make-shift bridge leading to a sliced gate, which allowed entrance. But no ruins of such a fort have been excavated so far in the Valley.

In the *Durgavidhāna prakaraṇa* (Bk. 2, Ch. 3.1) Kauṭilya recommends construction of forts 'equipped for fight' in all four quarters of the frontiers of the country (janapada) in naturally suited areas and there should be a water fort in an island or in the midst of a lake or high land surrounded by water with walls all around or a cave or on a rocky height or low mountain or in a desert or in a forest. The forts in the midst of water or on rocky hills are employed to meet an attack on the country. But if a fort is devised in the midst of forests and desert it provides shelter for retreating troops or fleeing populations in times of distress.

As it was meant to be used for defensive measures the fort was primarily concerned with housing soldiers and stores of arms and keep strict guard over the entrance and exit by citizens coming on business. The distance between the rampart, the ditch, the wall and nature of the gates are to follow certain prescribed rules.

Kauṭilya devotes some paragraphs to the method of building a fort structure, which is elaborate and we need not recount it here. A lengthy description of how to build a fort is given in this chapter.

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In the same chapter a layout of the city with the fort is given. There should be three royal roads running north to south and three running to north, and a passage described where parts of defensive forces were to be stationed. Similarly places for horses, elephants and chariots are fixed up. An apartment for medical treatment was also to be set up. The fort will have twelve gates and an underground passage. A fortified city will have a fixed quarter for habitation of the citizens and other dignitaries including the king. There were fields where cultivation of grains and vegetables was done.

In the second chapter Kauṭilya recommends treasury to be kept in the centre of the country at a site near the junction of two rivers or on the bank of a natural lake ever full of water or an artificial tank of square or rectangular shape with a channel carrying the water from the left to right. This treasury, however, is different from the one kept in the fort. This was the place where revenues collected from all quarters were deposited with safety. The same site was also near the market centre approached through a river or along a road. The treasury house was called sthānīya established at the centre of 800 villages. There was a different standard for such a house for 400 and 200 villages (2.1.4).

Kauṭilya recommends erection of forts on the frontiers and appointment of chiefs in command of the armed forces posted there (2.1.5).

In the passages (4-7) Kauṭilya describes the moats, turrets and towers and other parts of the actual forts. The following is from Kangle's translation: 'The king should cause three moats to be dug round the fort at the distance of one daṇḍa from each other.'

Gulma

Coming to the consideration of Śītāṭī Gulma, we may envisage either a thick bush prominent enough to be observed by the man who had marked boundary points or a military outpost, a raised ground with a certain number of infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots. If it is a military outpost, we could suggest that as Śītāṭī was situated in the north western part of the Valley within its entrance line from outside, this had become necessary for the defence of the capital. It appears that the Valley and a few places in its northwest and northeast just outside the main towns were the only populated areas and needed protection. But in ancient days except the southwest, the access to the valley was practically barred in view of the large forest and mountainous regions intervening for at least 200 miles on all sides. The ancient inscriptions nowhere talk of invasions, so all military conflicts must have been internal. Whether migration came in the wake of external attacks has yet to be ascertained.

P. Banerji states that a Gulma means a force and the estimate of army strength might suggest to make it a size of a brigade. Such a sizeable force could certainly protect a large area in a given situation.[50] But I doubt if our Gulma of Śītāṭī was of the size of a modern brigade.

Here let us try to know what actually a Gulma or Gulmaka means. In Mahābhārata at one place the Gulma is described as a military unit consisting of 1 chariot, 1 elephant, 5 foot soldiers, 3 horses, and all included it is called patti, and this multiplied 3 times becomes Senāmukha and one Gulma is three senāmukhas. If this is taken to be a true estimate of a Gulma, then it may be another name of a battalion or a brigade.[51] It is probably a sizeable force, and could protect a large area all around in a given situation. A Gulma as a military outpost is also referred to by Manu, who prescribed such outposts at every stage between 2 or 3 or 5 or 100 villages, of course, with different number of forces to defend them. One verse in Manu enjoins on the king to establish a military station manned by his own men. These men must be fearless and expert in the act of war (III, 7.190). According to Manu, a Gulma might also mean a cluster of trees (I, 48).[52] The *Vajasaneyi Samhitā* also has the same meaning of Gulma (XXV, 8). In the Amarakośa[53] (III, 142) the word means a military force, consisting of 9 elephants, 9 chariots, 27 horses, and 25 infantry. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya also mentions Gulma (police station), Kauṭilya mentions *gulmadeyabhāga* (2.35.12). The same expression is used in 3.20.14. These contributions suggest that people had to pay a toll in the military outpost called Gulma. The officers and men of Gulma are to be in a state of preparation against attack to prevent any kind of unauthorised entry and watch the movements of inimical persons.

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Chāṭa and Bhaṭa

One of the coveted privileges granted by a royal charter to a village or pāñchālikā was the freedom they enjoyed from the entry of chāṭa and bhaṭa. Obviously the chāṭa and bhaṭa were state employees entering the village either to collect taxes or to arrest offenders committing the five crimes. It appears that the chāṭa and bhaṭa caused disquiet and fear whenever they entered the village.

The word chāṭa is made of the root chāṭa and *pratyaya ghayañ*, which means a person who cheats or commits dacoity. Yājñavalkya who is cited later equates chāṭas with thieves engaged in committing crimes. Mitākṣarā, a commentator, said that a chāṭa is a cheat, who cheats the people by creating a false sense of trust. The king was asked to protect his subjects from the chāṭas. Yājñavalkya equates chāṭas with Kāyasthas and गणका लेखक who are supposed to be equally causing harassment to the people. Bṛhaspati takes chāṭa more or less in the same sense.[54] In the Bṛhadāranya Upaniṣad a chāṭa means, according to Ānandagiri, a person who breaks rules of conduct and is dangerous to the society. A chāṭa, however, in our inscriptions is certainly not a thief. He was an employee of the state department and his function was to collect revenue or investigate crimes or arrest offenders as they entered into a village. He is an irregular constable doing the work of a policeman. The chāṭas can be just like a *piādā* of a court or office.[55]

A bhaṭa in the words of *Amarakośa* is a soldier or warrior:

भटायोधाश्च योद्धारः सेना रक्षास्तु सैनिकः ।
सेनायां समवेता ये सैन्यास्ते सैनिकश्चते ।। 2/6

Hemachandra thinks that a bhaṭa is a *Mlechchha* (who did not subscribe to our faith). A bhaṭa was also engaged in night activities which was objectionable.

Chāṭa and bhaṭa on all informations were like sepoys or constables of today, who arrested persons committing various crimes and also those not paying revenues. In many inscriptions they are the subjects of address by the king. Although they came in a low rank they were included with all those who served the state in higher capacity. They were, therefore, important people.

A Nepalese writer, in his explanatory note, offers his own conception of chāṭa-bhaṭa's functions, which is different from that of Indian or even other Nepalese authors. He thinks that the Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva provides a clue to understanding the function of chāṭas and bhaṭas. His view is that as Jayasundarī had received a free hold and she was entitled to collection of land revenues from Jayapallikā village and when in that context the entry of chāṭas and bhaṭas is banned, the latter's main function might be taken to have been collection of land revenue. But they did many other works. Chāṭa and bhaṭa are not allowed to enter villages even for some other occasions, which shows that they were like soldiers or police constables who caught persons involved in cases of default of payment of fines as punishment for crimes or failure to pay taxes. The chāṭa and bhaṭa figured amongst state employees in the Pala period, placed at the lowest rung of the ladder and they formed the foundation of the state power.

The chāṭas and bhaṭas as policemen with powers of arrest were feared by the people. Sometimes they must have overacted and harassed the villagers.

But the apt rebuttal of such argument is offered by the relevant passage in the inscription of Balambu, which is cited in support of our hypothesis. When it gives the passage banning the entry of chāṭa-bhaṭa the inscription has nothing to say about the tax exemption. It just says 'the village has been relieved of the encroachment by the chāṭa and bhaṭa and of forced labour to carry the food to Phalanju'. Thus the very idea of tax collection by the chāṭas and bhaṭas in this context is ruled out.

After all, when everything is said the fact comes out boldly as to what impelled the charter to talk of a halt to the entry of chāṭas and bhaṭas, which automatically ceased as soon as the land tax was withdrawn or a fort (with its own status) came into existence. In this context the very talk of banning their entry is superfluous.

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The argument that once the entry of chāṭa and bhaṭa is banned in a certain area, it could be automatically deemed to be free from land tax (malpota) or any other tax is not supported by facts. Similarly the argument in reverse that as taxes were removed, it meant automatically banning the entry of chāṭa and bhaṭa into this area is not tenable. But Dhanavajra's conception of chāṭa and bhaṭa is based on this argument. If you say that it is incongruous to speak of banning the entry of chāṭa-bhaṭa into a fort, into a Gosthi, or into cultivable lands in respect of pious donations, then why does the Lagantol inscription mention the taxes along with Koṭṭa, etc? And in the Changu inscription we have a place whose boundary is defined and is a Koṭṭa freed from certain taxes, made to pay other but where the chāṭa and bhaṭa cannot enter. The Banepa inscription tells only about a village without mentioning anything about its tax-free character, which attained the status of a Koṭṭa. If Vasantadeva's Thankot inscription clearly denies entry to chāṭa-bhaṭa while it also talks of taxes payable to the donee and not to the king, the Banepa stele could very well say about the tax exemption and non-entry of chāṭa-bhaṭa. But it does not do so because it was not necessary. Anybody should understand this point.

Indian records are very clear on the point. As they mentioned chāṭa-bhaṭa praveśa they also add chauram or chaura daṇḍam parivarjya (Khoh C.P., CIII, n. 21, 26). This means that the entry was banned but not for the arrest of thieves or realisation of fines from a man convicted of thefts. Another inscription adds choradrohaka varjitam, which means the chāṭas and bhaṭas could enter in the case of theft and treasonable offence. The Monghyr copper plate of Devapāla disallows the entry of chāṭa and bhaṭa and forbids to take anything from the Mesikagrama.[56]

I do not think that I should elaborate further my observation. It is established that chāṭa and bhaṭa were not tax collectors, but functioned in the capacity of police constables whose duty was to arrest persons accused of crimes including fiscal.

But what do the Nepalese records actually suggest? The argument which Dhanavajra gives in regard to agrahāra or vihāra is not relevant. Nor is it necessary to stretch our imagination so far as to think that because of Gosthi, the payment of land tax came to a stop and as a result the entry of chāṭas and bhaṭas was banned.

The Chammak inscription of Pravarasena II (Vākāṭaka) while exempting taxes and prohibiting the entry of chāṭa-bhaṭa as well as Chhatradhara stresses that the charter does not allow the state to claim any cow or bull or flowers or milk or royalty on pasturage, hides and charcoal or mines. It could neither allow the purchase of salt in a moist state. It is entirely free from the obligations of forced labour.[57] The state has no right to claim the hidden treasures and deposits, klripta and upklripta mines or taxes. This passage occurs in all the inscriptions of Vākāṭakas.[58] In the inscription of Tivaradeva, c. 800 A.D.,[59] the king gives to the donee all the incomes of taxes and protection from the unauthorised entry of chāṭa-bhaṭa and in short they were not to enter the area stipulated in any condition.

The Pāla and Sena dynasties adopted similar passages in regard to the prohibition of the entry of chāṭa-bhaṭa. But in their inscriptions chāṭa and bhaṭa came also to be mentioned as those state servants who were addressed by the king to specially help to preserve the meritorious deeds and grants established by the kings (see above).[60] But the passages prohibiting the entry of chāṭa-bhaṭa are different in different inscriptions. In the Monghyr C.P. the land is free from revenues and other dues payable to the king but excluding all payments granted to anyone else earlier.[61] Nārāyaṇapala's Bhagalpur inscription is on the same lines. Also the Banganga C.P. of Mahipala (988-1023 A.D.)[62] uses the same expression with similar other wording about chāṭa-bhaṭa and tax payment. Inscriptions of Madanapāla,[63] Chandradeva and others following him including the Senas place the chāṭas and bhaṭas in the category of the low class employees, and in the same sense of performing duties of police personnel as their predecessors were doing, on the householders of villages on such occasions.

This is Fleet's view. But S.K. Maity and R.R. Mukherji in their book 'Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions'[64] translate chāṭa as thief and bhaṭa as unbeliever and untouchable but it is difficult to accept this meaning. The chāṭas and bhaṭas were like the present constables or soldiers. They were a part of the state machinery with allocated functions as the following inscription in their own book

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shows. The address reads invariably—*karṇāṭa chāṭabhaṭa svapādapadmopajīvinah prativāsinascha brāhmaṇottarān mahattara purogamada udhṛaka chāndāla paryajantam samajnāpayati.*[65]

It seems that the expression *chāṭabhaṭa praveśa* qualified by sodrangah uparittarikara was the common usage but the Khoh C.P. (CIII, 29)[66] is followed by sarvvakaratyagah (freed from all kinds of taxes) and dṛṣtopada manakapratyayah sameta (with many other tributes which may accrue). The next inscription of GS 197 adds choradandavarjitam.[67] But the Arang C.P. has only sarvvakaravisarjita along with chāṭabhaṭapravesya. The inscription (n. 41) of Roypur C.P. also follows the same wording. The Chammak C.P. (n. 55) of the time of Pravarasena II disallows bhaṭachāṭa in addition to chhatra (translated by Fleet as umbrella bearer) to enter the village. (Of course, this village is not to pay any taxes.) But it does not carry with it the right to prohibit the entry of cows and bulls as in earlier records.

The Smṛti authors have different meanings. To Yājnavalkya (I.335) a chāṭa is a thief and rogue (chāṭataskara durvṛtta mahāsāhasika). Monier Williams, one of the foremost scholars of lexicon, translates bhaṭa as a mercenary or hired soldier (in offensive sense) and a warrior (in good sense).

For the definition of chāṭa the compiler of 'Lichchhavikālkā Abhilekha' quotes a verse, 336, from the Rājadharma prakaraṇa, where chāṭa is mentioned along with taskara (thief), durvṛtta (wicked), mahasāhasika (dacoit) and Kāyastha (writer). But he forgets that chāṭa here does not mean a soldier but a cheat or a rogue. Standing by itself without bhāṭa, the chāṭa might not carry the meaning of a soldier. The verse he quotes is irrelevant to the subject.

Mahāpatha and Hastimārga

In the delineation of the boundaries Śīṭāṭī gulma is the first point mentioned. The boundary line runs thereafter through a river and thence to west of the mountain and going to the south again the river . . . as far as the *hastimārga*, the path meant for elephants, and from here also another road meant for the same animal from the west of this to the mountain range and further west of it, the front of the hill.

The line passes in the north-west through the Śivadevakula (temple of Śiva), south of which lies a water channel, and through the northern direction it comes to the village of Thencho, southwards to *mahāpatha* and as far as that, and from there to the east reaches Navagrāma, and taking a southwardly course, the same route and finally descends into the river.

In the above description we hardly can identify Thencho village and Navagrāma. Navagrāma literally means a new village. There are references to Navagṛha in several inscriptions. But we have to distinguish Navagṛha from Navagrāma. The latter was a village in the Thankot area.

The passage suggests that elephants used to pass through the ridges defined in the boundary line. As there is still a path meant for elephants in the Chandragiri mountain and this is entirely a separate path for that animal only, the *hastimārga* might give us a clue to the location of the Śīṭāṭī, and as we said earlier this must lie certainly in the Thankot-Kisipidi-Balambu area, and it must have expanded to embrace the hills from Thankot to Naikap.

The Pānīya mārga is also mentioned in this inscription. The sense is not clear, but it might be a road running parallel to the water channel.

Mahāpatha occurs in several other inscriptions. The Yangubahi and Vajraghar inscriptions mention mahāpatha in delimiting boundaries of an agrahāra. The former has a patha called bṛhadpatha. The Vajraghar inscription mentions also rathyāmūla, which might mean the main road. The difference between the mahāpatha and bṛhadpatha or mārga is very thin.

The Devīpurāṇa gives different kinds of roads such as Deśamārga as broad as 30 dhanu, grāmamārga as broad as 20 dhanu, and simāmārga as broad as 10 dhanu. It is Śrī Rajapatha or king's way as broad as the former. The king's way was meant for chariots drawn by horses, elephants and men and women. They could ply these on the road easily without hindrance. The 4 dhanu wide road is called a branch road (śākhā rathyā). The three hand (54″) broad road is uparathyakā. There are foot-

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paths called janghapatha (4 ft), gṛhantarā (3 ft) and so on and so forth.

Kauṭilya (2.4) measures the roads by daṇḍa. The ordinary road is 4 daṇḍa wide and the rājamārga (the royal road) and the paths to dronamukha, forest belt, sthaniya (local), and all such meant for elephants (hastimārga), cremation ground (śmaśāna) and villages (gramamarga) are each 8 daṇḍas wide. The Saratni broad road is for chariots, and 4 ratnis broad path is for animal. Men and smaller animals used 2 ratnis path.

The breadth of the middle figures of a medium-sized man is the last unit of measurement. To Pāṇini and Kauṭilya 14 angulas=1 sam or 12 angulas=1 vitasti (1 span), 2 spans=1 aratni (cubit) or 1 husta of Prajāpati=4 aratnis=1 daṇḍa and 108 angulas=1 daṇḍa.

The statement is not as clear. In modern parlance 1 angula would be $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch=8 barley (yava) and 12 angulas=1 vitasti (a span) or 14 angulas.

I may reproduce the following table of V.S. Agrawal from his book 'India as known to Paṇini' for the benefit of the authors to understand what a dhanu and daṇḍa mean in actual space covered:

8 yavas = 1 angula = $\frac{3}{4}$ inches
12 angulas = 1 disti or vitasti = 9 inches
2 vitastis = 1 aratni = $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft
42 angulas = 1 kisku = $2'\ 7\frac{1}{2}''$
84 angulas = 1 khatapaurusa = $5\frac{1}{3}$ ft
216 angulas = 1 hastiayama = $13\frac{1}{2}$ ft
192 angulas = 1 daṇḍa = 12 ft
10 daṇḍas = 1 rajju = 40 yards
1 goruta is kośa; 4 kośas = 1 yojana i.e.
2000 × 4 yards or 4.54 miles

According to the Arthaśāstra (II.31) an elephant of standard size of 40 years of age measures in height 9 aratnis=$13\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The hastimārga, therefore, is $13\frac{1}{2}$ ft wide. A dhanu is equal to a space or distance of 4 hastas or cubits. The latter is to explain the passage in Devipurāṇa. According to Amarakośa (Bhūmi varga) a highway called sansarana or ghantaparha is 60 ft wide. A gavyuti is equal to two krosa, about $\frac{3}{4}$ league (a league = 3 miles). In the Amarakośa the distance is measured by hand (kara or kisku) in the way that 4 kisku is equal to 1 dhanu = 2 yards approximately.

Reference to Certain Taxes

In creating a grāma of the status of a Koṭṭa in favour of his sister King Vasantadeva had asked the people to live in happiness and mutual trust contributing the usual taxes, the tax measures expressed in terms *Samuchtabhāga bhoga kara piṇḍaka dānāaibhi upakurvadbhi pratipāliyamānah*. The expression which occurs also in the contemporary Indian inscriptions as in Nepalese is more or less in the same form, as every grant involves tax exemption whenever there is a grant of land or creation of a grāma or Koṭṭa in somebody's favour. Of course, there are other taxes mentioned in the inscriptions of the type and in several others. In our inscriptions also taxes of other kinds and tax exemptions in that relation are found here and there in many more inscriptions. But unlike the Indian inscriptions, the Nepalese inscriptions show this expression only in a few records. If the Thankot inscription shows this first time, it is seen in the Lagantol inscription of Samvat 67 second time, where, however, just *pindakādi pratyāyamasyopanayadbhih* occurs. But in the Lagantol inscription of Samvat 119 belonging to Śivadeva II's reign the entire expression *samuchita bhaga bhoga kara sarvva pratyāyān* meaning the villagers were required to give to Vasa Pāśupatāchāryas is there. The word piṇḍaka of the Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva does not, however, find place in this inscription. The full expression of the Thankot inscription is totally missing in all others, which refer to the taxes but do not say a word about taxes expressed in general such as bhāga, bhoga, kara, hiraṇya, pratyaya etc. (*bhāgabhogakara hiraṇyādi pratyāya*) whereas in Indian inscriptions, the expression is commonly used in many inscriptions of both the Gupta and Pāla periods.

Mahārājā Jayanātha of Uchhakalpa dynasty has an inscription (found in Murdwara near

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Jabbalpur) in the way as the Thankot inscription, *samuchita bhāga bhoga kara pratyāyam ājnā śravaṇavidheyaih*. Fleet translates bhāgabhoga as 'customary royalties' and 'kara' and 'pratyāyam' as just taxes. Hiraṇyādi is missing here.[68] But in the next inscription it is included along with *śulka* thus: *samuchite bhāgabhoga kara hiraṇyādi pratyāya*.[69] Fleet translates hiraṇyādi as gold. In the case of bhāgabhogakara as a single term according to context which to some other writers is related to land-tax Sircar[70] in his 'Glossary' thinks that it might be a general tax realised in lieu of bhāga and bhoga (royal share of grains produced and periodical offering) 'identical with bhāga of Arthasastra and bali of the Smṛtis'.

The inscriptions of Sarvvanātha (ns. 28, 29 and 31 published in the CIII, 3 by J.F. Fleet) have also the same expression. The second part of another Khoh C.P. (n. 30) just says *samuchita rājapratyāyaschakna grāhya*. This is translated by Fleet as 'the tribute to the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken'. The Maliya (Junagarh) C.P. of Dhārāsena II (Vallabhi dynasty) *savalabhūta dhānya hiraṇyadeyam sotpādyamāna viṣṭikam samasta rājakīyamāna hasta prakṣepanīyam*, which as translated by J.F. Fleet into English will be 'together with *udranga* and *uparikaravata* (that which is withered), *bhūta* (past) grain, gold, ādeya (all that should be given) with the right to forced labour and all such no king's men will lay hands on them'. But the expression differs much from the usual passage cited earlier. The following passage, however, is like the above with the wording *sotpadyamāna vistikah sa bhūtapa (va) ta pratyādoṣada sapapadha sa bhāgabhoga sadhānya hiraṇyādideyah sarvva rajakiyamāna hasta prakṣepaniya* (Alina C.P. dated 447).

We have seen that the expression is used by the Guptas and their feudatories from Gujarat at one end to Bengal at the other throughout the 6th-8th century A.D. by the Paribrājaka Uchhakalpa dynasties. The Vākātakas who were contemporaries of the earlier Gupta Emperors and had marriage relations with them did not use the expression such as *paramparā go balivarddah apuspaksīra samdohacharagama charuaṅgāra lavaṇa* (lump-kiem) *khandaha, sarvva vistiparihara parohita sandhi gopanidhi saklipto sakalachandaditya* etc. Fleet translated this passage thus: 'It is not to be entered by regular troops and umbrella bearers, it does not carry with it the king's right to cows and bulls in succession (of production) or to the abundance of flowers and milk or the pasturage, hills, charcoal, for the purchase of salt from the mines in a marshy land and it is entirely free from the obligation of forced labour, also the popular right to the hidden treasures and deposits and klipta and upklipta for all times is accepted.'

The Arthaśāstra[71] defines bhoga as a normal share of the produce of the field paid either in cash or kind, which is 1/6 according to the commentator. The share could be from $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1/12th as we have already suggested. Manu recommends 1/6, 1/8 and 1/12 on paddy products and 1/50 for animals and gold.[72] Kielhorn takes *bhāgabhogakara* as one item which he says was a share of produce. U.N. Ghosal proposes 'to identify it (*bhāgabhogakara*) with the usual grain share of the king', as in the sense employed by Kauṭilya. He also thinks that the land revenue referred to by Hiuen Tsang is the same as *bhāgabhogakara*, the whole of a tax meaning land tax. U.N. Ghosal takes *hiraṇya* as payment in cash.[73] He bases his conclusions on two inscriptions of Mahendrapala II, a Gurjara Pratihāra Emperor, one dated 1003 vs (=946 A.D.) and another undated of Ujjaini. The same in his opinion applied to early Pāla grants, and the same taxes were common to Chandellā land grants. S.K. Maity[74] also believes like Fleet that *bhāgabhogakara* are three different taxes. Manu (8.1)[75] mentions specific taxes on different items implying thereby that *kara* is a tax in general. Manu does not allow a tax for a king who does not protect his subjects.[76] S.K. Maity also thinks that *kara* is a periodical property tax more or less 'universally levied on villagers'. He bases his view on the commentaries of Kulluka Bhatta and Medhātithi on Manu who, however, just uses three words *bali* (produce from paddy fields), *kara* (tax on commodities) and *śulka* (customs).[77] The commentator Kulluka includes other articles (*dravyānusāreṇa*) in the list of contributions made to the king though he gives a prominent place to *bali* calling the same *dhānyādī*. The contributions were made in Bhādra and Pauṣa.

Kulluka Bhaṭṭa talks of fruits, flowers, green leaves and herbs as contributions made to the king twice in a year. Medhātithi has more or less the same explanations. Translated by A.C. Burnell Medhātithi would say that the king fulfilling his duties of protection should take from the people

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"the tribute in grain, a tax on real estate (both *bali*) then tolls from merchants (*śulka*) in cross-roads, rivers and places of importance, daily gifts of flowers, vegetables, etc. (*pratibhāgam*) and money paid as penalty (*daṇḍa*).

Kielhorn interprets bhoga as periodical supplies of fruits, flowers, fire wood etc., realised from the villagers.[78] A recent writer Puspā Niyogi takes bhoga as 'the objects of enjoyment, fruits, flowers etc.' in the same way as Kielhorn.[79] But what Maity says about *bhoga* cannot be obtained from Manu, whether it is Medhātithi's or Kulluka's commentary or statements of modern writers. I do not know how Maity read that sense of bhoga when even the commentators do not use the word. In our inscriptions all the daily presents should be taken as *dāna* and both Kulluka and Medhātithi have used this word. So bhoga must have some meaning different from the above. It might be a tax on articles of consumption. The word *bhoga* is generally used in the sense of eatables including animal flesh and eggs offered during a worship to the divinities. A Nepalese writer thinks that bhoga is a tax on animal husbandry. For this he quotes a passage from Kauṭilya who traces three sources of revenue, agriculture, animal husbandry and trade. Aja in Kālidāsa (I.45) received presents for his wedding such as cloths, grain etc., all these constituted bhoga because as we have said they are obviously dāna (gifts), a word used by Kulluka and our inscriptions as separate from other kinds of contributions. In view of bhoga being used in conjunction with bhāga it appears to be different from the latter, but as bhoga is rarely used singly, its meaning is not easily ascertained. Hence almost all the modern writers are confused on the subject. Altekar disjoins bhoga kara from *bhoga* and takes it as a petty tax in kind and cash.[80]

Aṣṭādaśaprakṛti

In this inscription Vasantadeva who issues the charter granting a village to his sister Jayasundarī ordered after marking the boundaries of the said village that all the people, the Brahmanas and 18 prakṛtis, whether they are already settled or are coming to settle in the area in future should not be given even the least trouble by the king's men.

The 18 prakṛtis mentioned here are in some cases addressed by kings in India. There are inscriptions where these are the people addressed by the kings and concerned with the main objects of the charter.

In Nepal this is the only instance where prakṛtis are mentioned.

But are these prakṛtis to be placed along with the Brahmanas? Some authors said to be prominent scholars of Nepalese history have suggested that the 18 prakṛtis were 18 castes.[81]

One scholar thinks that the 18 prakṛtis belonged to one caste or the other and they have to be viewed in the context of 4 varṇas and 18 castes as of today where we think in terms of 4 varṇas and 36 castes. But he also states that as the king talks of 18 prakṛtis he had to think of those who were outside the social order based on varṇa. It is not clear whether this includes the tribals who have no castes. But at any rate he drives his point to mean that it is a society of 18 castes within and without the Varṇāśrama.

I do not think that this analogy is correct. I wonder how he came to this conclusion. The Kumaon king Lalitaśura's prakṛti which he gives in detail in his Pāndukeśvara inscription[82] mentions e.g. among others, princes, ministers, feudatories, secretary generals, officials high or low including heads of departments of horses, cattle, buffaloes and others. In such circumstances I find it difficult to understand how the 18 prakṛtis could be taken as castes. But I may quote the passage, where aṣṭādaśa prakṛti occurs so that one can have the idea of what the 18 prakṛtis actually mean: Asminneva Śrimat Kartikeyapura Viṣaye samupagatān Sarvvanavaniyoga sthān (those employed in public affairs) rāja (king), Rajanaka (prince), Rājaputra (blood relations of the king), astāmātya (8 ministers), sāmanta (feudatory), mahāsāmanta (high feudatory), thakkura, mahāmanuṣya (chiefs), mahakārtikṛtika (chief investigation officer), mahapratihāra (secretary general), mahadaṇḍanāyaka (chief minister), rājasthanīya, (chief of the royal households), mahārāja (feudatory adopting high title), pramatāra (keeper of the

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cadastral survey records), śarabhanga (officer incharge of the archery), kumaramātya (counsellor of the crown prince or the prince acting as a minister), uparika, daussādhayasādhanika (emergency officers), daśāparādhika (who investigated the cases of 10 crimes), chauroddharaṇika (chief police officer), śaulkika (customs officer), gaulmika (incharge of gulma), tadāyuktaka (officer appointed by him), viniyaktaka (junior officer), pattakala (engraver), upachirika (ward or robe keepers), aśvahasti bhogadhiṣṭhikahara (keeper of elephants, horses and camels) and district and provincial governors and the dignitaries such as koṭṭapāla, ghaṭṭapāla, ksetrapāla, khandaraksasthana (chief of the frontier outposts), keepers of cows and buffaloes, etc., all servants and then come Bhatta mahattama (respectable Brahmanas), Ābhira (cowherd tribe), Vaṇika (traders), and the Śresthipurogah (chief of traders), astādaśaprakrtyadhisthaniyan (those in charge of 18 prakṛtis), Khasa, Kirāta, Dravida, Kalinga, Śaura, Huṇāndra, Andhra and Chāndālas and all jānapadas and everybody known and unknown, all getting their livelihood at the king's feet, to all these the king directs his address. The list is impressive.

The passage does not explain fully what aṣṭādaśaprakṛti means. But it is placed along with adhisthāniyam and then follow different tribes. The 18 prakṛtis follow their own calling. It is quite likely that they refer to officials beginning from viṣayapati to śresthipuroga, who number exactly 18. They are probably those to whom the word applied. The adhisthānīya means 'an authority' and 18 prakṛtis which qualifies the Viṣayapati and others following him could only be 18 authorities. It is not at all possible to read any other meaning of 18 prakṛtis. They do not refer to castes.

We shall quote Kauṭilya, Manu and others to support our view as to the meaning of prakṛti.

Kauṭilya is the first author to mention prakṛti, and to him they are first svami (the king), amātya (minister), janapada (country), durga (fort), kosa (treasury), daṇḍa (punishment) and mitra (allies). Kangle says that a daṇḍa means army. All these are the constituent elements of the state (Svamy-amātya Janapada dūrga kośa daṇḍa mitrāṇi prakṛtayah). In the 13th line of 6th adhikaraṇa, 1st chapter, Kauṭilya uses prakṛti in the sense of a people in general.

Kauṭilya describes the qualities of these prakṛtis in the same prakaraṇa. He also prescribes do's and dont's for them. His aim is to advise the king to govern the country successfully, protect his people from wicked men and to preserve his kingdom and defend it against his enemies.

Prakṛti in ordinary sense means nature or one's habits. I am sure that the word used here did not convey this sense. So we have to investigate here what these 18 prakṛtis are, to whom the king's enquiry was directed.

Aṣṭādaśaprakṛti or just prakṛti occurs in the ancient and medieval inscriptions as well as literary and religious texts.

Literary meaning of prakṛti is the nature or habit. But it might also mean functionaries of state, who are its pillars and maintain its strength.

Prakṛti meaning the people is used by Kauṭilya in 8.2/5-6 of Arthasastra as he defines the merits and demerits of the kings or an usurper king system:

वैराग्यंतु प्रकृति चित्तग्रहणापेक्षी यथास्थित मन्यैर्भुज्यते इत्याचार्याः 9/5

The passage purports to say that if an illegitimate king usurps the throne, he will enjoy the power by winning the hearts of the people (prakṛti). This is what the teachers opine but Kauṭilya says that it is not so.

The Mahābhārata (II, V, 23) notes 7 prakṛtis who were said to be the pillars of state in the form of officers, (1) durgādhyakṣa (commander of the fort), (2) balādhyakṣa (commanding general of the armed forces), (3) dharmādhyakṣa (chief of religious endowments and justice), (4) chamūpati (field commander), chaplain, physician, and astrologer.

The Milindapanha Sutta (IV, I, 36) gives as prakṛtis the five officers of the state such as Chief Minister, Chief Justice, Chief Treasurer, bearer of the saursade and bearer of sword of state.

Prakṛti is taken also as a form of goddess of energy (Śakti) (प्र+कृ+कर्मरिक्तिन्, प्रकर्षेण सृष्ट्यादिकं करोति), who is the source of all the creations.

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The Purāṇas also refer to prakṛti as a goddess.

Ordinarily prakṛti means nature or habit. The word is composed by क्रि+भावादौक्तिन् in the sense कार्यादि प्रकृयतेमनयते च. According to Manu

स्वाम्यमात्यौ राष्ट्रौ कोषदण्डसुहृत्तथा ।
सप्तप्रकृतयो ह्यता सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते ।। 9/294

The king, minister, city, government, treasury, punishment, friend—these are 7 parts of what is known as rājya (state). Kulluka Bhaṭṭa is of the opinion that by *pura* is to be understood the capital of the king, which is fortified and protected by daṇḍa, an infantry, accompanied by horses, elephants and chariots.

The Amarakośa almost copies Manu as commented upon Kulluka and includes the king:

स्वाम्यमात्यौ सुहृत्कोशराष्ट्र दुर्गवलानि च ।
राज्याङ्गानि प्रकृतयपौराणाम् श्रेणयेपिच ।। (2/8/17-18)

The king, minister, friend, treasury, state, citizens and trading community, all these seven are prakṛtis, the constituents of rājya. And further:

धर्माध्यक्षो धनाध्यक्ष कोशाध्यक्षश्च भूपति ।
दूतः पुरोधा दैवज्ञ सप्तकृतयोभवेत् ।। 2/8/18

The head of religious affairs, the superintendent of wealth, the chief treasurer, the king, royal emissary, the priest and the astrologer are 7 prakṛtis.

The Gītā has a different view of the prakṛti, which is a manifestation in different forms of nature and natural behaviour of man. There were 8 prakṛtis. But there is another prakṛti which supports the universe:

मूमिरापोऽनलो बायुः खंमनोवुद्धिरेवच ।
अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ।।
अपरेयमित स्त्वन्यां प्रकृंति विद्धिनेपराम् ।
जीवभूतां महा बाहो ययेदं धार्यते जगत् ।। (4.5/7)

But all these prakṛtis have nothing to do with what is intended by the inscription.

This is not all about the 18 prakṛtis. We have more to say about them and the observation might be much more useful.

Aṣṭādaśaprakṛti means 18 individuals and classes of persons, state servants and professional castes, high an d lcw, but all in the king's employ. The word is the same as aṣṭādaśa prajā or jāti.[83] The Hilchagalli copper plate of Śivaskandavarmā of the 4th century A.D. uses attharasa jāti or prajā.[84] After a long gap the 18 are addressed in the Pandukeśvara (near Badrinath) temple C.P. of the 13th century but they are here called aṣṭādaśa prakṛtin.

According to D.C. Sircar aṣṭādaśa jāti or prajā (EI, Vol. XXX, p. 115) means 18 classes of castes and aṣṭādaśa prakṛti in IA, 17 means 18 classes of officials. He also opines that 18 may not mean just 18 but might cover all classes of subjects (prajā). The aṣṭādaśa prakṛti is not different from aṣṭādaśa jāti or prajā according to others. But they are not castes as we understand them.

But the castes in our society are and were more than 18. The Raghuvaṁśa has given a list of 18 but it calls these tīrthas:

मंत्री पुरोहितश्चैव युवराजश्च भूपतिपंचमोद्वारपालश्च षष्टान्नवशिकस्तथा ।। कारागाराधिकारीच द्रव्य संञ्चय कृत्तथा ।
कृत्य कृत्येषुचार्थानां न नमोत्वि नियोजकः ।। प्रवेष्टान्तराध्यक्षः कार्य निर्माण कृत्तथा । धर्माध्यक्षः कार्यसमाध्यक्षो दण्डपाल
स्त्रीपञ्चमः ।। षोडशो दुर्गपालश्च तथा राष्ट्रान्त पालकः । अटवीपालकान्तानि तीर्थाग्रष्टादशैवतु ।।

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A commentator of Kālidāsa by name Charitravardhana explains the same passage:

> मंत्री, पुरोहित, सेनापति राजदौवारिकान्तर्वासिक प्रशास्तृ, समाहन्तृ, सान्निधानू, पार्षदाध्यापकः, दण्डकारक, दुर्गपाला-स्तीर्थमिति

The inscription avoids names and it is difficult to identify the 18 prakṛtis mentioned. Perhaps the 18 prakṛtis were different categories of people though 18 in number. That these categories are not castes is well understood with reference to Raghuvaṁśa calling all these tīrthas.

Castes are not mentioned as such. But a chaṇḍāla finds place in the Anantalingeśvara stele. A chaṇḍāla is, however, outside the classes included in the Varṇas. At any rate when Varṇas are mentioned at several points, we do not preclude the existence of castes, which are a part of the Varṇa system.

In the C.P. inscription of Dharmāditya's reign, 3rd year and of the time of Māhārājā Sthānudutta (GS 28) one Jayāva was the Lord of the Viṣaya of Kotivarṣa who administered also the area of Vārakamaṇḍala. The names of Itita, Kulachandra, Garuḍa, Bṛhachchhīla, Āluka, Anactrara, Bhasaitya, Sulladeva, Ghosachandra, Anisudra, Guṇachandra, Kālasukha, Kulasvāmin, Durlabha, Satyachandra, Argujna, Bappa and Kundalipta, the purogah (leaders) are called here as prakrityādya i.e. officers of state of the viṣaya, who were also chief of some villages in the viṣaya, used in the sense of those who held some responsibilities in the administration of a locality or the state.

Kṣudraprakṛti is used in the inscription of Damodar (Dinajpur, modern Baṅgladesh) of the reign of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta (GS 163 Āṣāḍha dina 13) and while Uparika (viceroy) Mahārāja Brahmadatta was ruling over the province of Puṇḍravardhana. The record which is a land grant was issued from Palabundaka with confidence by the highly placed eight kula officers and village families after an enquiry of the welfare of all the people from Brahmanas to the lowest castemen direct. The kṣudraprakṛti obviously refers to the low castemen. But prakṛti elsewhere might mean anything from people in general to officers of state in particular.

There is also just prakṛti mentioned in one of the Bengal inscriptions. Here the scribe refers to the people in general by mentioning the word prakṛti.

Prasāda

The privileges granted by royal favour through the charter were called 'prasāda'. No inscription failed to mention the fact of a gift or favour coming from the king. It was repeated. It was mentioned first when the announcement was made about the gift and repeated at the end with iti prasādah.

Viśiṣṭaprasāda

If some charters generally call the gift or favour of the king extended to the people, whether tax exemptions or conferment of fort status to a village or donations to temples and vihāras, a few of them emphasise the gift by calling it 'a special gift or favour' (viśiṣṭaprasāda).

Also prasāda viśeṣa, the same as viśiṣṭaprasāda, is seen for the first time in the inscription of Bhṛṅgāreśvara, S. 65 (n. 109). Here Viṣṇugupta prohibits the entry of Bhaṭṭa and Māpchoka offices within the borders of the Pāñchālī. This was a favour granted to them in return of the free labour which they rendered while drawing through their area the large stone on which the sculpture of śeṣaśāyi image of Viṣṇu was carved.

The granting of certain privileges to the Āryasaṅgha in the Yangubahi and Vajraghar inscriptions of S. 103 (n. 127, 128) is called viśiṣṭaprasāda. The kings are asked to protect the privileges of the Āryasaṅgha as they were special gifts (viśiṣṭaprasāda) made to the Saṅgha by the king. The Dāvākoṭṭa village as a whole was conferred on the people of Śitāṭidraṅga for their use as a reward in order to enable to take care of the temple of Puttinārāyaṇa, performance of Kāraṇapūjā and some annual ceremonies in that connection. The gift included certain other privileges, e.g. exemption from render-

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ing forced labour and freedom to live without fear of chāṭa and bhaṭa, whose entry in the village area was banned according to Śivadeva's Balambu stele (n. 136).

Order Enforced

The order was strictly enforced. Any one violating it was punished mercilessly. The king said: 'Those breaking the gift or breaking my order them I do not tolerate (ājñāmullanghya). The king stood guarantee in her behalf. The inhabitants were asked to live without any fear obeying royal orders from time to time and paying taxes regularly (समुचित भाग भोगकर पिण्डक दानादिमिरूपकुर्वद्भि) to the king's sister, and enjoy protection under her guardianship. The payment of tax was necessary as it is so stated in the charter. The expression was to appear in a few more charters though the wording might differ. As the village revenue was a gift to his sister, the tax was called dāna and the payment as 'an act of help' (upakāra). The Kisipidi inscription has the expression samuchitakara dadantah apyatha sukham prativasata. This is simple, as it just means 'you live in happiness as you go on paying taxes'.

The 5 Śītaṭīkātala charters of Gaṇadeva do not mention anything about tax payment as other charters also follow them until we come to the Yangahiti inscription of S. 67, which asks the people to live without fear while contributing to the three agrahāras (piṇḍakādi pratyāyamupanyadbhi) The last inscription to talk of the payment of taxes is the Lagan charter of Śivadeva, which asks people 'to live in peace obeying all decrees and paying all taxes such as bhāga bhoga kara hiraṇya and others, which re due to the state (samuchitabhāga bhoga kara hiraṇyādi sarvva pratyāyaneṣamupa yachchhadbhi).

Duties of Future Kings

The end portion of the Nepalese inscriptions generally enjoins on the future kings to protect the grant or rules proclaimed in them quoting the sage Vyāsa for the authority but without his name being mentioned to carry out such a duty. The quotation is the same, whether in India or Nepal. However, there are only 9 such inscriptions in Nepal. Others go without this statement. Many inscriptions ask rulers of their own lineage and not all kings to discharge this kind of duty. The Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva is one such inscription. It says: 'whoever kings of our dynasty come to rule, they will maintain the grant of land made over to the donee by us' (येष्या गामिनो राजनोस्मद्वंश्या भविष्यन्ति तेप्यस्मद्दत्ता भूमि मनु मोदितु महंन्ति).

Then the passage runs to say that many kings in the past made a gift of land. King Sagara did this and many others. They reaped fruits according to the land they gifted. Everybody is bound to protect the gift, whoever is the donor. He who takes away the land grant made by himself or by some others will fall down in the hell to live like an insect in filth and dirt:

बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता दीयते च पुनः पुन ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य तस्य तदा फल मिति ।
स्वदत्तां परदत्तांवा यो हरेत् वसुन्धराम् ।
सविष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा नरकेषु प्रपद्यते ।।

The version slightly varies from one inscription to another but the essence is common.

The Nepalese inscriptions never mention Vyāsa by name in any of the inscriptions where the statement attributed to him is reproduced except in one or two cases. This is unlike the Indian records, which in many instances (not all) mention Vyāsa by name or call him the son of the sage Pārāsara whenever they have to refer to the passage.

We have more than eight inscriptions where such a statement appears. These inscriptions are: (1) The Thankot Inscription of Vasantadeva of S. 428 (n. 20), (2) The Changu Inscription of Śivadeva I with date lines peeled off (n. 53), (3) The Tokha Inscription of the same ruler with date S. 519 (n. 61), (4 The Anantalingeśvara inscription of Narendradeva with date S. 83 (n. 127), (5) The Yangubahi

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inscription of Narendradeva of date S. 103 (n. 127), (6) The Vajraghar Inscription of the same ruler with the same date (n. 128), (7) The Bhṛṅgāreśvara inscription of Śivadeva S. 122 (n. 133) and lastly the Thimi inscription which describes the objective of the charter as dāna dharmasetu (a bridge of gift and virtues) ends with the passage carrying the similar sense.

While the first two inscriptions just put yatkāraṇam in place of 'Vyāsa says so', the other four have different qualifying terms to express the original source of the statement. The expression dharma-śāstravacnanāni śruyate occurs in the Tokha inscription. In the Anantalingeśvara inscription the form is śāstranuśīlana iti. The two later inscriptions (n. 127 and 128) have dharma śāstra vachana. The Anantalingeśvara has the name of Yudhiṣṭhira but on account of the damage we do not see Vyāsa's name.

All this is unlike the Indian records. Although most of the inscriptions of the Imperial Gupta family have a very short passage, in which Vyāsa's statement does not occur Vainyagupta's Ganaidhar inscription of GS 188 (=508 A.D.) quotes the verse addressed to Yudhisthira as emanating from the son of Pārāsara. But there are some inscriptions which quote Vyāsa's verse without mentioning his name. These inscriptions are Damodar CP of Kumāra Gupta (G.S. 124). The statement is commonly used also by the Feudatory Mahārājās of the Paribrājaka dynasty of the modern Baghelkhand region. The two Khoh copper plates of Mahārāja Hastin of G.S. 156 and 163 respectively are almost duplicate of the above mentioned Tokha inscription passage. The two copper plate inscriptions refer to the passage, which is an advice to Yudhisthira by *Bhagvan paramarṣiṇā Vedavyāsena tathā choktam.* Nearly half a century earlier the inscriptions of Vākāṭaka King Pravarasena have a similar passage referring to the śāsana as Vyāsa gītā and putting it forward as a proof (śāstrapramāṇam). We may in this connection refer to the two inscriptions of Pravarasena II. But leaving aside the Vākāṭakas and Paribrājakas, many inscriptions of the age mention Vyāsa's name. This, however, appears again and again in the late Gupta and post Gupta periods and this is not confined only to North India but had extended to West India also. Its popularity in Western India is evident from the inscription of Droṇasimha which bears the date in the Gupta Vallabhi Era, 183 and while it quotes Vyāsa it refers to the passage in terms chātravyāsakṛta ślokah bhavanti (these verses are composed by Vyāsa). In this inscription Droṇasimha asks future kings of his dynasty (asmadvamsyāsamirājabhiranyaiścha) to protect his gifts. The inscription of Dhārāsena (Maliya C.P.) follows the same line. The last passage quotes the same verses starting with the statement so says Bhagvān Veda Vyāsa (G.S. 252). The Alina copper plate of Śilāditya VII has also similar passage. The kings of the Maukhari dynasty, however, omit any reference to Vyāsa's verses.

The inscriptions of Harṣavardhana, Ādityasena and Śaśānka, all of the late 7th century do not mention Vyāsa's verses.

It appears that whether it is Nepal or the rest of the subcontinent the practice of quoting Vyāsa is similar with one difference that in Nepal such statements are added to reinforce the appeal that future kings should give their full support to continue to maintain the land grant or any other gift made by the philanthropic kings issuing the charter where the objective is defined.

Dūtaka

As the dūtaka was a very important personage of the realm, it is obvious that the task charged to him was of no mean consequence.

The Indian inscriptions have also dūtakas in the charters. They are very common since the later Gupta period but not in those which are issued by the Gupta Emperors themselves. Before the Gupta period the inscriptions go without any dūtaka or any one resembling him in that capacity. Later in addition to the dūtaka an engraver or announcer was also added. In the Gupta inscriptions the end portion mentions the engraver and also the man of rank at whose instance it was written, made known and engraved. The Allahabad pillar inscription was set up by Minister Tilabhattaka for the welfare of Harisena, another minister (foreign), and all other living beings.[85] In the Mandsor inscriptions of

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Bandhuvarman who was a feudatory of Kumāra Gupta, dated Malava era 493 and 529, which commemorate the occasion of the completion of the temple of the Sun God, the name of the composer, writer and engraver of the long eulogy is mentioned and not that of dūtaka.[86] The Khoh (Naugarh, Baghelkhand) inscription of Paribrājaka Mahārāja Hastin, however, has a dūtaka, Bhāgrah by name, who appears along with the writer, one Vakrāmātya, and one grandson of Bhogika Amātya Naradatta and one Ravidatta, the son of Bhogikaputra.[87] This inscription is dated Gupta era 156 (=475-76 A.D.).

The dūtaka in this inscription is one Yājñika Virochanagupta. The Yājnika is related to the word yajña, and means a person who was versed in conducting sacrificial rituals belonging to Vedic School. One of the Assam (India) inscriptions of the 6th century A.D. calls the donor Pm Pb Aśvamedha yajña Śrībhūti Varman. Earlier the Vākātakas who had a big empire in Central India also took pride to assume this title. The Ābhira rulers also used the title Aśvamedha yajña in all their Nāgārjunakondā inscriptions. The honorific is just like Hāzi amongst the Muslims. Those who successfully undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca were called Hāzis. In the context of the inscriptions because the man had performed yajña several times, therefore he was called Yājnika.

The dūtaka has been taken by Fleet as a technical title of an officer in connection with charters usually recorded on copper plates or stones, whose duty was to carry the king's orders to the local officials by whom the charter was drawn up and delivered. Dr. D.C. Sircar in his 'Epigraphic Glossary' takes dūtaka as a messenger or conveyor of request, but he is actually the man entrusted by the person issuing charter to execute its provisions. Sircar thinks in the same connection that the function of the dūtaka is also to execute the conditions of the document issued through him.

All the inscriptions of Mahārāja Hastin have dūtakah at the end.[88] The name in both is Bhāgrah. Similarly the Uchchhakalpa Feudatory Mahārāja Sarvvanātha has a dūtaka in his inscriptions. The Alina C.P. of Śilāditya goes also with a dūtaka.[89] There is a dūtaka in the Rajim copper plate of Rājā Tivaradeva and numerous other kings of the 5th-8th centuries have appointed dūtaka at the end of their charters. Towards the end of Vasantadeva's career, it was a general practice to put the Chief Minister as dūtaka. In Gaṇadeva's time the Chief Minister Bhaumagupta appears to have advised the king to prohibit certain departments of state and their officers to enter certain villages in Śītaṭikā. The witness is the same person Prasādagupta who held the title of Brahmuṅ carrying a lesser rank and power. In the first six records the dūtaka is Babhruvarmā and one Brahmuṅ Prasādagupta is the administrator of the locality. All these inscriptions are found in localities close to one another. The Tchapali stele of Gangadeva is also issued with the advice of Bhaumagupta, where the dūtaka is Vṛṣavarmā. Bhaumagupta also appears in the first available inscription of Śivadeva I as the person to advise him and not a dūtaka who is here one Kulapravīra holding a prominent position of the commander-in-chief. When Amśuvarmā came to the scene he also comes to notice as the advisor to the deed executed, but the title is Śrī Sāmanta though he is profusely admired and eulogised as the diadem on the head of the humbled Sāmantas (praṇatasāmanta śiromaṇī). We shall see later that Amśuvarmā started the practice of appointing a Yuvarāja (here Udayadeva) as dūtaka, which Jisnugupta also follows in the later inscription. Since Narendradeva's time, however, the Yuvarāja is invariably the dūtaka in the records. All this will be evident when we examine the regnal records of these monarchs. The date was always the last item if it was, however, not provided in the beginning. Here the date is Samvat 428 Mārga Śirṣa Śukla diva 1. Some inscriptions of India in the Gupta period gave the date at the initial stage. So did the Paribrājaka Mahārājas, the feudatory rulers of the Imperial Guptas.

21. Tistung Stone

This is a 15 line inscription of Vasantadeva of which 5 to 10 are damaged. The epithets used before Vasantadeva are the same as in No. 20 above. The form of address *samajnāpayati* is also similar. As the word *sarvvadandanayaka* occurs in line 10 while letters showing the name are peeled off, it appears that he was the Chief Minister and this person had recommended the king to sanction the grants. As Ravigupta appears with the same title in the next few inscriptions, the Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka mentioned

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here must be Ravigupta himself.

The record gives the date line S. 434 with particulars missing.

22. Bahalukha (Patan)

This 17 line inscription of Vasantadeva on a slab of stone near the temple of Trilingeśvara is intact in the lower portion but the upper half is much damaged so that lines 4 to 7 are totally damaged. In line 3 after Vasantadeva kuśalī and line 4 after preṣane all letters are damaged. After 9th line it talks of land grants (already cited) 40 bhūmi . . . . . in a place, 10 bhumi in Hrinko pradeśa, 6 bhūmi in Gunduluttara pradeśa, all of which together yielded 42 mā as piṇḍaka. The record says 'this is samajnapanā' of the ruler.

The dūtaka is sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka mahāpratihāra Ravigupta. For the first time mahāpratihāra and second time sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka, which connote a sense of high powers and seats of vantage, appear in this inscription. Perhaps on account of damage the Tistung stone could not show one of the epithets i.e. mahāpratihāra while showing sarvvadandanāyaka at the end of a line where everything else is damaged. But henceforth these titles as applied to Chief Minister appear quite often. It is now our task to define them.

Both the words are commonly used in Indian inscriptions. It is thus easy to find their meaning and status and powers of the individuals bearing these titles.

This is also called the Trilingeśvara area of Patan and as suggested earlier the inscription of Vasantadeva gives the date Samvat 435 second Pauṣa śukla diva 5. There is no other inscription in the old series showing intercalation in the month of Pauṣa.

This is the first inscription where Ravigupta's titles as Mahāpratihara and Sarvvadandanāyaka are fully evident. The titles are highest in terms of power and status he held in the kingdom.

These titles coming together upto the time of Bhaumagupta who is seen for the last time in the first inscription of Śivadeva I with date Samvat 512 (Viṣṇumati river hillock inscription, near Budhanilakantha).

From this inscription onwards the dūtaka bears the titles of sarvadandanayaka and mahapratihara. These are titles of importance carrying high responsibilities of administration in the system. It will appear that the man who combines in himself the two offices is taken to be the official of the highest rank. This, however, requires an explanation, and we intend to take up the subject at a later stage i.e. after Gangadeva's reign when the two titles are neither combined nor appear in the inscriptions. Once a Mahā pratihāra appears and Sarvadandanāyaka does also once come to notice.

23. Jaisideval Inscription (Kathmandu)

The Jaisideval stele belongs to Vasantadeva. The temple built by the Minister Laksminārāyaṇa Jośi in the 17th century A.D. lies in the southern part of Kathmandu. The ancient stone does still stand a few yards away to its right. It is mutilated from line 7 to 16. But at the end of 8 and 9 we have two words Lingval and Kuther in line 10, both of which appear quite often in the following inscriptions signifying offices of state. Ravigupta bears the titles of Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratihāra, but there is no 'Śrī' before his name. According to DV the absence of 'Śrī' connotes a less significant position.

The line gives Ravigupta with his ministerial titles like Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and as dūtaka. A person called Mahīśila is also said to have administered the area as Brahmuṅ.

It is difficult to identify Mahīśila. But it appears that Mahīśila's title Brahmuṅ came in the order as applied to our context. The titles such as Mahāpratihāra and Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka, Mahābalādhyakṣa, Yuvarāja, Rājaputra, Sāmanta and Mahāsāmanta follow but no more titles find place in our records. The Indian inscriptions list numerous titles besides the ones we have just given. The contemporary records, of course, have less and precontemporary still lesser, but the 8th and 10th century inscriptions give quite a good number of titles.

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Apart from Śolla and Kuther offices, the names of two other offices Mapchoka and Lingval appear often in our inscriptions but their works are not defined. We, however, might know even by inference in which connection they had to work, and thus trace the nature of the duties charged to them. But upto this stage the connection has not been brought in. Therefore we shall deal with the subject as their functions or related points showing the reason for non-entrance come into view.

The Jaisideval inscription as we said earlier talks of all offices (I.7) and also Lingval and Kuthera. Māpchoka along with Kuthera and Solla offices (adhikarana) is mentioned in the Chowkitar inscription of Gaṇadeva. All these offices come in for reference when their entry to some areas was to be banned as a royal grant of exemption to the inhabitants who had earned the king's attention.

It is to be borne in mind here that when the inscriptions talk of 4 offices, probably they do not include other offices with limited functions, for besides the inscriptions above enumerated, we find some inscriptions talking of more offices. All these offices are unknown to Indian records and therefore it adds to our difficulties for understanding them.

But all these along with the nature of offices will be thoroughly dealt with later.

In the Jaisideval inscription of Vasantadeva one Brahmuṅ Mahīśila figures as the officer in charge of the area, to which the record is connected.

Brahmuṅ seems to be a title not the name, because it occurs as such in the Chowkitar and other inscriptions before pratihara Bhavagupta who administered the locality perhaps Sitaṭikātala in the later records.

In the five inscriptions of Balambu, Kisipidi and Satungal all dated Samvat 482 Śrāvaṇa śukla pratipadā the Brahmuṅ is Prasādagupta Vārtta (an employee of the king).

Thereafter no one seems to have adopted this kind of title.

What Brahmuṅ means nobody knows. May be it means a local officer of a district unit of administration.

The Jaisideval inscription is dated Sam. 435 Asvayuja śukla diva 1 and the dutaka is here again Ravigupta with the titles of Sarvvadandanayaka and mahapratihara.

Lingval in the 8th and Kuther in the next are seen but what functions they rendered is not clear. We have, however, discussed their function in a separate section which is added at the end of the volume.

This inscription in the last line shows one Brahmuṅ Mahīśīla who is administering the area in the word 'asmin vyavaharatiti'. He mnst have been a local chief.

24. Sitapaila

The stone which once lay on the hill near Sitapaila a village about 3 miles west of Kathmandu is now not traceable. But its impression does still exist. The impression has helped us to have a reading of the inscription, which definitely belongs to the reign of Vasantadeva, dated Samvat 435 without particulars. The 19 line inscription damaged on both sides marginally records a grant of land by Jayasundarī, sister of King Vasantadeva who issues the proclamation for the repair work of a water conduit which she had built for the merit of her father devoted to God, and herself.

Jayasundarī

If the Thankot inscription is a charter making a gift of Jayapallikāgrāma to his sister Jayasundarī by Vasantadeva, the present inscription records the installation of a Śivalinga to the memory of his father and sister Jayasundarī.

Jayasundarī seems to be a very dear sister of Vasantadeva. The gift of a village to her was an act prompted by deep love towards her.

We do not know what part Jayasundarī played in the administration. We know nothing of her marriage nor anything about her son and other relatives. None are known to us. There are no

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inscriptions available to us, which can give more information about her except that she was a recipient of an ownership right over a village gifted to her by Vasantadeva to enjoy it for generations together.

25. Kisipidi

This inscription of Kisipidi village, a little to the south of Thankot, across the Tribhuvan Highway belongs to the year Samvat 449 with the intercalated month of *Āsāḍha*. It is a fragmentary record showing the lower portion. Ravigupta with the same titles is dūtaka here too. About 5 lines are totally damaged. The word *Kuthera* appears here also. The record belongs to Vasantadeva. Here a village is exempted from the payment of certain taxes. The name of the village is illegible.

But a writer[90] has suggested that at this stage there began what he calls *dvaita śāsana*, which means a rule by two persons. He thinks that Ravigupta was playing the role of a deputy quite earlier, but since this time he overshadowed the king, and as the inscription was issued along with the king by Ravigupta and Kramalilah, they were functioning with Vasantadeva as de facto. This situation he calls is that of dvaita śāsana, which would mean two (or three) rulers at a time and at a place. He is not prepared to accept that without vesting powers in Ravigupta and Kramalilah Vasantadeva would not have been allowed to exist.

But to our point of view the dvaita śāsana if it means two rulers at a time does ill fit the situation where a puppet monarch functioned along with a powerful minister. However, this was the case when Vasantadeva was the monarch on the throne and Ravigupta was the Chief Minister. Such instances are very common in our history as well as elsewhere in world history. For a certain period Amśuvarmā also functioned as powerful minister overshadowing the throne and so were Jiṣṇugupta and his son in the later period.

Comparing the position of Ravigupta with that of Kramalilah, we certainly find some difference of status between the two. Ravigupta probably ranks first to that of Kramalilah. But while Kramalilah carries with him the title of *Mahārāja mahāsāmanta*, Ravigupta enjoyed only the titles of *Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka* and *Mahāpratihāra*. The latter is dūtaka as well. It appears while Ravigupta was functioning as the Chief Minister, Kramalilah who was a feudatory also emerged on the scene as a powerful man in the palace, but he was second to Ravigupta. But Ravigupta's name goes without Śrī while Kramalilah has Śrī. According to Dhanavajra Śrī is rājochita i.e. used before the name of the king, and on this basis he thinks Kramalilah occupied the highest post below in the realm. 'Śrī' might have a sense of royal dignity but this is also a honorific prefix before the names of deities, eminent persons as well as celebrated titles of treatises (*Śrīmadbhāgavata*). Of course, there is the question why Ravigupta's name is without 'Śrī'.

26. Khapinche, Patan

This is one of the inscriptions invoking the blessing of Vaiśampāyana. He was one of the 4 pupils of the author of Mahābhārata; they were the foremost sages of the age, who had been deified as experts in Vedas. Vaiśampāyana told the story of Bhārata to king Janamejaya. The lines are inscribed on a water reservoir of stone in a locality of Patan city called Khapinche, a little far away, south of the Palace square. The time is that of Vasantadeva. The reign is mentioned thus: *Sri Vasantadeva samyagrarājyam praśāsati*. This kind of expression is also used wherever there is a subsidiary ruler or a governor or a feudatory donor in the area. The date is *Samvat 452 Pauṣa śukla tithau*. There is a land grant for the *karaṇapūjā* of the lord donated by certain Brāhmanas.

According to Kurmapurāṇa (3-9 chapter) sage Vyāsa had collected 4 pupils, all distinguished for their knowledge of the Vedas.

The four disciples of Vedavyāsa are Jaimini, Sumanta, Vaiśampāyana and Pailam. The fourth was a great sage. But the disciple who distinguished himself in Yajurveda was Vaiśampāyana. He was the

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spokesman of this school. Pailam was, however, well versed in Rigveda.

To Vaiśampāyana goes the credit of reading Mahābhārata to Janamejaya as directed by Vyāsa.

27. Harigaon Pillar

The Harigaon pillar inscription is a poetic composition in honour of Dvaipayana (Vyāsa) regarded as one of the divinities in human incarnation born to preach true religion as opposed to false religion by Buddhism. The poems in verses in different metres are written by Anuparama, a historical figure, father of Bhaumagupta, who later became a powerful Chief Minister.

Harigaon is a little far away on the north of Naksal (Nīliśālā of the inscription) now a suburb of Kathmandu.

It is Vyāsa who dispelled the clouds of ignorance by throwing light of true knowledge.

Vyāsa is an embodiment of knowledge, and he is the only person to tell people how to obtain the bliss of emancipation.

It appears from this long hymn to Vyāsa that the writer thought it needful to criticise Buddhist doctrines publicly and had his own views inscribed on a pillar which bears the carrier of Viṣṇu, the bird Garuḍa on its top. There was obviously a conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism at this time but what was its actual nature is not clear. At any rate it can be suggested that all forms of what we call now Hindu religion existed side by side. Buddhism had probably become more popular and this was the reason that led to Anuparama's inscription to call it irreligious.

The hymns to Vyāsa called Dvaipāyana here composed by Anuparama were probably intended to counteract the growing influence of Buddhism. Vyāsa is spoken of here as a person who dispelled darkness and ill thinking by his learning, which goes to meet the challenge of ill motivated logicians who suffer from lack of wisdom trying to destroy the foundation of established religion and practices. Vyāsa restores the authority of Bṛhaspati, Śukra and other classical authorities like Yama, Uṣnasa, etc.

Vyāsa is the mythical author of Mahābhārata. He is also supposed to be the compiler of the 18 Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. According to Mahābhārata he was born of a virgin fisher woman by a Brāhmana father, the sage Pārāsara. His mother Satyavatī, a young girl, used to carry passengers in a boat across the river Jamuna. Once she was rowing a boat alone with the sage to cross the Jamuna. The sage fell in love with her at the first sight, enveloped the boat with fog and then out of sight of all had his sexual satisfaction. Vyāsa was the issue of this union. He was destined to be incomparably learned. Because he was born in a river island he was called Dvaipāyana Kṛṣṇa. He was also called Bādarāyana Kṛṣṇa because of his dark complexion. Because he knew all scriptures he was known as Veda Vyāsa. Some people regarded him as an incarnation of God Viṣṇu.

The meaning of Vyāsa is 'the sage who explains the Vedas' (Vyākhyāti vedam iti ya sah). To quote Mahābhārata (I/105/14) yā Vyāsa Vedas chaturasta yasta bhagavān ṛṣi lokaih vyasatva mā vede kāryādi Kṛṣṇa tvamevacha.

In Mahābhārata (I.I.51) Vyāsa is known as such because his knowledge was wide, Vistiryai rtatmahajgnam rsi sanskrippya chabra bit/istam hi viduṣām loke sama samasa Vyasa dhāranām.

Vyāsa is presented here as a great personage who countered the teaching of all the evils of Buddhist heresy. Vyāsa's performance in rebutting the arguments of those who denied the existence of God and heaven i.e. the Buddhists, is lauded profusely. This rebutting he did by clear evidence and knowledge. Vyāsa was devoid of all desires and passions and his self from the very beginning never got immersed in worldly activities of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, and he was pure in spirit. He had drunk deep of the nectar of the ancient knowledge, *Smṛti* and *Śruti*. If Vyāsa had not used his force of knowledge the followers of Sugata who had enticed the people by false arguments, with evil designs, would have been successful in misleading the world. But he forced them out and maintained the social order. Vyāsa also restored the authority of Manu, Yama, Bṛhaspati and Śukra apart from composing *Bhārata*, the great book. All these he did for the proper guidance of the people.

It appears from Anuparama's poems composed in praise of sage Vyāsa as in a poem of the Harigaon

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pillar inscription that the followers of Śaiva-Viṣṇuite cult, i.e. the Brahmanical sect, felt a strong grudge against the activities of the Buddhists whom they called bad logicians (kutārkikaih) and mischievious persons. The Buddhists were accused of misleading the people by preaching hatred against the sacred laws of the sages. They had gone against tradition. Even earlier in the time of Mānadeva the Viṣṇupaduka hill Śivalinga Inscription talks of deep darkness prevailing on account of the influence of evil minded people (kumati grasta ghorāndha kāre).

In the 5th and 6th centuries the followers of Brahmanical sect and Buddhists did not look kindly to each other and they did not live wholly in a spirit of peaceful co-existence.

Things, however, changed in the later Lichchhavi period as Amśuvarmā preached tolerance between people of different religious sects. Though he upheld orthodox Śaivite views calling himself a person devoted to Lord Paśupati in all his inscriptions he also profusely extended royal patronage to honour the Buddhist monks and monasteries (Vihāras).

According to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* there appeared 28 Veda Vyāsas in Dvāpara Yuga. They created 4 Vedas at the time of Vaivasvata Manu. The Vyāsas are (1) Svayambhu, (2) Prajāpati, (3) Uśana, (4) Bṛhaspati, (5) Savitā, (6) Mṛtyu, (7) Indra, (8) Vasistha, (9) Sārasvat, (10) Tridhana, (11) Trṣṭāno, (12) Bhāradvāja, (13) Antariso, (14) Dharma, (15) Vajrarunah, (16) Dhananjaya, (17) Krtanjaya, (18) Riṇanjaya, (19) Vyāsa Bhāradvaja, (20) Gotama, (21) Haryativa, (22) Vena Vajasrava, (23) Triṇa Vindu, (24) Valmiki, (25) Śakti, (26) Jatukarṇa, (27) Krsnadvaipayana, (28) Vyāsa. This list prepared by Pārāśara calls the last name of Vyāsa as his son.

Indian inscriptions do also quote Vyāsa while they ask the future kings to protect the donations. This is in line with the Nepalese inscriptions as we have already suggested earlier. In the Khoh copper plate of Mahārāja Sarvanatha the sage Vyāsa is called the son of Pārāsara in connection with the same subject.[91] In the inscriptions of Arrang C.P. of Maha Jayasya,[92] Rayapur C.P. of Sudevaraja,[93] the saying of Vyāsa is called Vyasagitam. In the Khoh inscriptions of Paribrājaka Mahārāja Hasin[94] Vyāsa is called Paramarṣi Veda Vyāsa. Similarly in the Khoh C.P.[95] of Samkṣobha, he is called Bhāgvan Paramarṣi Veda Vyāsa. Another Uchchhakalpa ruler Mahārāja Sarvanatha[96] calls him Bhagvan Veda Vyāsa. The same occurs in the fragmentary Khoh C.P. of Sarvvanatha. The Maliya C.P. of Mahārāja Dhārāsena (GS 252+320=572) has also Bhagvan Veda Vyāsa. But some inscriptions have just Veda Vyāsa. In the earlier period, inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas have just 'thus sayeth Bhagvan Dvaipayana' as in Dhanadaha C.P.[97] of Kumara Gupta I dated GS 121=432-33. But others show different wording, Baigram C.P. of 128 (uktàncha bhagavata Veda Vyasa mahatenana),[98] Paharpur C.P. of 159,[99] Damodar copper plate of Buddhagupta (uktancha maharṣibhi), another C.P. of Buddhagupta at Damodarpur[100] (uktam Vyasena).

Anuparama has cited names like those of Manu, Yama, and Uṣanasa who had helped to establish an order based on religious sanctity. This order has got to be preserved at any cost. But the Kutārkikah were threatening the society. Hence this invocation to Vyāsa for deliverance.

Anuparama might be the same person, in whose memory Ābhirī Gominī set up a Śivalinga in Samvat 562[101] and gave the name Anuparameśvara to it. In this inscription she gives the name of her son Bhaumagupta who was later to become the Chief Minister in the time of Gaṇadeva.

28. Arya Ghat

The one line inscription around hemispherical top (maṇḍala) of a little height but of large sized bottom shows that the then Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka had grown powerful enough to command a following to demand meditation (pādānudhyāta) from one of his followers, Brāhmana Puṇyagomī. There is no doubt that the chief minister was a powerful man, more so when he was in the administration for two decades. But one should not think that Vasantadeva had lost all the powers at this time and was a mere puppet.

The name Puṇyagomī suggests that there was a class or caste of people known as Gomī, but this is not so. The Gomī was a title connoting respectability. In his explanation, Dhanavajra had only

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confused the meaning, because when at one time he says that the Ābhiras adopted the title of Gomi, at another time he thinks that these were also men or women of Kṣatriya and other castes, who were known as Gomīs. But Gomī was not a caste name. It was a general title carrying sense of respect in the surrounding areas where the reign was made known.

It is wrong to say that this inscription indicates the position of Vasantadeva as eclipsed by Ravigupta. I do not know how a writer and author tried to draw a strange conclusion about the position of Vasantadeva just on the basis of one inscription. The expression *samyakrājyam prasāsati* does not show that Vasantadeva's royal powers had been reduced or there was any indication of usurpation of powers by Ravigupta.

It only means that Vasantadeva was ruling in a befitting manner (*samyak*). The expression that he was ruling well means that his security was not in danger. This year, Samvat 452 (*Pauṣa śukla tithau 3*), was surely not a prelude to a coup d'etat against him.

Like other records it shows some land donations. Here the chief donor is yājñika Viprasena who seems to be a Brahmana. The other two donors are Brahmana Vṛddhiṣena and yājnika Vedabhaṭṭa.

29. Chowkitar I

This is an inscription of Vasantadeva from Chowkitar a little north-west of Balambu across the rivulet Indramatī. It is dated Sam. 454 Jyeṣṭha śukla diva 6.

Unlike the preceding charters, this was granted with the advice of Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka Mahāpratihāra Ravigupta but issued along with him and Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Śrī Kramalilah. The names of Kuthera adhikaraṇa (office) and Śolla adhikaraṇa suggest two offices. It appears by the word panchāparādha (five great sins) and abhilekhyakai (written documents) that the charter was meant to prevent the entry of king's men belonging to Śolla and Kuthera offices into the village in connection with the five crimes.

As Ravigupta and Kramalilah, the latter with the title of Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja, appear along with the king, it is obvious that Vasantadeva had allowed himself to be completely dominated by these two individuals. Kramalilah is a new personality whose identity is not known. But Ravigupta was probably of the Gupta family of the Ābhira tribe. Ravigupta had certainly enhanced his position, even though Kramalilah equalled him. The title Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta is also adopted by many rulers in a hill kingdom in Kullu as appears from the Nirmand copper plate of Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja (CII, 3, n. 80, p. 280ff).

In this inscription as Ravigupta is associated with Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Kramalilah one may ask as to who is this new figure? Some writers think that he is a remnant of the old dynasty, who had inherited the title of Mahārāja and because of his subordinate position in this period had to accept the feudatory title of Mahāsāmanta. L. Gopal who is one of those putting forward this view[102] thinks that he might be even projected as an ancestor of Amśuvarmā. But the ancestral identity of Kramalilah as well as of Amśuvarmā is obscure. In fact there is no shred of evidence to establish the fact of their common ancestry. So anything suggested haphazardly in this connection will not be warranted.

L. Gopal thinks that Ravigupta was the father of Bhaumagupta ignoring the evidence of Deopatan inscription of Ābhirī Gomini, mother of Bhaumagupta.

30. The Bhaṣmeśvara Record

The Bhaṣmeśvara sanctuary lies within the Paśupati area itself just a few yards away from the Paśupatinath temple across the road in the south, but out of the many Śivalingas the lines inscribed on one of them are Bhadreśvara, Natheśvara, Subheśvara, Sthiteśvara and Ravīśvara, but the liṅga of Bhaṣmeśvara is missing. These liṅgas were set up by Pratihāra Dhruvasangha. Bhaṣmeśvara must have been a later addition, after which the sanctuary is named.

There is a grant of land in Yūpagrāma, the yield of which was to be used for the worship

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(Kāraṇapūjā) of the liṅgas, which was to be run by a Gosthi of the donor's kinsmen (svajana gosthi).

Ravīśvara might have been set up in memory of Ravigupta. He does not appear in any record after this. One scholar writes that this was the time when Vasantadeva was overthrown and with him Ravigupta and others. The successor to Vasantadeva was perhaps not as much liked by Dhruvasangha and this was the reason he did not mention the ruler's name in the inscription. But the argument is not reasonable.

This is also too far-stretched and imaginative. The coup against Vasantadeva is not known from any evidence. The fact that Dhruvasangha could ignore the ruler on the throne is not so much significant. This may show that he was very powerful, and the successor of Vasantadeva was weak, but not necessarily and to attribute to him any scheme of coup d'etat was taking the impossible for granted. If Ravigupta was an Ābhira as suggested by a Nepalese writer, Anuparama, the composer of the panegyrics of Vyāsa, who was an Ābhira, could have flourished about this age. As inscriptions do not appear in the name of Vasantadeva after Samvat 454, and the next dated inscription is that of Sam. 460, we may suggest that Vasantadeva's death might have taken place between 455 and 458 or so.

31. Manudeva

This is an inscription on the base of a Śivaliṅga known as Narkedeo in a field near the sanctuary of Budhanilakantha, which is situated at the foot of Sivapuri hill. Out of 7 lines the first and the last two are totally damaged. In the readable portion the king's name may be traced but it is not clear whether it is Manudeva or Manodeva or Mānadeva. Dhanavajra reads Manudeva.

According to Dhanavajra Mānadeva is the same as Manudeva given by the later Vamsavalis after Vasantadeva. But this is not true.

We produce the list of few names of the time:

BLI	V[1] (f. 21a)	Wright	Vikram Hajrat, India Office collection
Mahīdeva	Mahīdeva	Mahīdeva	Mahīdeva
Vasantadeva	Vasantadeva	Vasantadeva	Vasantadeva
Udayadeva	Udayadeva		
Guṇakāmadeva	Gaṇadeva		
Śivadeva	Guṇakāmadeva		
Bhīmadeva	Champādeva		
	Narendradeva		
	Bhīmadeva		
	(no name like Manudeva)		

The group B[2] and Sanskrit chronicles also give royal names conforming to the above. We do not know which chronicle has Manudeva. Dhanavajra talks only of a chronicle but does not say which chronicle he has in mind.

But it is true that Jitāmitramalla's chronicle described in Medieval Nepal Pt. II gives Manodeva as successor of Udayadeva who came after Vasantadeva. The genealogy is not at all important because the chronicle like others of the group, which was composed in the 17th century, nearly 1300 years later to the supposed date of Manudeva, could not be very reliable. I do not know how much credency is to be given to this genealogy. Some people think that Ravigupta, Bhaumagupta and others of the Ābhira family belong to the Imperial dynasty founded by Sri Gupta in Magadha and consolidated by Chandra Gupta I, who had married Kumāradevī, a daughter of the Lichchhavi family, to whom he was extremely indebted. As an expression of gratitude to the Lichchhavi family, Chandra Gupta minted a coin with her name on the obverse. This, however, is insufficient to identify the origin of

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Nepalese figures with Gupta appendage after their name and call them as kinsmen of Imperial Guptas. The term Lichchhavayah used by Samudra Gupta in his coin is surely in conformity to his father's own sense of gratitude to the Lichchhavis. But we do not know who the Lichchhavis were and where they lived at that time. Are they the branch of the old Lichchhavi tribe of Lord Buddha's time? The same thing can be said about the Ābhiras and we do not know how they went to Nepal and how they were connected with the Imperial Gupta lineage. One scholar has compared Samudra Gupta performing *Aśvamedha* sacrifice with Virochana who also bears the title of Yājñika, which means he was also a performer of sacrifices. But how can we conclude on this basis that the two belong to the same family? This is a very unreasonable argument.

To call the Gupta family as the Ābhiras we have as an evidence an inscription of Ābhirī Gominī. She is the wife of Anuparama, and mother of Bhaumagupta, a long time Chief Minister of the state. So what she says is important enough to draw our attention to the origin of her family. If she likes to call herself an Ābhirī, and declares so, she has every right to do so. But why her husband and son, and other descendants like Jiṣṇugupta shunned the name Ābhira? But the presence of Ābhiras in Nepal in the 6th century A.D. cannot be thought of. It is possible that the attempt to trace the origin to the Ābhira tribe is certainly to gain a respectable lineage as some other royal families did in India. The powerful figures of the age with the name ending with Gupta pass as the Ābhiras in the same way as Mānadeva and his successors pass as the Lichchhavis in Nepal. The former belonged to the lunar dynasty, while the latter claimed a solar descent.

VĀMANADEVA

32. Sankhu

This inscription was discovered on the pedestal of an image in the depth of the courtyard of the Gairidhara (a water conduit) at Sankhu. It shows the reign of Vāmanadeva with a grant of land for the worship of Vāmanasvāmi, God Vāmana (Viṣṇu). The date 460 is significant. Vāmanadeva is unknown to chronicles.

In view of the date line damaged in the inscription of Manu(or Mano)deva it is difficult to say if Vāmanadeva was his successor. Nevertheless the name adds one more ruler in the list of kings of the earlier Lichchhavi period. But as Vāmanadeva's ancestry is unknown we have no more information about him as about Manudeva.

Because the image of Vāmana is missing, we do not know whether it was the type of Trivikrama image or just a dwarfish figure represented in a different panel. As we have a single record of Vāmanadeva's reign available in the north eastern corner of the valley we are not in a position even to know of the area he ruled. Since Vasantadeva and Ravigupta died in S. 454-55 until Bhaumagupta appeared on the scene the situation is chaotic. Manudeva, Vāmanadeva and Rāmadeva, each with a single record, look obscure.

33. Pasupati Stele of Ābhirī Gominī Referred to Above

As one enters the gate of the outer wall from the south and ascends the stairs for the southern gate of the Pasupatinatha sanctuary, he comes across a Śivalinga around which six long lines of letters are inscribed. The Śivalinga is called Anuparameśvara after her husband's name (Anuparama who is the author of the verses composed in honour of Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa), the author of the epic Mahābhārata). The inscription commemorates the occasion of the ceremony of setting up a Śivalinga in a temple. Anuparama is described here as the son of Paramābhimāni and Bhaumagupta is called here as her son (*āyusmatāṅchāpatyānām Bhaumaguptādinām*). So how is Bhaumagupta a son of Ravigupta? But L. Gopal tries to identify Ravigupta with Anuparama, and not content with this, Paramābhimāni with Yajnika Virochana. But for this he does not offer any valid arguments. The identification is just imaginary.

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Anuparameśvara, and the donor calling herself Ābhirī Gominī talks of her desire to enhance the merit, to have him to attain divine spirit of her husband, son or Paramābhimāni. The donor also mentions Bhaumagupta as her son. This Bhaumagupta was to rise to the post of Chief Minister in the later period. The date 462 might be taken as the date when Anuparama, the poet author of the Vyāsa stotra, had expired. The Ābhiras were the tribe like the Śākas who had entered India from the North-West. We shall talk of the Ābhira family in the text of 'Ancient Nepal' in detail.

The king's name does not appear in the inscription, and we do not know who was reigning at this date.

RĀMADEVA

34. Āryaghat

In this inscription Maharaja mahasamanta Kramalilah has a land grant recorded in the reign of Bhattaraka Maharaja Rāmadeva. The grant (dated S. 467 Vaisakha sukla purnima) is made for the worship of Nathesvara by Manamati. Another recipient is Khuddusvami, probably a monk of the Saiva sect.

Kramalilah with the high sounding titles issues his own inscription, and this shows that he had grown extremely powerful. He survives Ravigupta and is the leading figure in the reign of Rāmadeva. But we hear no more of him since this date.

35. Bhīmsen Tower

The inscription bears no date as the line is peeled off. The name of the king is incomplete, because the letters before deva are effaced. It is a Buddhist record inaugurating the setting up of the image of Aryavalokitesvara by Paramopasaka (a great Buddhist layman) with his wife Mahendramati praying for the happiness of all living beings including his parents.

The image of Lokesvara is extant but the head has been replaced.

The inscription establishes the fact of the popularity of Aryavalokitesvara. We know at least that Avalokitesvara was known in Nepal in the 6th century A.D.

36. Harigaon Stele of Bhāravi

The inscription on a slab of stone found in Harigaon, a suburb of Kathmandu records the construction of a water conduit by Bhāravi, who claims to be a son of the daughter of king Mānadeva.

Bhāravi states about himself that he is endowed with 'Śrī' (Śrīman prabhuścha nachalokaviv-ddhakārī) powerful yet does not act against the welfare of his people, handsome yet not vainglorious, strong yet tolerant and lastly liberal but not proud (rupānvitaścha nacha rupamadaṁ bhivarti sampanna pauruṣa balaścha bahukṣamaścha dātacha nāma nacha vikatthanaścha).

This man for his ever lasting fame had built a conduit to serve tasteful drinking water to the people.

Bhāravi does not call Mānadeva 'as the Moon in the sky of the Lichchhavis' like Vijayavatī. Bhāravi's mention of Mānadeva without reference to his lineage comes in contrast to the statement of Vijayavati. We cannot understand how Bhāravi spoke of his own qualities and did not like to exhibit his pride in being a grandson of a Lichchhavi monarch. A son of a Lichchhavi princess could not have omitted to mention the lineage of his mother.

There is the Āśrama of Bharaviśramaṇa referred to in the Changu inscription of Śivadeva. It appears that Bhāravi had become a monk later, and he founded a sthāna (dormitory) where he lived.

Bhāravi does not mention the name of the king. The situation seems to be disturbed and fluid. Our queries about the reigning monarch of the time go unanswered until now.

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58. CIV, Vol. V, n. 3, Jamb copper plate.
59. CIII, n. 56.
60. CIII, n. 81.
61. CBI, p. 119.
62. CBI, p. 119.
63. CBI, p. 168.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. CII, 3, 29, p. 245.
67. CII, 3, n. 31, p. 137.
68. CIII, n. 26, 493-494 A.D.
69. CIII, n. 27, Khoh copper plate of Jayanatha.
70. D.C. Sircar, p. 48.
71. 2.6.24, EI, XIX, 21.
72. पञ्चाशद्भाग आदेयो राज्ञा पशुहिरण्ययोः । धान्यानामाष्टयोषष्टो द्वादश एवच ।
73. U.N. Ghosal, p. 318.
74. Economic Life in India in Gupta Times, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 56-57. Also EI, XIV, 13, Pt. I; EI, XIV, n. 13, Pt. II.
75. यथा फलेन युज्येत राजा कतचि कर्मणाम् ।
तथा वेक्ष्य नृपो राष्ट्रे कल्पयेत सततम् करान् ।
76. यो रक्षेन्बलिमादत्ते करं शुल्केच पार्थिवम् ।
प्रतिभागच पार्थिवः ससद्यो नरक व्रजेत् ।
77. Ibid.
78. EI, p. 75 fn.
79. Economic History of North India, p. 179.
80. Rastrakutas and Their Times, p. 216.
81. Lichchhavi Kala kā Abhilekha, p. 104.
82. E.T. Atkinson: Himalayan Gazetteer, II, pp. 475-76.
83. Sircar, Glossary, pp. 31-32.
84. Sircar, Select Inscriptions (2nd Edition), I, p. 464.
85. CII, III, n. 1, p. 10 (Second Edition).
86. CII, III, n. 18, pp. 81ff.
87. Bhogika means literally one who enjoys but here it is an official title meaning a landlord according to J.F. Fleet who interprets bhoga as land. There are 8 bhogas (aşţabhoga) as Anna Vemā states in the Naḍupura grant (CIII, p. 223, Third Edition).
88. Nos. 39-44 in our collection.
89. CII, Vol. 3, n. 21.

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90. Lichchhavi Kala ka Abhilekha, p. 149.
91. CII, 3 n. 31.
92. CII, 3 n. 40.
93. CII, 3 n. 41.
94. CII, 3 n. 21 & 63.
95. CII, 3 n. 25.
96. CII, 3 n. 28.
97. CIB, p. 45.
98. CIB, 31, Sircar, p. 342.
99. CIB, pp. 54-55, Sircar, p. 346.
100. CIB, pp. 62-63.
101. n. 33 of our collection.
102. Studies in the History and Culture of Nepal, Banaras, 1977.

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GANADEVA

37. Pharping Stele

AFTER Vāmanadeva the next ruler to come to notice through inscriptions is Gaṇadeva whose first record is the inscription of Pharping with date S. 479 Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa dvādaśī.

The subject of the record is not clear as the earlier part of the stone is damaged and letters are illegible. But it is a charter. The charter was issued on the recommendation of Bhaumagupta who bears the title of Mahāpratihāra and Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka. His last inscription is dated 487 prathamāśāḍha sukla divitya (n. 45).

In Gaṇadeva's time Śrī Bhaumagupta appears a dominant figure in the political scene. The fact that one Svāmivārtta calls himself 'meditating upon the feet of Paramadaivata Śrī Bhaumagupta' is indicative of his eminence and influence.

In the inscription of the Pharping village Bhaumagupta appears both as an advisor and dūtaka in the grant by the king whose name is missing.

Gaṇadeva's genealogy is not known. As kings avoided giving their chronology unlike their Indian counterparts it is difficult for us to know who was Gaṇadeva's father. The mere fact that he uses an epithet *Bappa pādānudhyāta*, does not indicate that he was the son of a king.

Although these inscriptions are available at different places within the Śītāṭikātala as indicated also by the respective records the contents are the same and they can be treated for our purpose at one place.

It might also be taken into account that in all the records the appointed agent is Babhruvarmā, and the local administrator is Prasādagupta. The date is invariably 482 Śrāvaṇa sukla pratipada in all of them.

Bhaumagupta whose name has the honorific Śrī, and was Mahāpratihāra and Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka was the person at whose request the entry of the Lingval and Māpchoka offices was prohibited in the village named and also the entry of four offices there in connection with the five sins was banned.

As all the four adhikaraṇas (offices) are mentioned in connection with *panchāparādha*, the task of each is difficult to guess. We shall have therefore to postpone the discussion about this subject until such discussions of their functions are clearly evident.

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It also appears that in the time of Gaṇadeva the Śolla adhikaraṇa was in charge of five sins, whereas abhilekhyam was handled by Kuthera but since the time of Amśuvarmā the Kuthera department alone dealt with cases involving transaction in sale of land or gifts of any moveable property. Similarly the matters arising out of five sins were handled by Kuthera. This is clear from the two Bhadgaon inscriptions of Amśuvarmā, where the adhikaraṇa Śolla does not find a place.

Both Śolla and Kuthera offices have obtained grants of lands (bhumi 4 ma i) in the Chowkitar Inscription of Vasantadeva (n. 29).

38-43. Chowkitar, Balambu, Kisipidi and Satungal Stones of Gaṇadeva

The five inscriptions of Gaṇadeva of the same date (Sam. 482 Śrāvaṇa śukla 1) in Balambu, Kisipidi and Satungal mention five sins but not the particular crimes which constitute them.[1] The Golmadhitol (Bhaktapur) inscription of Śivadeva I prohibits men employed by Kuthera office to enter the inhabitants of the Dranga (market centre) of Mākhopring in connection with *lekhyadana pancha-paradha*.[2] The expression is repeated in the Tulachchhe inscription,[3] which has more or less the same text. This is also the case with the inscriptions of Dharmasthali and Buḍhānīlakaṇṭha steles.[4] In the same way after a long gap the Otutole (Kathmandu) stele of Amśuvarmā mentions five sins. But the Yangubahi and Vajraghar inscriptions of Narendradeva list 5 sins but mention only 3 of them as following lines show: chaura (theft), paradārā (enticing another's wife), hatyā (murder), sambandhādi, and similar other crimes, panchāparādha.[5] But panchaparadha here also comes to be used after a long gap.

Panchamahāpātaka occurs in several inscriptions of Imperial Guptas and Paribrājaka and Uchhechakalpa feudatories. The Mathura Pillar inscription of Chandra Gupta[6] just mentions five great sins, so does the Gadhwa stone pillar inscription[7] of the time of Kumāra Gupta.[8] The Indore copper plate (GS 146) of Śaivanāga viṣayapati of Skanda Gupta[9] mentions only 3, the killing of cows and bulls (go-ghna), killing of one's spiritual teacher (guru-ghna), and killing of Brahmanas (dvija-ghna) enumerating panchamahāpātakaścha.[10]

In the Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva the writer mentioned Śīṭāṭigulma, which was made over to the king's sister and the stele was erected with instructions to the people of the Gulma. Here all the inscriptions men tion Śītāṭikatala within which all the specified villages were situated. We have already suggested that the name Śīṭaṭi applied to the villages of the Balambu area and its upland and hills on both sides upto the Dahachok ridge in the north and also the upland and the hills in the west and south-west, where the villages mentioned might have been situated. By Śīṭāṭi and Sitatika the inscriber meant the same area. In the Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva, we have a Gulma in Sitati, the location of Gulma was not given. To be precise Sitatikatala extended from the foothill of Thankot to the opening of the Naikap ridge in the east embracing the valley of the rivulet and the lands just above it. The *tala* did not include the hills. The settlements here had been in ancient time as is evident from our inscriptions probably the same as Satungal, Kisipidi, Balambu, Chowkitar (now deserted) and Pasinkhya (across the rivulet). But a Nepalese writer gives a separate meaning to *tala*.

Pañchamahāparādha

As in the foregoing inscription, many others, before and after, occasionally talk of 5 great crimes (pañchamahāpātaka), without, however, saying anything as to what constitutes 5 great crimes. Only two inscriptions attempt to do so but this looks short of the proper categorisation. However, we have classical law givers who wrote about 5 great crimes, and it is necessary that we reproduce the relevant passages from their texts.

Viṣṇusmriti has the following passage for the definition of the five great crimes (35.1):

ब्रह्म हत्या सुरा पानं ब्राह्मण सुवर्ण हरर्ण गुरुदारागमनमिति महापातकानि

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The murder of a spiritual tutor, drinking, theft of gold, kidnapping of a Brahmana and having intercourse with one's teacher's wife, all these constitute five sins.

Manu wrote about these sins on similar lines:

ब्रह्महाय सुरापेयी स्नेही गुरूतल्यगः
एते सर्वे पृथग्ज्ञेया महापातकिनो नराः (IX, 235)
ब्रह्महत्या सुरापनि सोयं गुर्वङ्गनागमः
महाम्नि पातका न्याहुः संसर्गश्चापितैः सह (XI, 54)

As drinking also is included in the category of five sins, this classification is valid only with the twice born castes, and not the Śudras who could freely resort to drink.

Anything done to invite punishment (daṇḍa) is a crime. These relate to disrespect to divinities, acting against the tenets of *dharmaśāstra* and do things which are prohibited by traditions. According to Vāchaspatyam (I, 232) the Nigamas have classified crimes into 32 categories.

The talk of panchāparādha by any inscription starts from the Chowkitar inscription of Vasantadeva (S. 554). This is a charter and prohibits the entry of the men belonging to Kuther and Śolla offices as well as those executing sale deeds (abhilekhyaka) to enter the village (name missing on account of damage) even to handle cases of five great sins and to do any work connected with deed between the state and the individuals or between two individuals in respect of land or settlement of debt, etc.

Gaṇadeva's records not only mention 5 great crimes but do so more often than others and connect more offices in the deal. All of Gaṇadeva's inscriptions prohibit the officers of Lingval and Māpchoka departments and also of the four departments not to enter the areas mentioned in the inscription even to enquire cases of five great crimes. The mention of 5 great crimes is made quite often by records of the period upto Śivadeva. But out of the many inscriptions only 3 have defined murder (hatyā).

In two inscriptions of Śivadeva II there is an expression which tries to define the five great crimes but leaves the datum incomplete.

The expression as it occurs in the Yangubahi and Vajraghar inscriptions runs to say chauraparadāra hatyā saṁbandhādi panchāparādhakaraṇām and this would mean theft, adultery or enticement of another man's wife, murder and related offences. The statement does not say what the other item means. The offences constituting 5 crimes are a little different as enumerated by Viṣṇu and Manu.

The Bengal inscriptions talk of daśāparādha, ten crimes. According to the authors of the Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions the ten crimes include 'theft, murder, adultery, using harsh words, falsehood, defamation, talking nonsense, avarice, bad thought and attachment to untruth.[11] The Buddhist texts mention among the ten sins 'murder, theft, adultery, lying, insult, idle talks, hatred, covetousness, and dogmatic errors'.[12]

It is the practice with the Indian philanthropists to invoke the fear of the results of 5 great crimes for any action done to harm the object created for the benefit of the people. But in Nepal this practice was followed in the medieval period. The question of five great crimes will be dealt with in detail under a separate caption in another volume. So this narrative should be taken just as a passing reference.

Rise of Bhaumagupta

Bhaumagupta is referred to as *paramadaivata* by Svāmivārta who mentions Paramadaivata Bhaumagupta padanudhyāta in the inscription of Deopatan, S. 482. He comes to notice for the first time in his mother's inscription of S. 462 (Deopatan, n. 45). His rise coincides with Gaṇadeva's accession to the throne and in the latter's first available inscription (Pharping) he is seen as Sarvvadandanāyaka and Mahāpratihāra (Śrī Bhaumagupta) both as the man who made a request for and recommended the gift in the royal charter and as dūtaka. Since then the same titles appear in the

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five inscriptions of Śītaṭikātala of S. 482 but he disappears to appear once more in Śivadeva's Viṣṇumati hill inscription, where he seems to play exactly the same role as in Gaṇadeva's Śītāṭikātala inscriptions. What role he played in the interregnum we are not aware of. Babhruvarmā who figures as dutaka in the inscriptions of S. 482 had died in S. 495 as it appears from the Sikubahi inscription of that year. The inscription was set up by his nephew Deśavarmā, but no mention of Bhaumagupta is made there. This period must have been a disturbed one. It is possible that there was no widely accepted sovereign, and this had introduced an element of uncertainty to the situation. Deśavarmā who mentions neither the king nor the chief minister must have been a very powerful person. He appears as dūtaka in some inscriptions of Śivadeva but we do not find any change in the uncertain situation that followed Gaṇadeva. To add to this there is a total absence of any records since the Sikubahi inscription upto S. 512, the date of Śivadeva's first available record. This is a gap of nearly 16 years which is not filled by records. What was happening in the country during these years? Where was Bhaumagupta during all these years? All these questions crop up, for which we have no answer.

It appears that since the death of Vasantadeva and Ravigupta and more so, when the powerful hands of Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Kramalilah were withdrawn, the country seemed to have been passing through one crisis to another. Bhaumagupta tried to give a semblance of peace and stability in Gaṇadeva's time. But this did not last long. The situation was again disturbed for reasons unknown to us because there is no record to provide any clue to understanding the nature of the crisis.

Dhanavajra who misses to read Śrī inadvertently thinks that Bhaumagupta had fallen from grace at this time because 'Śrī' is dropped in the name. But this is not true. I have given the photograph of the inscription and any one can read that his name has the prefix 'Śrī' in Śivadeva's first record.

Bhaumagupta being also the man who has recommended conferment of the gift in the charter enjoys the same position which he did in Gaṇadeva's time. But this is for the last time he appears in a record. From this time onwards he vanishes in the air of time and is heard of no more.

But why someone should think that without 'Śrī' before the name the man concerned finds himself in a lower position?

Brahmuṅ for the Last Time

It appears from the last line that in the area directed by the inscription one Brahmuṅ Mahīśila was administering (Vayavahariti). There are other inscriptions which show Brahmuṅs of different names administering the area.

After the Jaisideval stele the record showing the local administrator was that of the Chowkitar inscription where one Pratihāra Bhavagupta appears to have administered the area (Chowkitar stele S. 454).

The five inscriptions all dated S. 482 available in the Thankot-Balambu sector called Śītaṭikātala show that these villages were administered by Brahmuṅ Prasādagupta (38-43).

Since this time, however, there is no local administrator in any of the inscriptions of the entire Lichchhavi period.

But what this Brahmuṅ means? This seems to be an official title of the administrator. He must have been an important person, whose name deserved to be recorded in different inscriptions. The word does not seem to be of Sanskritic origin. How this came to be used for a local administrator was yet be ascertained?

Indian records in the north eastern region used the expression *Vyavaharatiti* (administers) referring to a local officer or a feudal lord. In the Damodarpur copper plate of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I (S. 124 Phalguna dina 7—444 A.D.), one Kumāramātya Vetra Varmā with some people of the office was administering the area of Kotivarṣa Viṣaya.[13] One Mahārāja Brahmagupta was shown administering Pundrabhukti during the reign of Budhagupta in another copper plate of the same place (G.S. 263—482 A.D.). In some cases the Viṣaya which was the lowest unit of administration had a Viṣayapati who rules in the area with the members of the office of administration. Such was Kotivarṣa viṣaya described in the inscription of Damodar C.P. of S. 224 (543 A.D.), which now lay within Vārakamaṇḍala. The

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administration was collective in some cases with 4 authorities joining and in others one individual was the only hand. But the Bengal inscriptions show that the adhikaraṇa was appointed by Viṣayapati (tadaniyukta).[14] The adhikaraṇa was sometimes a separate organ, and the administrator was Viṣayapati appointed by a superior authority (Kumāramātya Adhyāsanakāle)[15] and serving under him.

Dhanavajra says that Brahmuṅ is an official title. Even if it is any official title of an administrator the extent of area the Brahmuṅ ruled is unknown, whereas in Indian inscriptions titles like viṣayapati, bhogika, uparika, etc. suggest the areas involved. But what Brahmuṅ actually is we have no clear picture.

But what is this Brahmuṅ? And then does the absence of Śrī mean anything in regard to his status? We shall deal with Lingval and Kuthera appearing as the only readable letters in the 8th and 9th lines just at the margin.

Brahmuṅ is used in several inscriptions, specially of the time of Gaṇadeva preceding certain names who are supposed to have supervised the administration of the area around Balambu (n. 44-49). In the Chowkitar inscription of Vasantadeva (Sam. 454 Jyeṣṭha śukla diva 6) one Pratihāra Bhavagupta Brahmuṅ is the administrator. The same person with the same titles figures as administrator. The Taukhel inscription of Amśuvarmā has Testun, Sulhum and Brahmuṅ, to whom the people are asked to pay 300 jangas. Besides Brahmuṅ, we have Testuṅ and Sulhum for investigation as well as the janga.

All these words are not available in Indian inscriptions.

44. Inscription of Sheraphat

This inscription also belongs to Gaṇadeva issued on the advice of Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka Mahāpratihāra Śrī Bhaumagupta, who is also a dūtaka. The offices mentioned are the same as in the above inscriptions. They were not to enter a specified (name missing) village even for the purpose of investigating cases involving five great crimes.

45. Deopatan

At this time one Svami vārta (Official) in the reign of Gaṇadeva set up an image of Śankara-Nārāyaṇa (Śiva and Viṣṇu, two gods in one image). He did it with the favour he obtained from the Chief Minister Śrī Bhaumagupta. The donor calls himself to have been meditating upon the feet of Bhaumagupta, who was devoted to god (*paramadaivata*). The inscription is dated 487 in the first month of Āṣāḍha.

This inscription gives us an idea of Bhaumagupta's power. We shall have occasion to find him again and again, and for the last time in Śivadeva's inscription of S. 512 (Budhānilakantha).

He had now ascended to the highest step of the ladder and high government officials openly expressed their loyalty to him as the phrase *pādānudhyāta* shows.

He rose to power along with king Gaṇadeva whose right hand man he was. Throughout his reign and the reign of his successor Gangadeva, and up till the first phase of Śivadeva's regime, Bhaumagupta commanded the highest respect in the realm. To add to this he enjoyed a long career of power for more than thirty years and this power had overshadowed the monarchs whom he had kept under his tutelage.

The Śankara-Nārāyaṇa pedestal inscription in the Paśupati area is the first of its kind but from all points of view even as the old image is lost it is not without its importance. This was set up by Swāmi Vārtta meditating upon the feet of Śrī Bhaumagupta who was devoted to the God and in the reign of Gaṇadeva bearing the date 487 intercalary Āṣāḍha (1). The intercalation of Āṣāḍha shows that the Bhāradvāja-Nārada system was followed strictly.

Śankara and Nārāyaṇa, the two gods of the trinity, are variously called Śaura-Iśvara, Murārī-Iśvara and Keśava-Śankara.

I do not think that the installing of an image of Ardhaśaurīśvara, half Viṣṇu and half Śankara, could be produced as an argument of religious tolerance. After all the gods of Brahmanical Hinduism

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were worshipped in general, and the followers could be distinguished only as they put special emphasis on a particular deity and his manifestation. Such devotees praised the god or goddess of their exclusive liking as the supreme one but not at the cost of the others. It was just a question of emphasis as to which deity a devotee was specially attached. This was commonly followed both in Nepal as in India where even a heretic religion was respected by the followers of Viṣṇu and Śiva.

46. Chapaligaon

The stone in Chapaligaon is much damaged today. But the first lines are readable in a rubbing taken many years ago (1953 A.D.).

At the request of Mahāpratihāra and Sarvvadandanāyaka Śrī Bhaumagupta this stone with the inscription was set up by a king in S. 489. The first part of the king's name being damaged, we find it difficult to know the actual name except *deva*. Levi and Gnoli read Gaṇa. But Dhanavajra reads Ganga. He says that this was his 'on the spot reading'. But nothing remains of the letters now to my view. In-depth reading shows some letters. So there is a greater possibility of the name being Ganga. If it is Ganga or even Gangā then there is a new name in the genealogy, which no chroniclers gave us.

I wonder if L. Gopal, an Indian historian, has read the Chapaligaon stone on the spot or has seen its rubbing. But he very readily introduces Gangādeva as a newly discovered king in the line of the rulers of the Lichhavi family, who ruled Nepal. Depending on the reading of Dhanavajra, he also identifies Gangādeva as the son of Gaṇadeva. Why L. Gopal discards Gnoli's reading and accept Dhanavajra's is not clear from his writing.

Bhaumagupta—Rise and Fall

With Gaṇadeva as king Bhaumagupta emerges as the strongest personality of the day. He was not only the Chief Minister of the king, but a power behind the throne as well. He dominated the scene for a long time and at least 32 years.

A writer thinks that Bhaumagupta was no less a dignified personality than the king himself. He was not strictly royal because he did not assume kingship. But he was a de facto ruler if not de jure. With 'Śrī' before his name and being called Paramadaivata by Svāmivārta in his inscription (see above) both symolising royal status Bhaumagupta ruled like a king overshadowing King Gaṇadeva and his successors.

He was surely a gigantic personality. But 'Śrī' and 'Paramadaivata' by themselves do not show his almost royal status. After all there was a ruler on the throne, to whom he had to pay homage.

The Indian inscriptions of the Gupta age so far published have five features in common with the Nepalese contemporary inscriptions in respect of the honorific 'Śrī' and high titles:

(1) All the sovereign rulers have the honorific Śīr.

(2) The names of the queens and queen mothers are qualified by the word Mahadevī or Devī but not Śrī.

(3) The subsidiary rulers avoid Śrī unless they are exceptionally powerful and have a dynastic succession e.g. Mahārāja Brahmadatta of 482 A.D. in Damodar C.P. (under Budhagupta), Mahārāja Rudradatta whom Vainya Gupta describes as a servant of our feet in Gunairghat (Tipperah) C.P. dated 507 A.D. But Bhānugupta of Eran C.P. (570 A.D.) has 'Śrī' honorific though he seems to be a feudatory.

(4) The deities are qualified by the words Bhagavato if Buddhist or by Swāmi if Vaiṣṇavite and 'Isvara' if Śaivite. But there is no Śrī if such words are there.

(5) The Chief Minister or ministers or commanders or commander in chief and judges are found to go without 'Śrī' in several cases but not in all.

47. Mangal Bazar, Patan

The water conduit inscription of Bhāravi dated S. 492 Vaiśākha sukla 13 goes without his grand-

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father's name. But as the name Bhāravi is there the identity with the earlier name should not be in doubt. Bhāravi claims here to have been born of high lineage but does not say that he is related to Mānadeva.

The reason for not giving relationship with Mānadeva cannot be ascertained. Obviously he had little connection with Mānadeva.

48. Inscription of Sikubahi

The Umā-Maheśvara image lies at Sikubahi (no bahi now) near Sankhamul area on the bank of the Bagmati river south of the city of Patan. The inscription is dated S. 492. It talks of mātrikā deities (mother goddesses) all made of earth to have been at the site of the confluence of rivers Vagvati and Maṇimati (Manoharā). They were damaged in course of time, their limbs broken, and the highly devoted person Babhruvarmmā by name thought of getting the mātrikā (mother) deities restored but while the work had started he died, and this was continued by the mother of his brother's son Deśavarmā ever engaged in performing religious acts and also a great devotee of Lord Viṣṇu (Paramabhāgavata), who completed the image of Mātrikās (mother goddesses).

The images here are, however, not of mātrikās but those of Mahādeva and Umā on a plain base. The whole is a stone, but the inscription does not say about the change of material. As the lines after 9 are damaged in broad margin on the right side, the name of the dūtaka is lost.

Babhruvarmmā was a dūtaka in the five inscriptions of Samvat 482, where Gaṇadeva figures as ruler and Bhaumagupta as Chief Minister. Babhruvarmmā was an important personage of the time. But he died in or near about Samvat 495. As there is no king's name in this inscription, it is difficult to say which king ruled over the kingdom at this time.

The next available inscription which is dated Samvat 512 brings out a new ruler Śivadeva with his Chief Minister Śrī Bhaumagupta.

But what was happening during these sixteen years? This question can be answered only if further materials are unearthed.

One Deśavarmā Gomī later appears as a witness in the Khopāsi stele of Śivadeva issued on the recommendation of Amśuvarmā. Is he the same person as Deśavarmā mentioned in the Sikubahi inscription?

Although the site of the image is known as *bahi* there is nothing left of the bahi (monastery) at the moment.

As we have seen just now, after the Chapaligaon inscription there are three inscriptions, which were not noted by me in the 1967 edition of 'Ancient Nepal' where I had talked of a gap between two reigns, the latter being that of Śivadeva I. In view of the fact that the two inscriptions of Bhāravi dated S. 492 and Sikubahi with date S. 495, both of which do not show any ruling king the void could not be taken seriously in respect of the chronology of kings and not obviously they could have filled the gap as suggested by L. Gopal of the Banaras Hindu University in an article. The third inscription dated S. 512 obviously precedes the other coming earlier to the inscription of S. 515 (Chyasaltol, Patan) but I do not think that this has any other importance except that of showing Bhaumagupta, grandfather of Jiṣṇugupta, still as the Chief Minister. One can safely assume that the Chapagaon inscription where Amśuvarmā's name does not seem to have been introduced follows the Visnumati bank hillock inscription (S. 512). But as the stones are much damaged to show letters worn away in the few lines at the end we cannot say exactly that Bhaumagupta had been overthrown before S. 515 as some people have assumed. The letters after dūtakaschātra are missing, therefore there is scope for guess names, may be that of Bhaumagupta. The idea of Bhaumagupta's downfall had been first suggested by Dhanavajra. An Indian scholar L. Gopal also accepted this view.

From the Sikubahi inscription we learn that Babhruvarmā, the dūtaka in the five inscriptions of Gaṇadeva, issued in S. 482 was dead in S. 495 when this inscription was issued. Bhaumagupta lost a supporter and friend in his demise.

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Deśavarmā, a nephew of Babhruvarmā, had probably taken his place. Earlier in the inscription of Gangadeva one Vṛṣavarmā was a dūtaka. It may be that he was related to Babhruvarmā. They might belong to the same family.

A period of vacuum since the Sikubahi inscription of S. 495 ensues and there are no records available and we do not know what was the situation in this period. Bhaumagupta's own position is not clear. Nor we know about the ruler of the time.

In S. 512 Śivadeva appears with Śrī Bhaumagupta as Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratihāra. One Mahābalādhyakṣa Kulapravīra is the dūtaka. It is quite likely that after a dark period of 15 years Śivadeva comes to the scene and probably through Bhaumagupta's efforts. The Mahābalādhyakṣa Kulapravīra who was the head of the armed forces was friend of Bhaumagupta, and had helped the Chief Minister to have a man of his choice on the throne.

But it appears that Bhaumagupta's days were numbered, and he was removed by death to yield place to Śivadeva's new friends, one of whom, Sāmanta Amśuvarmā was to play a prominent role in the affairs of state a little later.

Up till now we were led to believe that Amśuvarmā had been mainly responsible for restoring peace in the chaotic situation of the country. This was the view generally given rise to by the boasting of Amśuvramā in all his inscriptions whether issued during Śivadeva's reign or directly by him that he had repelled darkness of chaos by suppressing enemies. But actually the circumstances which made it possible for Amśuvarmā to guide the destiny of the nation were created by Bhaumagupta. Amśuvarmā obtained a legacy of peace while he emerged in the position we find in the Changu inscription, and this made it possible for him to enjoy a peaceful time since his very early career up till his death in about 619-20 A.D. The credit of restoring peace to the land goes to Bhaumagupta whatever the boasting of Amśuvarmā.

The inscription talks of the earthen images of mātrika (mother goddess) deities to have been duly remade and reinstalled by one Deśa bhattarikā, mother of Deśavarmā, a nephew (brother's son) of late Babhruvarmā, Rājaputra Vajraratha who had come from outside. The Rājaputra had thought of doing the same as he found in course of time that these had become old and their hands and legs fallen. But Vajraratha expired without completing the task and the thought could not be translated into action fully.

Deśavarmā is a dūtaka in the inscription of Khopasi of Śivadeva's stele dated S. 519.

I cannot believe how Babhruvarmā could be an associate of Bhaumagupta and Deśavarmā, his adversary as one writer enthusiastically points out. The fact of Deśavarmā accepting a position in the time of Śivadeva and Amśuvarmā does not surely mean that he had obtained a position in the new regime because of his enmity against the old sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka.

This is an imaginative story which can be dismissed.

And again one author has put forward the view that Vajraratha and Deśavarmā were related to Babhruvarmā, the dūtaka of inscriptions 38-43 above.

We have marked that since the earliest inscription of Vasantadeva and onwards in others the dūtaka is Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka Mahāpratihāra Ravigupta. He is there uninterruptedly throughout the records of Vasantadeva's reign. He is associated at one place, the Chowkitar inscription, with one Mahārāja mahāsāmanta Kramalilah. In this inscription Ravigupta is dūtaka as well as he plays the role of an advisor to the king along with Kramalilah. Both these persons recommend certain measures to the king, which the latter accepts and issues the charter in response to their advice. In Rāmadeva's reign Kramalilah emerges as an important figure as Ravigupta had died at the time. In the time of Gaṇadeva and initial period of Śivadeva, upto S. 515, Bhaumagupta plays the role of a man who was the king's main advisor. He adopts the same titles as Ravigupta.

As these titles appear very important we must know the functions and powers of the man who holds them and I think we have reached a stage here in view of the information based on the data of the inscriptions so far availed of that we can no longer remain unaware of what status these people enjoyed and how much power they possessed.

It will appear from inscriptions since 515 that Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā without these titles

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enjoyed much more powers than Ravigupta and Bhaumagupta.

Official Titles

As titles of Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratihāra have appeared in the Bahalukha, Jaisideval and other inscriptions it is proper that we explain these terms in the context of administrative structure obtaining in Nepal of those days.

We discuss here not only civil administrators but also military commanders, though the latter do not figure in the earlier records.

In Mānadeva's time no official titles are in evidence. It so looks that his regime had no administrative machinery at all. But this would have been much rudimentary.

Official titles appear to our notice since the time of Vasantadeva. These are revealed through the titles, which the dūtakas are given. Vasantadeva's first charter brings out a dūtaka whose designation is just 'Yajnika', the man who performs a Vedic sacrifice. Obviously this does not show any function of political nature. But he was an important man as dūtakas are always so.

Barring the first charter, all of Vasantadeva's inscriptions bring out the name of a dūtaka who invariably happens to bear the title of Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratihāra. We shall see that the man who combines in himself the two official designations is the most important official in the state. Although daṇḍanāyaka and pratihāra appear a little later in our records, they have existed in the time of Vasantadeva also.

One Ravigupta has been Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahapratihāra throughout Vasantadeva's reign. This man not only appears as dūtaka but also as advisor recommending and advising the king to issue the charter. In the latter capacity he is more important than the two other titles suggest.

So far we were used to take Sāmantas as feudatory chiefs and this is again evident when the scribe has to describe a monarch in his victorious march. No Sāmanta is named, and no Sāmanta is seen occupying an important position in the royal palace, which means that he was not an official as yet in the administration. But in the last inscription of Vasantadeva we see a Mahāsāmanta enjoying also the title of Mahārāja who along with the Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka Mahāpratihāra Ravigupta comes to advise the king to ban the entry of the officers of some departments of state into a village in Śītaṭīkā, western part of the Valley. This Mahāsāmanta seems also to have been a powerful figure in the next two reigns. Here probably he is no more just a feudatory but occupied a much more powerful place to rank along with the highest administrative post. In this way the three topmost official designations, Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka, Mahāpratihāra and Mahāsāmanta, are known to us from our inscriptions.

I think that it is time we define the nature of the three high official posts coming to view through Vasantadeva's records. Their importance lies in the fact that the same titles appear in the reign of Gaṇadeva, where another person holding the two ranks of Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratihāra plays the most important role in the administration of the country as the king's principal officer. We shall find that at the time of Śivadeva the Mahāsāmanta was the man behind the throne, and his all powerful position had even overshadowed the king.

Now let us see what all these titles are in terms of functions they rendered and powers they enjoyed.

Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka

As Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka seems to be the most important officer of state, the office being like that of the Prime or Chief Minister in modern terminology, we proceed to consider the character of the title of this office and how the holder functioned to rule the state.

The Mahāpratihāra, another important office holder, will also come in for due judgement about his functions more so on the ground that the Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka also combined the post of Mahāpratihāra.

Titles such as Daṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratihāra are common to India and Nepal of the 4th-8th centuries.

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Daṇḍanāyaka and mahāpratihāra require explanation as their meaning is subject to confusion by authors, both classic and modern. A daṇḍa is used in the usual sense of punishment by Manu when he says that the punishable should be punished (8/126, 129).[16] Four kinds of daṇḍas are mentioned, (1) punishment by words, (2) scolding by a harsh tone, (3) imposition of fine (dandadānda, Kulluka) and (4) killing (badhadanda—Kulluka). But badha might also involve just decapitation of part of body (angachheda—Kulluka, VIII). However, a king who has punished a person taking into consideration a particular situation (VIII, 130) has to apply his mind thoroughly in giving punishment, for if it is misplaced, he will lose his reputation and go to hell. The real culprit must be punished and the innocent must not be touched in any way. The Dandanāyaka has certainly to do with punishment, but this is not all. He also was a sort of commander of the armed forces depending, however, on the situation. But primarily he was a minister and first in rank. If the word is Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka, he was the Chief Minister.

There is a separate word for the commander-in-chief. This is Mahābalādhyakṣa, literally the superintendent or head of the large forces. We have to see here if there is a ground to equate mahabaladhyaksa with daṇḍanāyaka. But the evidence brought out by an inscription is exactly opposite.

If we follow Manu and Amarakośa, the daṇḍanāyaka will have either was a judicial or military function. It is for this reason that Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka is very often equated with the chief justice or military officer. Hemachandra (3/389) thinks that daṇḍanāyaka is a commander (दण्ड राज्ञां चतुर्थो यायं नयतीति (नी+खुला) सेनानी सचतुरङ्ग बलाध्यक्षः। इति हेमचन्द्र ३/३८९).[17] In Rājataraṅgiṇī daṇḍanāyaka is used in the same sense (केन्दर्पे कोट भृत्यानां भृत्यानां सङ्गहोद्यते। क्रुध्यन् राजपुरीं राजा असृज दण्डनायक 7/968).[18]

It is to be noted here that however powerful the Daṇḍanāyaka was he at any rate was a servant (bhṛtya) of the king. This is diminutive stature if the king was of strong character. If he was not then the daṇḍanāyaka, i.e. the chief minister, could overshadow him and become a de facto ruler.

As the basic rank is that of daṇḍanāyaka and pratihāra and the prefix sarvva and mahā just suggest superiority in rank and not in functions it will be proper at this stage to know how the two posts stood in respect of powers and responsibilities.

First, to take the case of daṇḍanāyaka. The daṇḍanāyaka is obviously associated with daṇḍa and his position will have to be viewed in the light of the meaning of daṇḍa.

The Amarakośa (3/3/42) defines daṇḍa as a stick or a rod (dandastrī laguḍesi syād). A laguda is either of 4 cubits (hastaih chaturbhi bhavatihadanda) or 10 cubits (daśa hastena dandenaitipāṭhāntaram) according to Lilavati. A commentator, author of Sārasundarī as quoted by Śabdakalpadruma (II, p. 673) wrote that it was a means of governing the country. The daṇḍa is exercised by killing, confiscating property and beating. In the Mahābhārata Śāntiparva Bhiṣma emphasises Manu's statement on daṇḍa and tells that it was a most important element in the administration. It was the instrument by which the king protects his subjects and maintains the dharma, the social order. It was at once an embodiment of powers exercised through a sword, a bow and arrow, a club (dharmonityam dvarādhara asirdhanu gadā śakti strimpulam mudgarah sarah).

The Devībhāgavat has a passage (11/17/3) where a sage Śuka is reported to have said to his king Janaka 'Oh king! How can you govern when you do not have a daṇḍa. In the absence of a daṇḍa, the dharma will vanish.' The Agnipurāṇa (Ch. 226) stresses the importance of daṇḍa as a reflection of state power.

From all this it is now definite that the daṇḍa is an instrument of force used in the governance of the country.

Manu's statement is most categorical on the subject. Manu thinks that the king is the daṇḍa incarnation. He rules over the country by virtue of daṇḍa. He protects his country by daṇḍa. He awakens his people from slumber by daṇḍa. He maintains the social order by daṇḍa. The daṇḍa is divine. It is held with extreme difficulty and it is supreme brightness, but when misused it will burn the holder i.e. the king himself (7/17, 18, 28).

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This kind of daṇḍa is the state in abstract, which is an instrument of force. But it is all embracing and can be identified with the king who was then absolute. But in spite of this we do not get a clear picture of daṇḍanāyaka, though he is somebody associated with it. It is suggested that the post of daṇḍanāyaka related to the army. But opinions differ. Kauṭilya does not exactly have this word but when he talks of officers of state he mentions *Yuvarāja senāpati mantrī purohita daṇḍapāla* etc. (1.12.6). Here a senāpati is somebody else as different from daṇḍapāla or daṇḍanāyaka, if daṇḍapāla and daṇḍanāyaka are the same. Hemachandra is of the opinion that the daṇḍanāyaka was army general, a senani or senapati or even a king (3/389).

Varāhamihira (73/4, 6) enumerates different dignitaries of state such as Yuvarāja. (crown prince), nṛpatipatnyāh (queens), senāpati (chief of the army), daṇḍanāyakānāncha and so goes dandārdha panchahasta samapancha kṛtārdha vistārah. All these ranks were holders of a rod (daṇḍa), which has a length of 5 cubits. To Varāhamihira as to Kauṭilya a Senāpati was different from daṇḍanāyaka. Varāhamihira flourished in the 5th century so his view counts very much in our context. Manu earlier has a verse which suggests that the amātya (minister) and senapati were different persons but is equivocal.

No doubt a minister had to be an expert in military affairs according to Kulluka Bhaṭṭa (āyudhavid), who makes this suggestion while commenting on verse 54 of the 7th chapter. But it is not true that a minister (amātya) is a senāpati as made out by Kulluka Bhaṭṭa and Medhātithi in their commentary on verse 65. But as Burnell's translation shows the minister might be in overall charge of defence above the commander, Senāpati. These commentators explain a daṇḍa as a body of elephants, horses and infantry but how they arrived at this wrong interpretation one does not know, for there is another verse, which mentions the word senāpati and balādhyakṣa (7/189) who should be sent according to Manu to all directions wherever there is a fear of invasion or disturbances. Here Kulluka and Medhātithi do not err while commenting.

We know that the daṇḍa means the state power in abstract. So it should not be mixed up with the army, which is a force in concrete form. Medini has also a separate word for the army commander, which is Senāpati. The Amarakośa gives the paryāyah of Senāpati in the words Senani and Vahinipati (2/862). So a daṇḍanāyaka is different from Senāpati.

Although many things are clear and daṇḍanāyaka is an administrative officer, an authority in overall charge of affairs, some classical writings on poetry and drama have used daṇḍanāyaka as commander. The Rajatrangini (7/969) states about the daṇḍanāyaka.

From the above discussion it is now clear that a daṇḍanāyaka is not connected with the army. There was a wrong notion that a daṇḍanāyaka or Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka was an army officer. This sort of mistake was made even by learned commentators of Manu Smṛti and Hemachandra. Some modern Indian authors also have committed similar mistakes, and we have reproduced their views a little later. The Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka is definitely an officer of state in the most powerful position. He is the chief of the daṇḍanāyakas. If a daṇḍanāyaka is head of some administrative department, the Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka was the head of all the daṇḍanāyakas. He was in overall charge of state affairs. He had the daṇḍa in his hands and as a trusted man of the king he wielded it. He was above every other dignitary. He was above the army. He was also above other officers. He was only next to the king. By virtue of the enormous powers delegated to him the Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka sometimes overshadowed the king. But no Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka totally ignored the king. On the other hand persons who did not hold this position or did not hold any official position did overshadow the king and issued their own charters as in the time of Amśuvarmā and Jiṣṇugupta.

We should not judge Ravigupta's position as of less importance because of his being a dūtaka in the inscription. In the later Lichchhavi period even crown princes have appeared as dūtaka. I think that Ravigupta enjoyed quite a powerful position as Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratihāra. The combination of the two responsibilities entitled him to acquire more and more powers. It does not matter if Ravigupta appears as dūtaka in all the inscriptions of Vasantadeva. His name also does not carry the prefix 'Śrī' but then many others have not the prefix 'Śrī' and we shall talk about such cases later. However, without 'Śrī' his name has appeared before Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Śrī Kramalilah

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in the Chowkitar inscription where both figure as persons, on whose advice Vasantadeva had issued the charter. Here also Ravigupta appears as dūtaka, and there is no reason to believe that he enjoyed less importance than Kramalilah.

Bhaumagupta perhaps related to Ravigupta in one way or the other is also a Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratihāra in all the inscriptions of Gaṇadeva. He appears only once (Pharping stele) as advisor as well as dūtaka. In all the other inscriptions he is the man to recommend the gift mentioned in the charter which was issued with his advice. There was a separate person of rank as dūtaka in these inscriptions.

Rājaputra Vikramasena, the dūtaka of Amśuvarmā's Bungmati inscription (n. 68) is given a very high title of Mahāsarvvadaṇḍanāyaka. This man who is just Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka in the Sanga inscription of S. 32 (n. 75) is a lost figure in another inscription issued with the old era year. He does not look as powerful as Ravigupta and Bhaumagupta. He lived at the mercy of a very powerful personality like Amśuvarmā and therefore he enjoyed his power.

We have only two dignitaries, Ravigupta and Bhaumagupta who have appeared so far in the combined capacity of Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratihāra. One person comes to notice from the two inscriptions of Amśuvarmā, who carries the title of Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka. There is one Mahāpratihāra in the inscription of Narendradeva (n. 121). Daṇḍanāyakas and Pratihāras also appear in more than one inscription.

One Nṛpadeva with the title of daṇḍanāyaka is the dūtaka in the inscription of Kasaintol, Deopatan (n. 119), which is a charter of Narendradeva dated S. 71.

Let us cite some examples from the Indian inscriptions, where these epithets have occurred. Daṇḍanāyaka occurs for the first time in an inscription of Kaniska's time.[19] This *daṇḍanāyaka* is a *kṣetrapa*, a feudatory and probably a minister also. A *daṇḍanāyaka* by name Praṇatadatta, who is also a baladhikrt, figures in the Gurj rock inscription of Kumāravīradatta. Praṇatadatta is also called *amātya* along with another *amātya* who is also *daṇḍanāyaka*.[20] As *Balādhyakṣa* and *Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka* are two separate titles applying to one person, and *balādhyakṣa* literally is a commander of forces, the other word *daṇḍanāyaka* must have a meaning other than a commander. Harisena who caused to raise the posthumous victory pillar of Samudra Gupta in Allahabad fort was a *Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka*.[21] Some Pāla rulers mentioned *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* amongst those who were addressed to be informed of the grant made by the sovereign. He comes just after the *mahāpratihāra* who is preceded by *amātya*. But following him are *mahāpratihāra* and *mahādausādha*. But it is difficult to know from the passage what position actually the *daṇḍanāyaka* (mahā) occupied and what function he performed,[22] as the word for commander-in-chief is missing here although Maity and Mukherji translate *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* as judicial head. This is made clear in Mahipāla's Bānagaḍa inscription where *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and mahāsenāpati are separately mentioned meaning thereby that the two held different functions, whatever might be the function of *daṇḍanāyaka*.[23] In the Dacca (Ramapāla village) inscription of Chandradeva the order of the addressees is not much different, but after *rājamātyā*, we get *mahāvyuhapati*, *mahāmaṇḍalapati*, *mahāsandhivigrahika*, *mahāsenāpati*, *mahākṣapatilaka*, *mahāsarvvādhikāra*, *mahāpratihāra*, *kottapāla*, *dausādhasādhanika*, and then after a few minor officers comes *daṇḍanāyaka*. In Nārāyaṇapāla's inscription *mahākartakṛta* is mentioned amongst others while here he is missing, but *mahākṣapatilaka* does not occur in the former. Curiously the inscriptions of the Gupta period have *sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka* at few places. In our own inscriptions this office holder is mentioned regularly along with mahāpratihāra upto the end of Śivadeva I and at intervals till the end of Amśuvarmā's reign, but there are places where there are two individuals, one a daṇḍanāyaka and another balādhyakṣa. In the Indian records the word senāpati is more in use for army commander and mahāsenāpati for the chief of the army. But senāpati also is used for army chief.

That the Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka was the most powerful man in the kingdom is best seen from two inscriptions where Ravigupta and Bhaumagupta are addressed by some persons of importance calling themselves as devoted to the feet of the Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka. As one of them figures without the name of the person functioning in that capacity we presume in view of the date that it was meant for Ravigupta. As Bhaumagupta and the other is mentioned by name there would be no assumption in his case and the

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case is so pronounced. We have already referred to these inscriptions, and we know how the kings were completely ignored by those who were responsible for the writing, which outlines the objective mentioned in them.

Ravigupta's time coincides with the Aryaghat hemispherical maṇḍala where lines are inscribed bearing the date S. 452, which mention the man who got the writing inscribed as one who was meditating upon the feet of Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka, we can just assess this how powerful the then Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka, Ravigupta, had become so as to be referred to in this way. In the eyes of many people he was the one person who counted considering that king Vasantadeva also had not enjoyed this kind of commanding position, and no records speak of him such as Ravigupta was spoken of and we can only imagine how powerful he was.

The same applies to Bhaumagupta. A long inscription of date S. 87 recording the installation of an image of Śankara-Nārāyaṇa by Svāmivārta testifies to Bhaumagupta's supreme position in the country, which was probably de jure next to the king and de facto equal to him. Svāmivārta does certainly mention the rule of Gaṇadeva with respect (bhaṭṭāraka mahārājā Gaṇadeva kālama parimitam samājnāpayati) but he also calls himself as meditating upon the feet of Paramadaivata Bhaumagupta. Svāmivārta's statement about Bhaumagupta is a clear reference to the latter's overall power and status, which in all cases seems to range only below the king in theory but in the exercise of state power he had overshadowed the throne. The Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka, therefore, played the role of the Chief Minister, and there is no doubt that he was the most influential officer of the kingdom and the most supreme executive.

Mahāpratihāra

The Mahāpratihāra is a very important officer of state probably occupying a rank next only to the Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka. He was probably a minister in charge of palace affairs and maintained close relation with the king.

In our inscriptions the Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka is very often the same person who is also a Mahāpratihāra until the time of Śivadeva I. A Pratihāra means a door-keeper. A mahāpratihāra is, of course, the chief of the door-keepers. According to Sircar (Glossary, p. 184) a mahāpratihāra was the head of the door-keepers of the palace. In Kane's Glossary the word stands for the superior officer controlling and collating the work of all the door-keepers of the palace or he was the chief chamberlain.[24] The Mahāpratihāra appears along with other dignitaries in the Deo-Baranak inscription of Jīvitagupta II, one of the kings in the line of Āditya Sena of Magadha, and kept a liaison between the king and other officers of state. The passage where it finds place is available in his Deo-Baranak Inscription (CII, Vol. 3, n. 46). Fleet in his footnote observes, 'pratihāra, a great door-keeper was the technical title of the officer above ranks of the door-keepers'. But he was not just a Chamberlain. We find even men adopting the title of Mahārāja did not relinquish the title of Mahāpratihāra. One Mahāpratihāra Uparika and governor Nāgadeva figure as ruling over Navyakāśikā[25] in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Dharmāditya. The same Mahāpratihāra who also is a Kumāramātya ruling at the time of Md. Gopalachandra is stated as the governor of Navyakāśikā within which Bārakamandala was situated.[26]

The Gunaighar C.P. inscription of Vainyagupta of GS 188 (=507 A.D.) issued from Śripura has a dūtaka whose name is Mahārājā Mahāsenāpati bearing the titles of *Mahāpratihāra*, *mahāpilupati*, *pañchādhikaraṇoparika*, *pathyoparika* and *puraloparika*.[27] If a man with the title of Mahārājā who governed five offices of the kingdom and assumed the title of Mahāsenāpati was also Mahāpratihāra, then we can very safely assume that he was a very important person in the hierarchy of officers.

At one place Sircar says that the Mahāpratihāra was an officer in charge of the defence of the royal palace or bed chamber or head of the guards of the city gate, a chamberlain or announcer of grants.[28] In Amarakośa a pratīhāra has been defined as a door-keeper and his function was to watch from the door, he was an ADC protecting the monarch as well as the head of the palace officials.[29] A pratihāra, literally, is a gate-keeper (dvārapāla). A pratihāra's qualities are defind in Nītisangraha, which says that he should know 'all tatva by signs, he should be of strength, he should be good looking, sensi-

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ble, ever skilful'.[30] Other texts like Matsyapurāṇa (189 Ch.) and Hārābali speak of the same qualities required of the pratihāra. His duties were also specified as it seems from a verse in the text. Kane in his 'History of Dharmaśāstra' calls Mahāpratihāra a chamberlain or inditer of grants. The Mahābhārata (Ādiparva, 85, 28-29) has references to the mahāpratihāra. The mahāpratihāra was the chief of the pratihāras whose duty covered even aspects of foreign policy, one of the duties of a pratihāra was also to convey to the master all information regarding the affairs of state, and in that capacity he must have acted like a Chamberlain.[31]

The Monghyr inscription of Devapāla mentions Mahāpratihāra in the list of officers addressed by the king.[32] S.K. Maity and Mukherji think that by Mahāpratihāra we must know a person of rank who protects the royal place and the city. He comes in the hierarchy if the officials mentioned one after the other present a hierarchical structure to occupy the 6th place but as such he may be superior to the Mahāsāmanta (राणका राजपुत्र। अमात्य। महाकर्तकृतृक महादण्डनायक महासामन्त महाप्रतिहार etc.). But Mahāsāmanta overshadowed them all.

There are other inscriptions of the Pāla kings, but they do not follow the same order. In Nārāyaṇapāla's Bhagalpur copper plate inscription the officers mentioned are beginning from rājapuruṣa (members of the royal family), the rāja, rājanaka, rājaputra, rājāmātya, mahāsandhivigrahika, mahākṣapatilaka, mahāsāmanta, mahāsenāpati, mahāpratihāra, mahākartakṛta, mahādausādhanika, mahādaṇḍanāyaka, mahākumārāmātya, rājasthinyoparika, etc. Here even the sarvadaṇḍanāyaka is placed below mahāpratihāra who comes after mahāsāmanta and mahāsenāpati. I do not think that we can establish any order of precedence in such lists. In Nepal the mahāsāmanta came even first and passed like a de facto sovereign.

Kauṭilya (1.12.6) places Dauvārika along with ministers, royal priests, army commander, crown-prince, and chamberlain (dauvārika). This shows the importance of the post of Dauvārika. He is no less a figure in prominence than a minister.

The Mahāpratihāra is certainly an important person. By himself he commanded a great influence in the country. He enjoyed royal trust and favour, and had direct access to the king. His importance is conveyed by this title appearing together with Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka. But there are only two persons enjoying this advantage. They are Ravigupta and Bhaumagupta.

I have not found Dauvārika as a form of official title attached to the name. But persons with the titles of Pratihāra appear quite often as dūtakas in our inscriptions. The Pratihāra looks a more dignified form than a Dauvārika in this way though both refer to a person with similar duties. The word is formed out of prati+hṛ+ghayañ pratyaya (karaṇa) to mean a man who guards the gate of the palace. We have already quoted relevant verses from Chāṇakyanītisaṅgraha and Matsyapurāṇa about his functions and qualities.

The Pratihāra literally a door-keeper was a very important person who enjoyed the privilege of direct approach to the inner apartment of the palace where the king lived.

How important this figure was can be realised from the fact that the king was closely guarded, and his safety and security was so well taken care of.

Kauṭilya in the 4th century B.C. asks his king (in Chapter 1, prakarana 18) to protect himself and his palace always by faithful guards in the order 'he should be surrounded by female guards bearing bows as soon as he rises in the morning and when he comes out of the room and is in the public hall, he meets eunuchs in robes and at the third stage by humpbacks, dwarfs, Kirātas and then by ministers, kinsmen and chamberlains.' To have direct access to the inner apartment of the royal palace in such a situation was no mean privilege, and much more so considering that the Pratihāra performed a duty of liaison between the king and officers of the state who had to approach him for consultation and final order in the affairs of state. We can just imagine how indispensable a Pratihāra was for the very important duty he performed. There is no doubt that such an official was not bound by security restrictions. In a way he himself becomes a vital part of the security arrangement. As we have found his place is also that of usherer and as a confidant of the king he was the only authority much sought after by officials.

The Śabdakalpadruma quotes a verse from Sārāvali to establish that a pratihāra's services were utilised to bring about a treaty relation between his country and another on the basis of mutual friendly

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relation:

मयास्योपकृतंपूर्वमेवञ्चोपकरिष्यति ।
इति यः क्रियतेसंधि प्रतिहारः स उच्यते ।।

Mahāsāmanta

Mahārāja Kramalilah who bears also the title of Mahāsāmanta figures in the Chowkitar inscription of Vasantadeva of date S. 454. For the first time we see a Mahāsāmanta addressing the king along with his senior colleague the Chief Minister Sarvadandanayaka and Mahāpratihāra to issue the charter.

Literally the Mahāsāmanta is a High Feudatory. The title is of no less significance than the head of the administration when a Mahāsāmanta is placed as king's near-man. It can also assume royal status when kings adopt his titles though in essence it is a subsidiary status as chief of a part of the kingdom where he ruled.

The feudatories might like to call themselves as the head of the state in their principality assuming all royal epithets such as Bhaṭṭāraka and Mahārāja. They paid nominal allegiance to the sovereign ruler but functioned de facto as full-fledged kings appointing ministers and running their own administration. Not all Mahāsāmantas, however, are feudatory rulers, possibly they are not so in Nepal. Without the territory to rule over, none of the Mahāsāmantas including Mahārāja Kramalilah and Amśuvarmā and Jīvadeva (or Varmā). I presume that the Mahāsāmanta was an official title assumed by a landlord, but then every official belonged to the class of landlords as the social order was feudal. The king also belonged to that class.

Dūtaka

Every grant or charter of the king has a dūtaka at the end. The dūtaka literally means a messenger whose duty was to inform the public and convey the royal decree to all officers and others concerned, and perhaps he was to supervise the enforcement of the royal order.

The dūtaka is formally appointed to carry his king's message to foreign kings. He was concerned to bring about a treaty relation between two kings. He played the role of an envoy.

Manu characterises the dūtaka as a person who can unite countries and divide them, whenever his king's interest suited.

But the dūtaka had also a different kind of duty and that was to convey the king's message to his people. It is suggested that the dūtaka appearing in the royal charters was required to pass the king's orders onto the local officials, who were to inform the people about the king's orders (IE 8-3; EI 23, 30). D.C. Sircar thinks that the dūtaka was an agent transferring the king's order to the quarters concerned. Fleet considers dūtaka as the technical title of an officer in connection with the charters and their objectives, whose duty was to carry the king's orders to the local authorities who were to implement them (CII, 3, pp. 311-12).

The Amarakośa (3/8/16) states that the dūtaka is a person to convey a message (*sajāt sandeśaharo dūto dautyam tadbhāva karmaṇi*).

According to Yuktakalpataru, the dūtaka is the bearer of the message written or unwritten 'yathoktavādi sandeśa vāhakah lekhaharakah'. He is equipped with all the qualities of a minister (dūtastrayomātya gunair samaih pādārtha varjjitaih vinisyartham kāryavasāt śāsanam karotiyah). Kauṭilya lays down that the qualities of a dūtaka were to be such as described in the following passage:

medhāvi vākpatuh prājnyah parachittopalakṣakah
dhīroyathoktavadicha yeshadutovidhānayat

These are fine qualities. But a dūtaka in the inscriptions does not function as an envoy. His task is to convey what the sovereign has to say to his people in respect of certain orders. The qualities essential to a minister or to an ambassador should, however, be the criterion for the appointment of

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a dūtaka, although their functions were different.

In our charters the dūtaka was always an important person either a chief minister or in his absence some other person if not equally important but quite influential in that court, a confidant of the king or the regent Prime Minister as the case might be.

In the Thankot inscription (S. 428) one Yajnika Virochanagupta is the dūtaka. He might have been related to Ravigupta, who comes next as a witness in all the inscriptions of Vasantadeva. But how their relationship stood is difficult to understand because of the damage on the stones. However, the two following reigns go without a dūtaka. But Gaṇadeva's inscriptions issued on the advice of Bhaumagupta have Babhruvarmā as dūtaka. In Śivadeva's first available inscription one mahābalādhyakṣa Kulapravīra is the dūtaka. This inscription was also issued on the recommendation of Śrī Bhaumagupta, the Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and Mahāpratihāra. Bhaumagupta was a more important personage than the dūtaka. But Ravigupta is found both as the man recommending the grant and as dūtaka.

Amśuvarmā takes the position of Bhaumagupta on the latter's death. The stones are peeled off not to show any dūtaka for the next 4 or 5 years of Śivadeva's reign. It is the Patan Bhimsenthan (n. 54) inscription and others following it belonging to the reign of Śivadeva, which show dūtakas. In the inscription of Bhimsenthan the dūtaka is Rāmaśila vārtah. In the two inscriptions of Bhadgaon one Bhogavarmā Gomi is the dūtaka. In the Dharamthali and Budhanilakantha (S. 517) and Tokha (S. 519) charters Vipravarmā Gomi is the dūtaka. Vārtah Guṇachandra is the dūtaka in Satungal charter. Vārtah Bhogachandra appears as dūtaka in Dharampur charter. Deśavarmā Gomi is a witness in Khopasi stele and in the Dhepasi and Lele steles one Lachchha Gomi figures as dūtaka and he appears as pratihāra in the latter inscription.

Amśuvarmā's Jyabahal inscription has one Mahāsarvvadaṇḍanāyaka as dūtaka. The same person is a dūtaka in Bungmati charter (S. 29). Vipravarmā appears as mahārāja and dūtaka in the Tistung inscription (S. 31 intercalary Pauṣa). Amśuvarmā deliberately omits dūtaka in the two Harigaon inscriptions. But he has Mahābalādhyakṣa Vindusvāmi as dūtaka in the Sundhara charter (S. 34). Since this time Yuvarāja Udayadeva appears as witness until Amśuvarmā's last record. Jiṣṇugupta, though a regent, has his son Yuvarāja to appear an dūtaka (witness). From Narendradeva's time the Yuvarāja was invariably a dūtaka in the charters.

Thus we find that the dūtaka was a person of high status and dignity and it appears that the presence of such a personality was quite needed for the purpose of informing the people and officers and men of administration, who were to implement the provisions of the charters issued.

We should not be surprised by the title of Mahārājādhirāja adopted by Amśuvarmā in the inscription of a time when he was just a sāmanta. This might look odd. But kings and feudatories are not seen renouncing the title of sāmanta even after adopting a higher title of M or Md. The title sāmanta has gone side by side with the high sounding Mahārāja or Mahārājādhirāja in many instances in Indian records as well. We have only to look into these records. The title of Mahārāja was assumed both by the full-fledged kings and feudatories.

We have already given the example of Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Śrī Kramalilah, who appears in the records of our own rulers, Vasantadeva and Rāmadeva. In the Indian records, the feudatory of Śaśānka in the Midnapur C.P. is Sri samanta maharaja Samadatta who ruled (Praśāsati) over Dandabhukti of Utkala.

Śaśānka, the great king of Gauḍa, has a seal matrix where he is mentioned as 'Śrī mahāsāmanta Śaśānka'. We do not know if he was already a king of Gauḍa at this time but historians believe that this was a seal of the time while he was a dependant of the Maukharis. Vijayasena who is the dūtaka of the Gunaidhar grant is given the title of Mahārāja Śrī Mahāsāmanta but in Mallasuri C.P. he is just Mahārāja dropping Mahāsāmanta. The Nirmand (Kangra district) C.P. draws four tier genealogy of Samudrasena and calls them Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja together. All these will go to show that the two titles are and can be complementary.

The Tistung and Bhatuwal inscriptions of Amśuvarmā (ns. 71, 70) talk of viṣayapati, śaulkika,

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gaulmika and tāpanādhikṛt. The Viṣayapati is the lord of a viṣaya which is a district within the kingdom. The Śaulkika is a customs officer. The Gaulmika is a police officer in charge of a police outpost (gulma). The Tāpanādhikṛt was probably an officer realising tax on gold or gold ornaments. The tāpana might carry the sense of warmth coming out of fire but in the lexicon it also conveys the idea of gold melting.

It is a matter of regret that no other official titles are available to us from the inscriptions. This is unlike the North Indian inscriptions of the period, which show numerous titles, each with a function of its own.

The entire country was ruled from the capital by the king autocratically.

The viṣaya is the administrative unit like a district or larger than a district. The head of the district is viṣayapati, literally head of the district administration.[33] A viṣaya is also used to denote a country and sometimes even a kingdom. Medini thinks that it is jānapada. A country of 100 villages was also known as viṣaya according to Kurma Purāṇa. A viṣaya was a subsidiary kingdom, and in Pala inscriptions of 7th-9th centuries it is either a part of the kingdom or a subsidiary state under the suzerainty of the Emperor. A viṣaya comes to be mentioned in the Dhanadaha C.P. of 432-33 A.D. in the reign of Kumāra Gupta I.

The Jñāneśvara inscription of Jayadeva calls the country over which he ruled as Nepālamaṇḍala if Dhanavajra's reading is correct.[34] Here it is synonymous with a state. In the Bengal inscription maṇḍala is a district or an administrative unit bigger than a viṣaya.

These distinctions in respect of bhukti, viṣaya and maṇḍala started quite early. The Damodar C.P. of Kumāra Gupta's reign dated 128 (13th Vaiśākha) speaks of Pundravardhana bhukti as viceroyalty ruled by Chirātadatta who had appointed a viṣayapati in a district (viṣaya) under him called Koṭivarṣa. A copper plate of Budhagupta's time (G.S. 163)[35] in Damodarpur shows a ruler by name Brahmadatta bearing the title of Mahārāja in Pundravardhana bhukti helped by Kumārāmātya Vetravarmā. The Indore C.P. of Skandagupta's reign with date GS 146 shows a viṣayapati in Indrapura. In Budhagupta's time two C.P. inscriptions available at Damodarpur call the area to have belonged to Pundravardhana of the Gupta empire. The first with date 163 shows one Uparika (Viceroy) Mahārāja Brahmadatta as a ruler and the second, date year eroded, shows Uparika Mahārāja Jayadatta[36] and viṣaya administrator Saudika.[37] Elsewhere the title Mahārāja is missing but there is a viṣayapati. It appears that sometimes the Governor (viṣayapati) became a de facto ruler, the Emperor only wielding nominal suzerainty. Pundravardhana continued to be a *bhukti* of the Gupta empire and Koṭivarṣa as viṣaya for a long time, which is shown by the Damodarpur C.P. of GS 224 issued by Mahārāja rājaputra Deo Bhaṭṭāraka with viṣayapati Svayambhudeva.[38]

We have a limited number of official titles as gleaned from the inscriptions, which means that there were only a few people running the administration. But the Indian inscriptions give many titles suggesting that their administrative machinery was very elaborate unlike that of Nepal, which was simple in structure. The titles in evidence in Nepal are Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka, Dandanayaka, Mahāpratihāra, Pratihāra, Mahābalādhyakṣa, Viṣayapati (head of the district administration), Śaulkika (head of the customs department) and Gaulmika (an officer of a police outpost) and Tāpanādhikṛt (tax officer). The Brahmuṅ was the administrator of a sub-district. So were Suhlum and Tepula who figure as officers in the Thankot (n. 20) and some other inscriptions. The Brahmuṅ is mentioned in more inscriptions such as the Chowkitar, Balambu, Kisipidi and Satungal charters (ns. 38-43). The chāṭa and bhaṭa were soldiers and policemen who were employed at the lowest rung of the ladder.

As against this, the big or small kingdoms in India had a large staff as king's men or if he was a feudatory enjoying a degree of independence, then also a large staff ran the administration. There were several ranks, and the list is long enough to reflect its variety and complexity. The list reproduced from several inscriptions will show that Nepal had only a rudiment of an administrative system while kings in North India had a highly developed system of administration. Here we are talking of contemporary India, where the Gupta Emperors were ruling.

The very earliest inscription of the period, the Allahabad Pillar inscription, shows men with the

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official designation of mahādaṇḍanāyaka, the same as Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka, and Sandhivigrahika. To these we add one Uparika of the Bihar Pillar inscription of Kumāra Gupta I. Mahārāja Hastin's Copper Plate inscription of GS 156 (CII, 3.21) was written by one person holding the title of Sandhivigrahika who was a son of a Bhogika. One Uparika Sarvvadatta is a dūtaka in the Kartai copper plate inscription of GS 174 (CII, 3.26). Mahārāja Sarvanatha's Khoh Copper Plate of GS 193 has a dūtaka by name Śivagupta with the title of Mahābalādhikṛt. This military officer is mentioned along with another person who is a Mahāsandhivigrahika and declares himself as a writer. The Maliya copper plate of Mahārāja Dhārāsena II of GS 252 has an incomparably large variety of titles suggesting a large galaxy of title holders.[39] These titles are āyuktaka, viniyukta (commissioned officer), drańgika (an officer in charge of drańga), mahattara (the head of a village), chāṭa, bhaṭa, dhruvādhikaraṇika (officer of the department collecting royal revenue), daṇḍapāśika (same as daṇḍanāyaka), Rājasthānīya. One Senāpati Chitravarmā is mentioned in an inscription of Pravarasena (CII, 3.56). This means that the army commander was known by the title of balādhikṛt and senāpati. The Deo-Baranak[40] charter of Jīvitagupta II addresses rājaputra, rajāmātya, mahādaṇḍanāyaka, mahāpratihāra, kumārāmātya, rājasthānīya, uparika (governor), chauroddhāraṇika, daṇḍika, daṇḍapāśika and many titles are missing in between them due to damaged letters.

The inscriptions of the Pāla period give a larger list of dignitaries. A little earlier a charter issued by Mahārāja Vijayasena functioning in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Gopichandra lists a large number of dignitaries (Malla Śarul C.P.)[41] who are Katakartika, Kumārāmātya, Chauroddharaṇika, uparika, udrańgika, agraharika, aurṇasthānika, bhogapati, viṣayapati, tadāyuktaka, hiraṇya samudāyika, pattalakāvasathika and devadroṇi. S.K. Maity and R.R. Mukherji have given English equivalents of these officers as the sueprintendent of state officers, the minister in charge of princes, the viceroy, the officer in charge of the collection of taxes on permanent tenancy lands, the superintendent of the agrahāra i.e. land donated to Brahmanas or any religious bodies, the superintendent of wool producing centres, the officer in charge of stables, the administrator of districts, the magistrates appointed by him, the head of the royal treasury, the ruler of Pattala and the superintendent of temple affairs. Dharmapāla in his Khalimpur C.P. charter (8th century) addresses officers such as rājarājanaka, rājaputra, rājāmātya, senāpati, viṣayapati, bhogapati, saṣṭādhikṣya, daṇḍa asakta, daṇḍapāśika, chauroddharaṇika, dausadhānika, dūta khola, samāgamikabhitvaramana, hastaśvagomahiṣajāvikādhyakṣa, naukādhyakṣa, bagādhyakṣa, tārika, śaulkika, gaulmika, tadāyuktaka and lastly viniyāktaka. Some of these officers have appeared in the inscriptions of the later Gupta period. Maity and Mukherji translate rājarājanaka as kings and their tributaries and kumārāmātya as princes and ministers. But this is wrong. They translate Saṣṭādhikṛt as revenue officers and daṇḍaśakti and daṇḍapāśika as judicial officers and police officers. The chauroddharaṇika is certainly a police officer protecting the people from thieves and dacoits but I cannot say if a dausādhanika is connected with religious affairs. The office of the dūtakhola is taken to be an agency for recruiting messengers. I do not know how far this will be a correct interpretation and then there is also a doubt if samāgamanabhitvaramaṇa is a rescue department. We find that apart from Senāpati there is a balādhikṛt. Perhaps he is a subordinate officer in the army serving under the senāpati. He is not as high as mahābalādhyakṣa who is equal in rank with senāpati and this officer is commander of the entire army. Other titles are known to us. The Khalimpur charter list is the first of such lists found in the inscriptions of the Pāla rulers. It appears that the administration was highly developed and the state had undertaken immense responsibilities of administration.

But as we have said earlier the Nepalese administration of the time was not elaborate. Many of the functionaries appearing in the inscriptions of North India are missing here. For example we do not have the officers called sandhivigrahika, uparika, mahāpilupati, udrańgika, bhogika, hastāśvādhyakṣa, chauroddharaṇika and other ranks. Some ranks like śaulkika and gaulmika have come to notice. But the administration was very simple. This might have been so in view of a smaller area Nepal then constituted as a kingdom, which did not require an elaborate and complex administration.

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Adhikaraṇa (Office)

The adhikaraṇa in lexicon means an office or department of state and many such figure in the Damodarpur C.P. inscriptions, which belong to the Emperors and show also the province (bhukti) enjoyed by certain individual as head and district (viṣaya) ruled by someone assisted by adhikaraṇa. But the adhikaraṇa was a sort of council in North East India of those days. The adhikaraṇa comes along with the governor of the bhukti and viṣaya and consists of nagara shreṣṭhi (chief merchant) Dhruvapāla, Sārthabāha (the leader of the caravan traders) Bandhumitra, Prathamakulika (chief artisan) Dhritimitra and Prathamakāyastha (chief writer) Samhapāla.[42] The Baigram (Vayigram)[43] C.P. of 128 shows that one Kulabṛddhi issues a charter from Panchakuṭi to viṣayādhikaraṇa but members are not specified. The adhikaraṇa in the Damodarpur CP inscription shows the same functionaries as members of adhikaraṇa but with different names.[41] The Damodarpur CP of S. 224 provides similar functionaries as members of the adhikaraṇa[45] with the seal of Bārakamaṇḍalaviṣayādhikaraṇa. The CP of Faridpur (Bangladeśa) belonging to the regnal year 3 of Md Dharmāditya (enjoying overall sovereignty) shows Mahārāja Sthānudatta ruling adhyāsana kāle with the appointed viṣayapati. Jayāva was ruling in Bārakamandala. This inscription gives as members of āyoga adhikaraṇa viṣayamahattara (officers in charge): Itita, Kulachandra, Garuḍa Vrhachchatta, Abika, Anachara, Bhasaitya, Sulladeva, Ghoṣachandra, Animitra, Guṇachandra, Kālasukha, Kulasvāmi, Durlabha, Satyachandra, Aryana, Bappa and Kuṇḍalipta.[46] There are other copper plates belonging to Bārakamaṇḍala viṣaya, which also show adhikaraṇas. In these the adhikaraṇa consisting of a group of people is led by Jyeṣṭha Kāyastha Nayasena. In the CP of Dharmāditya, Gopālasvāmi is the lord of the viṣaya.

In the Nepalese inscriptions the adhikaraṇas are mentioned by name such as Kuther, Śolla, Lingval, Māpchoka, Bhaṭṭa or such others named after the directions like the east, west etc. which would give them charge of the eastern part or western part of the kingdom. If there was an address to be made to all the offices, the word used is Sarvvādhikaraṇa.

Adhikṛt and Adhikāra

Adhikṛt for an officer, adhikāra a power base for the officer and the power by virtue of religious importance are often used in our inscriptions. When there is a reference to an officer of a certain department the name of the office is added to adhikṛt to denote his identity as to the office. Adhikāra always belonged to the officer or to the man who is entrusted with power and responsibilities. Dharmādhikāra has a religious significance and the right exercised was over subjects relating to religion in general.

In the Changu inscription of Śivadeva we have a reference to voskarādhikṛt, a forester or ranger (n. 53). The two inscriptions of Bhatuwal and Tistung villages (ns. 70, 71) are issued keeping in advance (puratahkrtva) the adhikṛt of Kuṇḍa, Śulka and Tāpana. They were officers in charge of two taxable items.

Adhikāra in the sense of a state is referred to in the Luñjhya inscription (n. 116). But herein adhikāra seems to mean the office because the reference is to Bhaṭṭa and Māpchoka adhikāra. It can be also a reference to the powers exercised by these two offices. In the same way other offices also had their own adhikṛt. They were so called after the name of the office. Because one received bṛtti (living) on account of his employment in Kuther department, an officer was called Kutherabrittyādhikṛt (n. 54). Kutherabṛttyādhikṛt also occurs in the two Bhadgaon (56, 57), Dharamthali (n. 58) and Budhanilakantha (n. 59) inscriptions. In his first Harigaon inscription (n. 69), Amśuvarmā addresses those officers who collected paṇas (taxes) for keeping up the arrangement made (maryādā paṇagrahaṇādhikṛt). Probably the kṛtaprasāda was also an officer who distributed royal donations. Sometimes instead of mentioning just adhikaraṇa or its name only, quite a few inscriptions refer to brttibhuja after the name of the office (n. 107). The Bhṛṅgāreśvara inscription of Viṣṇugupta has an expression *eteṣām adhikāreṣvadhikṛtaih* (n. 109). This means that the adhikṛt had obtained powers in these offices over the affairs of the temple.

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In the Narayanachaur inscription we have a niyogādhikṛta, to which is added tadādhikāribhi. They are asked not to interfere in the sphere of influence of the villages raised to dranga status now made over to the Sangha as a royal favour. By the word Niyoga it was meant to convey the idea of the arrangement made earlier in writing (uparilikhita), which was to be respected by officers and men (adhikrt tadadhikaribhi). It was in connection with the duties and responsibilities of the dauvārika in various capacities. Here the distinction is made between the adhikṛt and tadādhikāri. The adhikṛt meant the principal officer, head or superintendent or an authority superior to adhikāri, just an officer.

In this connection we have to note that adhikaraṇa (office), adhikāri (officers) and adhikṛt (their head) are related to the civil administration.

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10. CIII, n. 16.
11. CIB, p. 129.
12. A. Getty, Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. xxv, footnote.
13. CIB, pp. 45-46.
14. Faridpur C.P.
15. Another Faridpur Plate.
16. अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय देशकालौ चतत्वतः। सारापराधौ चालोक्य दण्डं दण्डेषु पातयेत् ॥ १२६ ॥ वाग्दण्डं प्रथमं कुर्याद्धग्दण्डं तदनन्तरम् । तृतीयं धनदण्डंतु वद्यदण्ड मतः परम् ॥ १२६ ॥
17. Sabdakalpadruma, II.
18. Ibid.
19. Manikiala stone inscription, Sircar, p. 142.
20. Sircar, p. 223.
21. CIII, 3, n. 1.
22. CIB, p. 118, 167.
23. Mahipāla (988-1023 A.D.), pp. 299ff.
24. History of Dharmaśāstra, III (Glossary, 999).
25. Sircar, p. 367; CIB, p. 80.
26. Sircar, p. 370; CIB, p. 83.
27. Sircar, p. 341. Also see CIB, Intro., p. 5, 65.
28. p. 184 (Glossary). Sircar quotes IE, 8-2; EI 30; CII, 3. Levi thinks he is grand usherer Kādambari, 97; Rajatarangini, IV, 147.
29. प्रतीहारो द्वारपाल द्वाः स्थ द्वाः स्थित दर्शकाः
रक्षि गर्व स्त्वनीक स्थोडथाध्यक्षाधिकृतौ समौ (2/8/6)
30. Quoted in Sabdakalpadruma, III, p. 269:
प्रांशु सुरूपो दक्षश्च प्रियवादी च नोत्हृत ।
चित्तग्राहश्च सर्व्वेषां प्रतीहारो विधीयते ॥
31. Levi, II.
32. CIB, pp. 163ff.
33. CII, III, 3-4.
34. Dhanavajra, p. 573.
35. CBI, n. 8, 9.
36. CIB.
37. CIB.
38. CIB.
39. CII, n. 38, pp. 165-169.
40. IHQ, VI, pp. 53ff; Sircar, 340; CII, 3, n. 46.
41. CIB, n. 15.
42. GS 124, 128 of the reign of Kumaragupta, CBI, pp. 45-48.
43. Dist. Bogra (Bangladesh), pp. 50-51.
44. Dinajpur Dist., EI, p. 137. Sircar, p. 32; CBI, p. 61.
45. Sircar, p. 337; EI, XV, p. 142; CBI, p. 71.
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RISE OF ŚIVADEVA

49. Visnupaduka Stele

THIS is the first available inscription of Śivadeva with date 512 Jyeṣṭha Śukla 12 inscribed on a slab of stone. The first 4 lines are damaged while the other portion of the record can be read easily. It is a record issued by Śivadeva from Mānagṛha. The place was a draṅga, a market area and a city, and the people were exempted from paying a tax called Mallakara. They were not to pay more than one Kārṣapaṇa for this tax. Śivadeva just calls himself Mahārāja and also a banner of the Lichchhavi family (Lichchhavikulaketu). This title appears for the first time before the name of the ruler. The epithet bappapādānudhyāta is continuing. The *mallakara* is a new tax so far not mentioned. Similarly mahābalādhyakṣa, the commander of a great army, either commander-in-chief or army general comes to be mentioned for the first time. The mantle has fallen on one Kulapravīra who is shown to have functioned as head of the armed forces. Śrī Bhaumagupta is still advising the king in the capacity of Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and mahāpratihāra. But he must be too old at this time having served the country for more than 3 decades.

But his name associated with Śivadeva has a significance. We see that in the beginning of Śivadeva's kingship Śrī Bhaumagupta was still a guiding figure. His death probably led to the ascendancy of Amśuvarmā. There cannot be any question of revolt or ouster of Bhaumagupta or eclipse of his family at this stage.

Dhanavajra omits to read 'Śrī' and reads unnecessarily more than the actual meaning in this act of omission. But the prefix 'Śrī' is there, and we may be rest assured that Bhaumagupta had retained the same powers as before until the last.

The inscription is now lying near a hillock on the southern slope of Mt. Śivapuri and by the left side of the rivulet Viṣṇumati as it flows downwards to reach the border of the Valley on that point. This introduces a new monarch as we have already said in the last passage. But the man who was Chief Minister for quite a long time since before 482 is still there. The lines in the beginning are devoted in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa called Vāsudeva here as well as Lord Śiva and invoke their blessings. The *dūtaka* is *mahābalādhyakṣa Kulapravīra*.

The inscription was issued by the banner of Lichchhavi dynasty Mahārāja Śrī Śivadeva on the

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recommendation of Śrī Bhaumagupta who is *mahāpratihāra* and *sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka* addressing the *Pradhānas* and *Kutumbis* of *Thanturi dranga*. Śivadeva was pleased with the performance of the *dranga* in carrying out their duties as prescribed by past kings and has exempted the *Kutumbis* of the *dranga* from paying as *mallakara* any amount more than a *karṣapaṇa*. Through the *Silapattaka* this fact of the king's favours was made known to all. Here for the first time in the inscriptions of Nepal the ruler addresses himself as a Lichchhavi.

Draṅga

There are two new terms, the *draṅga* and *mallakara*, which require explanation.

According to M. Williams' Dictionary a *draṅga* means a city. He quotes *Rājatarangini*:

वद्धाधिकारिणः शुल्कं गृहणता करिजिवत्
तेन स्वनाम्नो भाण्डेषु द्रङ्गे सिन्दूर मुडणम् ।

The draṅga appears for the first time in this inscription. It is known as Thanturi draṅga. According to one writer the word Thanturi means 'an upland' which one had to negotiate by climbing.[1] This is just a guesswork so we might not attach any importance to it.

The draṅga was a market place. It was neither a townlet (pattana) nor a city (Karvaṭa). It was in between the two.

A draṅga is of a kind of puri (town) says Hemachandra. It was lower in importance than Karvaṭa but higher to pattana (uttamaścha).

Among modern writers Dr. Maity proposes draṅga as a township. In the Dictionary of Monier Williams the draṅga is a city. D.C. Sircar thinks that a draṅga was a station for the collection of land revenue.[2] He also suggests that it might be 'a town or watch station' (EI 8-3, EI 10). The draṅga consisted of the market and a customs house in an area where a village was situated.

We have several draṅgas mentioned at different places in the inscriptions. The Chapagaon stele of Śivadeva has Stharu draṅga, then comes the Golmodhitol (Bhadgaon) inscription which shows Mākhopṛng satala draṅga (n. LV). The draṅga was situated within the tala of Mākhopṛng. The Lele stone (S. 526) talks of the inhabitants of Lembaṭi draṅga (LXV). The Yangahiti stele of S. 64 talks of the 4 divisions of the draṅga of Dakṣiṇakolīgrāma. The Kevalpur inscription is addressed to the inhabitants of Nupunna draṅga (n. 101). Yūpagrāma also has become a dranga in Narendradeva's Luñjhyā inscription of S. 67 (n. 116). Dakṣiṇakolīgrāma draṅga again figures in the inscription of Yangahiti, S. 67 (n. 117). The Anantalingeśvara stele shows Haṁsgṛha draṅga (n. 122). The Śītātikā satala draṅga is mentioned by the Balambu inscription of Śivadeva (n. 136). Lastly the villages of Tāmrakuṭṭa śālā, Māneśvara, Sāmbapura, Hyaspṛng, Puṭhampṛng, Jamayambi and Pumdaṭṭa also enjoyed this status in the Narayanachaur inscription (Naksal). They were given the status of a draṅga by the king. This shows the existence of numerous market places in different centres of the Valley. But no towns or citizens are talked about in the inscriptions. Nepal was not economically far advanced.

M.A. Stein on Śaulkika's duty: Imprisoning the officials (*Koṭṭeśvara*), collected the customs at the *dranga* (watch station) and had his own name stamped in red lead on the wares as if he were the king. It appears from the translation that Stein regarded dranga as a customs depot. According to *Vāchaspatyam* (V, p. 945) a *dranga* is also a city. To Hemachandra (4/3/7), *dranga* comes in the category of a town less important than *Karbaṭa* but greater than *pattana*.

Of the present writers, Dr. Buhler and Fleet translate *dranga* as a township. In Sircar's Glossary *dranga* means 'a station for the collection of revenue'.

But in the view of Hemachandra and Vāchaspatyam who quote the commentator *dranga* must be a city of the middle size, where probably there was a market area as well as a customs house.

The inscription speaks of *Thanturi draṅga*. We also read *draṅgas* of different names in other inscriptions such as *Śīṭāṭīkā draṅga* in Gaṇadeva's inscriptions (ns. 39-44) and *Stharu draṅga* in the

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Chāpāgāon inscription, etc. as we have already mentioned.

Śivadeva adopts Lichchhavi Lineage

No inscriptions and for that matter no kings had yet called themselves Lichchhavi kulaketu 'the banner of the Lichchhavi family' as Śivadeva does in his inscriptions. All the inscriptions issued give him this epithet, which also came to be adopted by kings after him. Thus Udayadeva, Dhruvadeva and Udayadeva's son and grandson called themselves the banner of the Lichchhavi family.

But in doing so Śivadeva had abandoned the usual epithet *bappa pādānudhyāta*, which meant 'meditating upon the feet of his father'. This epithet of kings appears in all the charters before Śivadeva. It appears that not only Śivadeva but also Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva had refused to adopt the same. The epithet appears once again in the inscriptions of Narendradeva and his successors along with *Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānugṛhita*. The practice of adopting the epithets *bappa pādānudhyāta* was restored by Amśuvarmā who also started a new epithet, '*Paśupatibhaṭṭāraka pādānugṛhita*', which was adopted by Udayadeva, Jiṣṇugupta and his son and by Udayadeva's Lichchhavi successors except Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva who followed Śivadeva in not accepting reference of homage to Lord Paśupati.

Why Śivadeva had renounced the epithet *bappa pādānudhyāta*? The cause is known. This was the epithet showing respect to his father. It is not difficult for any one to understand as to the ground which led Śivadeva to discontinue the practice.

Familial Ties of Śivadeva

Śivadeva's ancestry is not known. Why only Śivadeva's? Except two cases no ruler thought it worthwhile to record his genealogy. He does not say anything about his parents, so it is difficult to say how Śivadeva came to occupy the throne, and what was his claim to it.

But Śivadeva suddenly appears with the epithet 'banner of the Lichchhavi family' and this might arouse suspicion about the dynastic succession of rulers.

The question, however, is being thoroughly dealt with elsewhere.

Śivadeva's relationship with the past rulers such as Vasantadeva and Gaṇadeva is not known. It is also not known whether he had any kinship or association with Mānadeva II who figures as the founder of the new era in the post colophon statement of *Sumatitantra*. He comes to view through a series of inscriptions, which are quite a few. As a man to claim Lichchhavi descent for the first time he attracts notice. But except initially he was from the beginning under the tutelage of his Chief Minister.

It is said that Śivadeva was a Buddhist and after his name a monastery was built called Śrī Śivadeva Vihāra. But there is no vihāra of this name in Amśuvarmā's Harigaon Inscription (II).

All of his inscriptions except the last one (the Lele stele) have the top adorned by a *chakra* (discus) flanked by two *śankhas*. The Lele stone has just a *chakra*.

Mallakara is another word requiring, however, greater attention than the other. But we shall make our observation on this type of kara (tax) a little later.

Śrī as Indicative of Royal Status

A writer has made much of the prefix 'Śrī' before a name as indicative of royal status of the person who bears it. He thinks that it is *rājochita* i.e. to be fittingly applied to royal names. In short it expresses a royal dignity. The writer often repeats his view of 'Śrī' prefix to emphasise the point of its importance. The repetition is ad nauseum.

Generally 'Śrī' is added as a prefix to names which belong to persons of royal status such as the king, the crown prince, the princes, the high feudatories and also to men of extraordinary powers, who held high position and came next to ruling or reigning monarch and his immediate relatives and regents.

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Kings were regarded as divine beings and so were persons in power and as such 'Śrī' went inevitably before their names. Powerful chief ministers or sāmantas or mahāsāmantas all have 'Śrī' before their names.

The names of the queens and queen mothers whenever mentioned are qualified by 'Devī' and not 'Śrī'. Another feature of the honorific 'Śrī' is that it is never prefixed to the names of deities except in a very few instances. But royal palaces such as Mānagṛha, Kailāsakūṭa Bhavana and Bhadrādivāsa Bhavana have honorific 'Śrī' before their names.

In our history up to this period we have 'Śrī' before Mahārāja mahāsāmanta Kramalilah who along with Ravigupta going without 'Śrī' acted in similar capacity to commend the gift made by the king to the people in the Chowkitar inscription. The latter also acted as dūtaka in the same inscription. Ravigupta bore the titles of Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and mahāpratihāra and obviously was the Chief Minister. He precedes Kramalilah while both of them figure in the same inscription.

Bhaumagupta acted in the capacity of a man formally requesting for or recommending the gift as well as a dūtaka in the Pharping inscription but he has 'Śrī' before his name, with the same titles he always bears 'Śrī' prefix, and is not a dūtaka in the inscriptions following the Pharping record of S. 479.

The last time he appears is in the first available inscription of Śivadeva i.e. the record we are dealing with at this place. Here also he bears the same title and his name has 'Śrī' as a prefix. He recommends also the royal gift in the charter in favour of the people concerned.

The High Feudatories of the Paribrājaka and Uchchhakalpa dynasties have 'Śrī' as honorific but not so regularly. Uparika (viceroy) Mahārāja Brahmadatta of Damodar C.P. does not have Śrī before his name. In the same way while Śaśāṅka was reigning there was one Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Śrī Mādhavarāja, which is enough to show that the prefix Śrī was not confined to sovereigns only.

The Indo-Greek and the Kuśāna names go without Śrī. This applies to even illustrious kings of the Kuśāna race, such a Devaputra Rājātirāja Kaniṣka and Rājaputra Rājātirāja Juviska. The Śaka Ksatrapas of western India also do not add 'Śrī' as prefix to their names. The 'Śrī' becomes common with the Sātavāhana emperors of the East Coast e.g. Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇī in the Nasik Cave inscription,[3] Karla Cave inscription of Vasiṣṭhīputra,[4] Nasik Cave inscription of Pulumayi (Ry 19= 149 A.D.),[5] etc.

Khāravela has the honorific Śrī before his name. This appears in the Hathigumphā inscription.[6] The next inscription in the same area is that of Junji rock, where Śrī Kumāra Vīradatta is shown ruling in his fifth year.[7]

In the Nagarjunakonda inscription of Vīrapuruṣadatta, Vīrapuruṣadatta has also the honorific 'Śrī'.[8] Other inscriptions of Vīrapuruṣadatta bear the same prefix before his name. The Nagarjunakonda inscriptions were issued by the kings of Iksvaku dynasty. Coming to the 4th century A.D. we find that 'Śrī' appears before the names of the Emperors of the Vākāṭaka dynasty of Vidarbha, who were contemporaries of the early Guptas.[9] Mahārāja Dhānyaviṣṇu and his successors did not assume 'Śrī' before the name, although the Paribrājakas and Uchchhakalpas use it quite often.[10] They were all dependants of the Gupta Emperors, but the absence of 'Śrī' in some and its presence in others cannot be explained if 'Śrī' was taken to measure a degree of sovereignty. In the 6th century Iśānavarman of the Maukhari dynasty and the second Gupta dynasty ruling in Magadha, Jīvitagupta II and others as well as Śrī Harṣa, the poet king had 'Śrī' before their names.

Thus far we have only royal dignitaries and high feudatories under consideration. But in the next passage we may take the examples of persons of less importance such as ordinary ministers or district heads or other figures bearing the prefix 'Śrī' and also adopting title of Paramadaivata or its like.

Emperor Kumāra Gupta's commander in chief and amātya Prithivisena does not have 'Śrī' before his name (Karamdandā Ins. G.S. 117). But one mahāsāmantādhipati in the Khalimpur CP of Dharmapāla is Śrī Nārāyaṇa varmā. The 'Śrī' prefix before his name might indicate his overwhelming power. He along with Yuvarāja Tribhuvanapāla recommends to the king the assignment of the gift. We might compare his position with that of Amśuvarmā. But Dharmapāla was not Śivadeva and he

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was under nobody's tutelage. If only 'Śrī' was the criterion the line of Brahmana ministers at the court of Pāla kings, all of whom have 'Śrī' before their names might have been the real personages to wield considerable influence in the realm so as to dominate the king himself.

It is not essential that all Chief Ministers or Ministers have 'Śrī' before their names. Important names including that of Ravigupta are going without the honorific Śrī while Bhaumagupta enjoying similar status has 'Śrī'.

As we have already observed all Chief Ministers after Ravigupta have 'Śrī' as honorific. But any name of the Chief Minister disappears with the restoration of Naredradeva, and going through the inscriptions between Kramalilah's time upto Jayadeva II we find that even persons bearing the title of Yuvarāja like Udayadeva in the inscriptions of Amśuvarmā and Rājaputra Jayadeva in the inscriptions of Śivadeva II are named without the honorific Śrī. But Jayadeva II as Bhaṭṭāraka Yuvarāja Jayadeva gets 'Śrī' in the later inscriptions of Śivadeva II.

Mahābalādhyakṣa

The dūtaka Kulapravīra of this inscription bears the title of mahābalādhyakṣa.

The Mahābalādhyakṣa is a military title. According to Manusmṛti it is a title applied to the Chief Commander of the army. He is also called Senāpati. As these are two words, they might be two different army officers but both the words might be synonymous also. Here is Manu's statement:

सेनापतिबलाध्यक्षौ सर्वदिक्षुनिवेशयेत् ।
यतश्च भयमाशङ्का त्प्राचीं तांकल्पयेत्दिशम् ।। (7/VIII)

Commenting on this verse Kulluka Bhaṭṭa says 'Commanding 10 units of elephants, horses, chariots and infantry there is a pattika and the officer who commands 10 pattikas is a Senāpati. The Senānāyaka's command extends over to Senāpati's and this officer is balādhyakṣa.' It appears that to Kulluka Bhaṭṭa the office of the balādhyakṣa is supreme in the army. He commands 10 Senāpatis, which means that he is senior to Senāpati in rank. It is difficult to say if this interpretation is correct. Manu has placed Senāpati and Balādhyakṣa together which might mean, either both refer to the same person or these are two ranks in the army. But from Manu alone one cannot say as to who is higher in rank.

Kauṭilya (2.33.7-9) uses the words pattyādhyakṣa and Senāpati. He defines the duty of pattyādhyakṣa, the head of the patti, to be in charge of foot soldiers. He also supervised military operations conducted by the army against the enemy. The Senāpati commanded the entire army. He was trained in the science and art of weapons. He was to direct armed forces consisting of cavalry, elephants and infantry in operations against the enemy. But the pattyādhyakṣa commanded just a unit called patti and we have already said what it means in terms of numerical strength of various components involved.

The Mahābhārata (4/1/6) and the Raghuvaṁśa (2/37) speak of Senāpati heading the army. As Kauṭilya uses the word *bala* for the army, it is obvious that by balādhyakṣa the other sources mean the chief of the army.

As our inscriptions mention mahābalādhyakṣa it is obvious that balādhyakṣa is a commanding officer and mahābalādhyakṣa is the chief of the army.

The Amarakośa does not mention balādhyakṣa at all. It gives the word senāpati and as paryayāh i.e. synonyms lists words like vāhinīpati.

The Balādhyakṣa literally would mean the presiding officer of the army i.e. chief of the army staff or chief commander or officer in charge of overall defence of the country.

Two inscriptions of the Imperial Gupta period, the Khoh C.P. of Mahārāja Hastin, G.S. 191 (CII, 3, n. 23) and the Shahpur image inscription of Ādityasena (CII, 3, n. 43), have dūtakas who bear the title of mahābalādhikṛt. According to J.F. Fleet, this is technically an official title of a military

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officer superior to balādhikṛt. He thinks that it is a synonym of mahābalādhyakṣa of our inscriptions.

Some of the Bengal inscriptions of the Pāla period mention Senāpati and have no use of balādhikṛt. They enumerate all rank holders of the kingdom. The Senāpati is prominently mentioned in the Khalimpur copper plate[11] of Dharmapāla along with rājāmātya and rājā and rājaraṇaka. In King Devapāla's Monghyr copper plate[12] also there occurs Senāpati. The Bhagalpur C.P. of Nārāyaṇapāla mentions Mahāsenāpati.[13]

We may now elaborate description of Senāpati. It is sufficient to say that as Manu observes our mahābalādhyakṣa is the same figure as the Senāpati of the Pāla inscriptions.

The Mahābalādhyakṣa as title of a dūtaka occurs in two cases. We have noticed the case of Kulapravīra in the inscription under consideration. The other case is mentioned in the Sundhara inscription of Amśuvarmā, where the dūtaka is Mahābalādhyakṣa Vindusvami as it will appear later.

The Nepalese inscriptions do not show any more ranks of the army in the contents than the Mahābalādhyakṣa.

Recently in an article an Indian scholar L. Gopal claims to throw a fresh light on the 'History of the Lichchhavi Period of Nepal'. This article is incorporated as a chapter in the 'History and Culture of Nepal'. We shall consider here only such points as relate to his observation on Śivadeva I leaving those he puts forward while discussing the source of the new era in the context of the inscription of Samvat 512.

L. Gopal while refuting a Nepalese writer who talks of Ābhira conquest of Nepal during the reign of the successors of Vasantadeva which is said to be full of chaos and anarchy accepts some kind of internal trouble before Śivadeva came to occupy the throne, and suggests that if there are none of his inscriptions until Sam. 512, it can only be due to the fact that Śivadeva was in no better position than his predecessors, which means that Śivadeva also was facing chaotic condition at the initial stage. He further says that the high sounding titles Śivadeva bore could appear just in a time of triumph, which started from Sam. 512. L. Gopal, of course, accepts that Bhaumagupta was with Śivadeva, as this acceptance was inevitable in view of the evidence provided by the inscription where he appears as Chief Minister. But all these statements surprise me. If one thinks that the Viṣṇumati hillock inscription was set up by Śivadeva at a time when he had found himself secure on the throne and worthy of reasserting his epithets abandoned since long, the proposition looks to have been built on false hypothesis. Earlier he calls the titles like Mahārāja and Lichchhavi kulaketu (banner of the family of Lichchhavis) as high sounding. But are the titles really high sounding? The title Mahārāja is considered to be simple when we know that Narendradeva about 3 decades later assumes the title of Mahārājādhirāja. I thought that L. Gopal would draw our attention to the fact of Śivadeva calling himself 'the banner of the Lichchhavi', which comes to be used in the inscription for the first time. No other ruler until now had called himself *Lichchhavi kulaketu*. And then which of the kings had abandoned the so-called high sounding title of Mahārāja? I am not also prepared to create a period of anarchy, for which records have yet to come to light. The search for materials goes on and perhaps we might come across more inscriptions to be able to say more on the subject. Again, if in Sam. 512 Śivadeva had entered upon a triumphant career who were his enemies? Surely the enemies were not the Ābhiras, descendants of Paramabhimani, because Śivadeva according to L. Gopal himself began his reign with Bhaumagupta's help. You cannot create imaginary enemies, and think of choas which hardly existed.

I do not think that we should be disturbed in any way by the non-availability of records after those of Gaṇadeva. There is a coin called Gunānka in the name of Guṇakāmadeva. We have also the colophon of *Sumatitantra* which brings out the name of Mānadeva as the founder of the era in Śaka Samvat 498. This Mānadeva was certainly the predecessor of Śivadeva. I am also finding it difficult to be reconciled to the view that Śivadeva had his coins or he was in anyway responsible for introducing coinage in Nepal.

L. Gopal's view on this new era will be discussed at the proper place.

The only new point the inscription under consideration brings out is the appearance of Bhaumagupta who seems to have continued as Chief Minister even while Śivadeva ascended the throne. But it is not

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a fact that there is no Śrī put before his name. There it is alright, which Dhanavajra could not trace. At any rate all speculations in this regard have to cease now.

There must have been serveral groups in the court. This is a common feature of medieval palace rule. But it is difficult to believe as I have shown in my book 'Ancient Nepal' that Amśuvarmā's family was a rival group struggling against the Ābhira family of Bhaumagupta. We have discussed the matter at a great length in our book 'Ancient Nepal'.

But L. Gopal thinks that the inscription has greater significance.[14] Just to emphasise this factor he has also reproduced the text of the inscription (as read by Dhanavajra) though he does not seem to have examined the stone by himself, although he does not say so. L. Gopal thinks that the inscription shows a number of new points unknown before implying that because of this he was reproducing the text. The first thing he notices is the existence of a *mahābalādhyakṣa*, the highest officer of the army. He argues that often *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* was called the army chief but forgets that those who thought *daṇḍanāyaka* was army chief were Indian writers. I hope that he has read my book on Ancient Nepal thoroughly. In p. 241 of this book I have clearly said that the title *sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka* was borne by the Chief Minister. In p. 242 I have endorsed Levi's meaning of the word *mahābalādhyakṣa* of the Harigaon inscription (Samvat 30)[15] as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. It is, however, true that as L. Gopal thinks that the *mahābalādhyakṣa* in the present record reinforces the argument in favour of *sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka* not being the army chief.

Śivadeva started his career without Amśuvarmā, which is proved by the Chapagaon inscription.[16] But when the date figures are missing it will be risky to give date to this record. As it does not show Bhaumagupta, it certainly came after the Viṣṇumati hillock inscription. I do not think that the Chyasaltol inscription belongs to the category of Chapagaon inscription. The Chyasaltol stone is dated though only after 13 damaged lines one can start reading. So there is no room to think that both Śivadeva and Amśuvarmā were not connected with this inscription. The Kumāletol inscription is much broken on both sides and at the end portion. Epigraphically it belongs to Amśuvarmā period, and because there is *Lichchhavi kulaketu*, so there is a ground to presume that the record belongs to Śivadeva. When Śivadeva appears in the inscription S. 512, it automatically follows that inscriptions following this date must belong to Śivadeva though a little confusion can arise because of his name missing due to damage. There are only three inscriptions of this type, others upto Dhapasi, S. 526, show his name and are definitely his.

50. Chapagaon Stele

This is a stone in the heart of a village market area called Chapagaon or Champāpuri or Wa in Newari. The stone is much damaged from the 10th line. The date portion is missing.

It is a charter issued to the people of Stharu dranga, who were to enjoy tax reduction at customs house in regard to different kinds of fish. They returned to the area after disposal. Obviously the fish were sold at the dranga. Various kinds of fish are mentioned such as kāstikā, muktā, bhukkundikā and rājagṛba. Except rājagṛba the other three varieties do not find place in lexicons. As Bhukkundikā type of fish enjoys higher tax reduction, it must be a large fish. Perhaps this is the Rehu.

The inscription of Chapagaon talks of concessions made to the fishermen in respect of duties levied on various kinds of fish in Stharu dranga. As the duty was paid in Stharu dranga, obviously a dranga was associated with the customs payable on goods entering the area (may by from the south).

The name of the village or dranga from which the fishermen are said to pass through is the Stharu dranga. Because of the damage on the stone other facts are not clear. But it talks of the tax to be paid by those who returned to their homes (village or dranga) after selling the fish. No doubt there were certain concessions granted by the ruler Śivadeva through this charter to those who carried loads of fishes. The dranga then had also a fish market.

The fishes mentioned are kāstikā (wooden), rājagṛba (royal neck), muktā (loose), bhukkundikā; of these four varieties the second can be recognised from the lexicon as rājagṛba to be identical with rāja-

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matsya with a royal neck. Literally it is a fish with a shining neck. Another lexicon takes it just as a kind of a fish without specifying the kind of fish. Kāstikā resembled in appearance just a small and thin piece of wood about 2 ft in length. What it is exactly like the lexicon cannot explain. One writer has suggested that it might be a smaller fish which could be pierced by a thin 2 ft length of pointed wood piece.

Bhukkundikā, according to Dhanavajra, is a smaller variety of fish, which were put in a basket at the time of sale, while rājargṛba was the biggest. According to lexicon a Karandikā is a basket for putting small fish together during sale in the market. For a cloth bag type of thing there is the word kuṇḍa although the lexicon shows a bowl or bowl shaped vessel. Possibly kundikā was a bag of a smaller size, and yet smaller size of fish found place there. Dhanavajra identifies Muktā matsya with the Asalā variety of fish of today. It is the biggest fish found in our rivers. But he does not say how he categorically came to this identification. All these might be true or not. At any rate there were varieties of fish produced in this area by professional fishermen.

51. Chyasaltol, Patan

The Chyasaltol inscription is too much damaged to give us any information of chronological political importance. It seems to be a grant for a religious purpose. The date Samvat 515 with other particulars shows that the record belongs to Śivadeva I.

52. Kumhaletol, Bhadgaon

The Kumhaletol (Bhadgaon) inscription is not well preserved. The last 4 lines are almost totally damaged. As the word *Lichchhavikulaketu* occurs in the beginning it must belong to Śivadeva's reign. But without a date it is difficult to find its place in the order of precedence. It might be that these two inscriptions were issued by Śivadeva without Amśuvarmā but we cannot be definite on this issue.

The Chyasaltol inscription is much damaged, and so is the Kumhaletol, Bhadgaon stone. But going through the lines of the Chapagaon inscription it suggests to us that the inscription was issued without Amśuvarmā, which means that he appeared on the scene some time later. If the dūtaka's name were available we should have known about Amśuvarmā whether he had stepped in at this time.

We are not aware of the time when Bhaumagupta died. His name also is missing. The Chyasaltol (Patan) inscription gives us the date but due to damage the writing is blurred as to the dūtaka and other matters. But we may suppose that Śivadeva was left without a prop in this interval.

53. Changu Stele

Amśuvarmā's name is seen for the first time in the Changu Stele. He is just Sāmanta but he is the man to recommend privileges and reliefs to the people of Guṅdimaka village in the Changu area.

His title is Sāmanta but the epithets given to him are grandiose. He is said to have spread the ray of his fame through all directions and his lotus like feet had been brightened by the shining jewels of the heads of the Sāmantas (feudatories) all come to bow to him (svayaśomarichi vistāravyāptāśeṣa dikmaṇḍalena praṇata sāmanta śiromaṇimayūkha vikṣunta charanāravinda dyūtinā). The charter was issued to respect him, and together with him (sākamsamavāyya).

Before the Changu inscription Amśuvarmā's name does not appear. Therefore we can presume that Śivadeva stood on his own even after Bhaumagupta's death.

It was not a fact that Śivadeva's succession was due to Amśuvarmā. It was Bhaumagupta who installed Śivadeva on the throne.

We do not know of Śivadeva's ancestry, nor that of Amśuvarmā. Amśuvarmā's rise to power also seems to be sudden. He might have been a landlord who bore the title of sāmanta. But he was

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not much nearer to the palace until S. 515.

If we knew of the circumstances which pushed him to power we could know much about him.

The inscription is slightly damaged in two places. But the name of the village is known. Dolāśikharasvāmi's forest is there, and it is no wonder that the Koṭṭamaryādā must have been conferred on the village connected with Lord Viṣṇu. The inscription is that of Śivadeva issued along with Śrī Sāmanta Amśuvarmā and also on his advice (vijnāpitena) and feeling mercy on the inhabitants. In the next inscription he is given the title of Mahā . . . . dhirāja. This could be Mahārājādhirāja. Here we have to think that the titles of sāmanta and mahāsāmanta do not make any difference as to their power. The date is missing. That the Koṭṭa embraced the Changu hill site is clear from the fact it pushes the boundary to the south to cover the forest of Dolāśikharasvāmi and in the north it touched the river Manimati (river Manoharā), which means that the Koṭṭa land spread from the village in the valley below the hill on that side. There is an allusion to Bhāraviśramaṇasthāna. Could Bhāravi be the same person as the grandson of Mānadeva, a son of his daughter? Probably Bhāravi had turned a monk and made abode here. But he might not be Mānadeva's grandson.

As it was a koṭṭa DV compares it with *bhudurga* of Kauṭilya, although the inscription does not say so.

This inscription granted certain privileges to the people of Guṅdimaka grama. First, the status of the village was raised and it obtained the dignity of a fort. So chāṭa and bhaṭa could not enter the village. The people were also to enjoy the benefits of agriculture in lands belonging to the two royal houses, Dakṣiṇa rājakula and Puṇḍri rājakula. The royal lands were now absorbed into one plot, though these were allowed to be used separately before. The royal favour not only safeguarded their agriculture over the lands but also allowed them to acquire charcoal, medicinal plants and pine wood. But two objects (plant of cypuras variety), a kind of potherb, and . . . could not be plucked and sold. If they did this in ignorance they should not be molested by the forester but otherwise they were liable to fines. The prohibited plants or trees did not include the 40 pieces of pine wood given to them by royal favour. The king's kith and kin, however, could use the plants and wood as they required. The boundary lines drawn show the forest of Dolāśikhara (Changu), rivers Maṇimatī (Manoharā) and Vāgvatī (Bagmati). It appears that the village was situated in the Changu hill to its south, where the rivers ran parallel. The names of water channels mentioned in the delimitation of boundaries of the fort are unidentifiable in the present context. The royal gift was made with love.

In the absence of the date its place in the chronological order is uncertain but as Amśuvarmā has yet a title of Sāmanta it could be placed anywhere before the two Bhadgaon inscriptions.

Śivadeva gets mild epithets. He is just a repository of many high qualities (aneka guṇaganādhāra).

How Amśuvarmā came to occupy such a position in this inscription? Surely he must have worked his way through to reach this unchallengeable position, and attain a status next to the king's. This could have been possible only on the removal of Bhaumagupta, but this kind of dignity and power was enjoyed so far by none, and now it appears that unlike Vasantadeva or Gaṇadeva, Śivadeva's position had been reduced to that of a puppet. The de facto ruler had overshadowed the de jure one. We shall say more about the Changu inscription in the next paragraph.

54. Bhimsenthan, Patan

This inscription on a stone so far used to cover the opening of the water carrier on the road in front of the temple of Bhimsen is slightly damaged. Its date is 516 Vaiśākhamāsa śukla diva [daśamyām (10th day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha).

It is issued by Śivadeva on the recommendation of Śrī Sāmantāmśuvarmā who has similar epithets as in the preceding record. The name of the village is lost due to damage, but as it says 'in this dranga no officer of the Kuther department shall enter for purposes other than the realisation of the three taxes and Kuther, Mapchoka, Lingvala and Sulla are also not to enter even for actions

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relating to 5 sins. The place addressed is a dranga. The inhabitants were also exempted from taxes on garlic and onion.

From the inscription we know that there was a tax on onion and garlic, and the collection was done by the officers of those who got their living from the Kuther department (Kutherabrityādhikarāṇām). Whether the means of living obtained was paid in cash or kind is not clear.

The three *kara* mentioned are unknown in the Indian inscriptions and occur only in Nepalese counterparts of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Perhaps this might apply to bhaga (share of king's produce), bhoga (tax on consumable goods such as fruits, cattle products, vegetables, etc) and kara, tax in general. But this is just a guesswork.

It is confirmed that Kuther department and their officers collected taxes of any kind. It is also confirmed from the inscription that in the case of 5 sins, all the 4 departments could not intervene and enter the village

55. Banepa

This is a 21 line record inscribed on a slab of stone in the townlet of Banepa. The date is damaged and it shows only the month of Śrāvaṇa. We do not know what the year is, the name of the village also is missing.

Amśuvarmā is still a sāmanta, the charter was issued by Śivadeva along with Śrī Amśuvarmā whose praise is sung profusely. The charter was also issued with Amśuvarmā's consent. He proves no ordinary counsellor of the king. Amśuvarmā was full of knowledge and was famous for learning, and his fame had travelled in all the directions. The charter prohibits the entry of chāṭa and bhaṭa into the area the boundary of which was delimited through the charter. The dūtaka here is Bhogavarmā Gomī. The village was also given the status of a fort. The reference to Dakṣineśvara and Chandreśvara might help us to locate the site. Amśuvarmā bears the title of Mahā . . . dhirāja.

Rājavaṁśī has read mahāmantıyādhirāja for mahā . . . rāja. But the second damaged letter looks like ja and not trya. Still the filling of the gap before rāja is also not definite. How is it that Rājavaṁśī got the cue from the title adopted by Jayasimharāma of the 14th century? But this might not apply to the situation obtaining in ancient Nepal.

Whether it is Mahārājādhirāja or mahāmantryādhirāja it is definite that Amśuvarmā had at this stage emerged as a very powerful figure. King Śivadeva found it necessary to secure his consent in issuing the charter. When we find him in such a strong position with the authority of issuing the charter and when it is said that his consent also had become necessary we can only imagine the extent of power he was enjoying. He was now almost a de facto ruler.

Śivadeva appears in the capacity of the king to issue inscriptions as well as grant favours only upto the Bhadgaon inscription, which he does on the request and recommendation of Amśuvarmā except the Changu inscription which was issued together with Amśuvarmā.

Thereafter Śivadeva plays the role of an announcer and issues the inscriptions. But the favour (prasāda) is granted by Amśuvarmā. Seen in this light Śivadeva issued 8 inscriptions, one as recommended by Bhaumagupta, three by himself and four with the request and recommendation of Amśuvarmā. The rest seven inscriptions were issued by Śivadeva while the favour is said to be granted by Amśuvarmā. One charter, the last of the eight, is issued by Amśuvarmā and Śivadeva only seconded the proposal. The expression used is *Śivadeva Kuśali . . . . . Samājnāpayatividitambhavatubhayatam yathānena . . . . Śrī Mahāsāmantamśuvarmaṇā yusmadanugrahāya . . . . . iti vae prasādikṛta.*

56. Golmadhi, Bhadgaon

The Golmadhitol (Bhadgaon) inscription is of Samvat 517 Jyestha month bright fortnight and 10th lunar day. This is a charter issued by Śivadeva I on the recommendation of Śrī Mahāsāmantamśuvarmā and with his glory. The epithets such as 'famous for his vast and clear merits'.

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The charter is addressed to the inhabitants of the dranga of Makhopring with its tala (Khopva, modern Newari or Bhadgaon). As in the previous charter the officers of Kuthera office (Kuthera-brityadhikaranam) could enter the dranga just for collecting the revenues from the three items but not for any case concerning lekhyadana and 5 sins. We shall discuss lekhyadana in the next few passages.

57. Tulachhen, Bhadgaon

The Tulachhen inscription of Bhadgaon prohibits the entry of men of Kuthera department into privileged area as the preceding inscription does in respect of not only 5 great sins but also the *lekhyadāna*. One author confuses abhilekhya of the Chowkitar inscription of Kramalilah belonging to Gaṇadeva's reign with lekhyadāna of this inscription.

The Tulachhen inscription is similarly worded as the Golmadhi inscription. The only difference is in the name of the village, which is, of course, the same but differently spelt as Khṛpunggrāma, whose inhabitants were living 'since the sun and moon appeared in the sky'. The charter was issued on the advice of Amśuvarmā on Samvat 517 . . . . . śuklapanchamyaṁ.

Vasantadeva who is the author of the first charter addresses the kings of his dynasty calling them *asmadvamśyā*. Similarly Gaṇadeva who appears as a full-fledged king after Vasantadeva mentions in his records (n. 38-43) future kings as belonging to his family (asmadvamśyā). As the family bears no name we cannot take it for granted that the family mentioned is that of the Lichchhavis.

But this is not the case with Śivadeva I who for the first time in the history of the ruling dynasty appears as a monarch of the Lichchhavi race. His name is preceded by an epithet, which qualifies him as the 'banner of the family of the Lichchhavis' (Lichchhavi kulaketu).

From Śivadeva onwards the address is directed to kings in general. But at one time when he talks of anything to be associated with the family the *Lichchhavivaṁśa* is referred to as in the Tokha inscription (n. 58). But any reference to the family is rare in Śivadeva's inscriptions. The epithet Lichchhavi kulaketu was enough to establish the king's lineage.

Narendradeva in one of his inscriptions (Yangahiti, n. 117) instead of showing the epithet 'banner of the Lichchhavi family' (Lichchhavi kulaketu) before his name calls himself through the charter to have decorated by his qualities of head and heart the Lichchhavi dynasty. This is the only occasion when Narendradeva claims to have ornamented and elevated the status of the Lichchhavis with his familial ties.

But why Śivadeva, Udayadeva, Narendradeva and their descendants talk of their Lichchhavi lineage and not kings before Śivadeva I is a question which is difficult to solve. If it were not for the evidence of Jayadeva's Paśupati inscription, the very claim of kings to their Lichchhavi lineage could be easily questioned. But we also must know that Jayadeva produced his genealogy nearly 300 years after Mānadeva, who gives us the first written record on stone of the rulers of Nepal tracing to a king 3 generations earlier to himself and Mānadeva is claimed by Jayadeva as his ancestor. But in Mānadeva's inscription, there is no reference to the Lichchhavi family.

58. Dharmasthali Stele

The first six lines were much damaged and partially read by Gnoli. But Dhanavajra has filled the gap though at a few places he could avoid conjectures. The stone is today damaged. However the copy of the impressions deposited in the Bir Library since a long time in the past gives us well preserve lines, which could be used to advantage andit is surprising how Gnoli could not do it. The name of the village, however, is missing and by no amount of efforts could the same be conjectured. The content of this charter also does not differ from th previous ones: had made the samantas to bow to him. Their crowned heads had brightened his feet, and who had earned a merit on account of his hard labour undergone solving problems of people's welfare and whose valour had spread to all directions and concers of the earth. The dūtaka is Vipravarmma Gomi as in the other one.

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The Budhanilakantha stele (n. 59) which gives letters in prominence and is fully read has a similar content about the entry of Kutherabrttadhikrta who could enter the Panchalikas of Anglavakasa and Narasimha just for the realisation of 3 taxes and not in connection with lekhyadana and five great sins.

Amśuvarmā's titles are fantastic. The last epithet is common with that of the previous inscription (samyak prajāpālana pariśramopārjita śubhrayaśo vyapta dikmandalena). But added to this earlier is a long high sounding epithet describing him as a brave person able to destroy host of enemies in great wars due to experience gained in fields of victory (yathanena prthu samara sampāta nirjayādhigata śauryya pratapahata sakalasatru).

Śivadeva however assumed very simple titles. It is just in line with those adopted earlier such as possessed of eminent qualities (śrutanayavinayagambhīryya) of bravery, patience, politeness. The two inscriptions carry the same date, although they were issued to different places, Samvat 517 prathama Asadha sukla 12 (in the Dharmasthali stele there is diva). This is the intercalated Asadha.

Up to this time Śivadeva issues the charter and makes the gift as recommended by Amśuvarmā. In this inscription, however, Śivadeva announces that Amśuvarmā has made the gift. But the old form returns soon after in the Budhanilakantha, Satungal and Tokha inscriptions, which incorporate the charters issued by Śivadeva as recommended by Amśuvarmā. From the Dhara charter it appears that Amśuvarmā also could prevent the entry of the officers of kuther department for lekhyadāna and panchāparādha affairs and could regulate their movement accordingly.

59. Budhanilakantha

The Budhanilakantha inscription is the last of the series since the Chowkitar stele of Sam. 552 which talk of 5 great sins and lekhyadana. Hereafter these completely disappear and themes change.

In the Budhanilakantha inscription the *strikara* (स्त्रीकर) in the 10th lines hould be read samuchitastrikara. Stri (स्त्री) is the mistake of the inscriber and such mistakes are very common in the inscriptions. The tax on a woman cannot otherwise be conceived. This is definitely a reference to the usual 3 tax system.

The dūtaka is Vipravarma Gomi as in no. 63 while in no. 62 there is Bhogavarma Gomi who is also a dūtaka in no. 61.

For the first time we hear of Panchali from Budhanilakantha inscription. Two Panchalis are mentioned in the inscriptions, one Anglavakasa and the other Narasimha. What these Panchalis are? The first word is unknown in Indian lexicons and vocabularies but the word Narasimha is of Sanskrit and seems to follow after the name of a deity whose temple perhaps lay to the north of the Nilakantha sanctuary.

60. Satungal Stele

This is an address by Śivadeva I to the families and headmen of Kadung grāma (village) on the recommendation of Śrī Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā. The king has epithets usually given to him (niratiśayaguṇa samudayod bhasita) and Amśuvarmā unlike in the past 3 inscriptions is described as śaradaghana śasānka mukhena śatru sankhyā pramita bala parakramena. This epithet can be compared in brevity as equal to the earlier inscription of Śivadeva I, where Amśuvarmā designated as Samanta is mentioned. The expression etadgauravadyusmad anukampayacha is there. The epithet is simple, although he enjoys an elevated position of Mahasamanta as in the preceding records. It is dated Sam. 519 intercalary 1st Pausa, bright fortnight and 12th day.

The object of the charter is to prevent the inhabitants of Ferangakotta and others from forcibly stopping 'you, the inhabitants of Kadung village while going without noise into the forest anywhere for collecting woods, grass and leaves and returning with these, and also to prohibit taking other action such as wresting from others and using scythe, dagger, axe and woods (dātra kattaraka kuthara kāṣṭadyākṣepa). The dūtaka is Vārtaputra Guṇachandra. The stele is traced in a village by name Satungal about 5 miles west of Kathmandu.

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61. Tokha

This is the inscription of Tokha, the only one discovered at this place. The object of the charter is not clear as the first 6 lines are totally worn away. In the demarcation of the boundary the word *tilamakam* often occurs. This word looks like one belonging to North Indian group of languages but it is hardly noticeable in the dictionary or literature. In the inscription it is used in the sense of a canal or water carrier or irrigation channel. The dūtaka is Vipravarmā Gomi.

62. Dharampur

The Dharampur inscription is available in a much damaged condition except the latter half portion. It talks of two benefits (prasada) but it is not clear what these are. The mallakara also finds place. It is dated Samvat 520 Magha sukla 12 and the dūtaka is Vartta Bhogachandra. Dharampur is a village by the side of the main road to Budhanilakantha.

63. Khopasi

The Khopasi inscription treads a new ground. It is a charter issued by Śivadeva but Amśuvarmā had acted by informing the king and with his consent to ban the entry of all the offices into the village of Kurpāsi. In similar fashion Amśuvarmā in the Dhapasi inscription with Śivadeva being informed and giving his consent prohibits the entry of Kuther and Lingval departments into the village of Pranalidimaka in respect of any matters concerning 5 great sins. These departments could enter the village in respect of the matters involving collection of 3 taxes. Here we find one thing as distinct from the provision of the previous charters in respect of the departments whose entry was banned. Now for the same objective the entry of Kuther and Lingval departments was banned. It is beyond our knowledge to say anything as to why the Lingval department was associated with Kuther for the same objective, which was denied so long to it.

The Khopasi stele, the only stele so far available in the Panauti area is dated S. 520, where Sri Mahasamanta Amśuvarmā gets the most eloquent epithets of praise in the charter issued by Śivadeva I himself styled as 'one who causes joy to the Lichchhavi family' and whose qualities were like an 'unmeasurable wealth'. The benefits granted by the charter issued on the recommendation of Amśuvarmā(na) were conferred on the people by Amśuvarmā, on the consent of the king, which the king proclaimed in this charter. Amśuvarmā is given the following epithets:

स्वगुणमणिमयूखालोक ध्वस्ता ज्ञान तिमिरेण भगवच्चरणपङ्कज प्रणामानुष्ठान तात्पर्य्योपायात् तायति हितश्रेयसास्वभुजयुगवलोत्खाताखिलवैरिवर्ग्गेण

which is the longest high sounding praise ever showered on him.

The charter is addressed to the kutumbis of Kurpāsi (modern Khopasi), a village and its object is to ban the entry of all departments of state. It empowered the local landlord (svatalasvami) to exercise power, where any such occasion arose. For all actionable matters there will be only 1 gate for these people. But during the gate opening ceremony and Kailāsa festival each of the kutumbi was to contribute 50 pieces of white chalks. The dūtaka is Deśavarmā Gomi.

To conclude, one point which DV has casually mentioned seems to be uncertain. He has identified *panchāśat śuklantadasya* as 1/50th of the total produce as king's share omitting to take into account the following word, *śuklan tadasya* which might mean also 50 pieces of ? as in the inscription of Amśuvarmā, where a white chalk piece is presumed. Does śukla mṛttikā mean white earth?

Does Kailāsa mean small upland called net, Kailasa rising before the western gate of Pasupatinatha? Is this yatra festival related to this Kailasa? The damaged part after Kailasa is causing confusion. The reference to the door opening ceremony is unknown. It is not known, to which temple or palace the reference was intended to apply.

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64. Dhapasi

This is the inscription found in a village called Dhapasi, about 2 miles north west of Kathmandu. Issued by Śivadeva I to announce that Amśuvarmā had approached the king and obtained his permission, the charter granted some benefits to the villagers of Pranalidimaka. The benefits gave them immunity from the entry of Kuthera and Lingvala offices for the purpose of actions in connection with the five sins. The officers of these departments, however, could enter the village to collect the general taxes. The date here is 526 Vaisakha, bright fortnight, 5th day and the dūtaka is Lachchha Gomi.

It appears from this inscription that both Kuthera and Lingvala enjoyed similar authority as to the five sins and collection of the three taxes.

In this inscription Amśuvarmā gets choicest epithets of praise in the same length as in the last two or three inscriptions.

65. Lele

There is a village in a valley just outside the fringe of the Nepal valley interspersed by a ridge, which is called Lele famous for its annual celebration at Sarasvati pond (pond of the goddess of learning) where this stone lies well preserved. The date is 526 Asvina month, bright fortnight, but without the day. Here a new word *bappāpādānudhyāta* (meditation on the feet of his father) is added before Śivadeva's name with also the usual small phrases of praise. Even Amśuvarmā who simply seconds the grant is given comparatively short phrases of admiration, which is chirasthitanimittamanuparata puṇya santānopachīyamāna viśada kirti. The object of the charter is to grant certain areas or lands to various social and religious gosthikas and salas, which were to draw their share of grains in terms of manika. The witness is Pratihara Lachchha Gomi. This person was elevated to the post of pratihara anytime between the date of the last inscription and the present one.

The institutions mentioned are Vāsudeva Brāhmana Goṣṭhikā, Āryaśālā, Madhyaśālā, Pradīpagosthikā, Paśchimaśālā, Pānīya goṣṭhikā, Brāhmaṇagosthika, Mallayuddhagosthika, Dhūpagosthika, Archāgosthika, Vaditragosthika, Indragosthika, Uttara (north) śālā, Dhvaja (flag) gosthika, Praṇālī (water conduit) gosthika, Brāhmaṇa sanatthyagosthika, Hiddhumaśālā, Prabahaṇa (cart) gosthika, Archanīya (the deity) gosthika, other Pānchālīs of Chudikeśvara and a few others.

Lele is known as Lembati grama in the inscription. This is the last inscription of Śivadeva issued at the request of Amśuvarmā. With this, the old chapter with all its features seems to have disappeared. Managrha which was the royal palace from Vasantadeva to Śivadeva and from where the charters were issued till now is not totally forgotten because it is mentioned in Harigaon inscription of Sam. 30, but it has no seal of the ruler, although Jisnugupta's puppets continued to occupy it till his son was overthrown in Samvat 65. Meanwhile a new palace structure had come up called Kailasakuta bhavana and the charters were issued from here as they used to be from Managrha. The old era also was given the goby after the Nabahil stele dated 500+?. From now on begins a new era, which gives the date 29 to the first available inscription of Amśuvarmā. This era continues upto the end of the ancient period. Amśuvarmā used the new era in his Bungmati stele inscription.

The Lele inscription is the last available inscription of Śivadeva where he is associated with Amśuvarmā. This incorporates a charter, śilapaṭṭaka śāsana, which is issued by Amśuvarmā with the consent of Śivadeva (asmadanumodanayā). So long we saw Amśuvarmā making a gift or extending a favour with regard to the banning of the entry of Kuther or Kuther and Lingval departments. Here however the charter itself is issued by Amśuvarmā for the distribution or allocation of grain stuffs to different Goṣṭhikās (institutions). This is the first evidence of Amśuvarmā acting on behalf of the king to have used the royal prerogative of issuing a charter. Hereafter Śivadeva was to disappear from the scene and his association with Amśuvarmā also ended.

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Goṣṭhī or Goṣṭhikā

Goṣṭhī means certainly an association as the Lele inscription has it. But a gosthi of a new house seems to be odd. The view is put forward by an Indian scholar. Equally odd is the proposition drawn from this record that a panchali had a building or establishment which was known by the same name. If I understand him rightly L. Gopal thinks that the real meaning of goṣṭhi as an association becomes clear from this passage. But I fail to understand how L. Gopal found confirmation of his view of Gosthi as association from a single word in this inscription. In fact the Gosthi here referred to was that of Navagṛha i.e. Deopatan fort and not of anything else. It does not at all talk of a Gosthi of a new house.

Goṣṭhi in Sanskrit means an assembly (स्त्री गावोऽनेकातिष्ठन्ति अत्र । स्था+घञ् अर्थेक ६ त० अम्वाम्वेति पत्कम् । सभायां वा परिषदि) where people derive pleasure by conversation. Its substitutes are आलस्य मदमोहौ च चापलं गोष्ठि रेवचा स्तन्धता सभिमानित्वं तथाऽत्यागित्वमेव च which means if people are denied the privilege of assembly, they will get lazy, vainglorious, fickle-minded and selfish. But our Goṣṭhi is something different. Chānakya in his *nīti* says that only by associating together at a place the people can think of how to collectively act in their own interest for a particular objective.

The Goṣṭhis in the Lele inscription embrace groups engaged in various fields of social activities. As we have seen the Goṣṭhis receiving donations from the state, it brings to mind also types of activities or profession which bound the elements of the body together. The gosthis were social groups and they had social functions.

The Vāsudeva Brāhmaṇa gosthika of Simhamandapa was formed by a group of people who were devotees of Vāsudeva, Lord Kṛṣṇa. There was a medical society called Ārogya śālā, and this was probably a voluntary organisation of the people looking after those suffering from ill health. They got the largest donation from the state, 200 mānikā, which was absolutely in conformity to the need for resources a medical care unit demanded. We do not know what task the Pūrva śālā, Paśchina śālā and Uttara śālā performed. Literally a śālā might mean a residential quarter. Probably they were like the inns built in different quarters. The Pūrva śālā is repeated in respect of donations. The Pradīpa Goṣṭhikā is also mentioned twice. Their work cannot be defined. But they must have been charged with the work of arranging lamps on festive occasions. The first gets 60 mā, the fourth largest donation of the state. We have a Pānīya gosthi, Paulam Pānīya Goṣṭhi, both undertaking to distribute drinking water. Perhaps both of them were concerned with providing drinking water in summer to the thirsty. They get 40 ma. The Praṇāli gosthi was to fulfil the responsibility of constructing and repairing water conduits, which supplied drinking water to villages within the draṅga. The Mallayuddha gosthi managed the affairs of wrestling bouts and arranged matches for public show in order to provide them entertainment. The Mallayuddha gosthikās were also twice mentioned as the Pradīpa gosthikā. The Brāhmaṇa gosthikā had formed their gosthi in order to serve their group interest. The Dhvaja gosthikā took charge of flags or banners also for festive occasions. Two more such Goṣṭhikās are mentioned. There were special Goṣṭhikās of Brahmanas as it goes. A Goṣṭhikā which served the needy and poor was called sānāthya. We have 2 gosthikas in the name of Indra. There was a group of players of musical instruments called Vāditra gosthikā. Maddhyavaśālā, a gosthi, is also unknown but could be Mādhavaśālā, connected with Lord Viṣṇu under a different name. It gets in the record the largest donation, mā 75. Hiddhima śālā is another goṣṭhi, Hiddhima is also unknown and we do not know of its character. We have Pravaṇa Goṣṭhikā. This arranged transport facilities for travellers. The Archanīya gosthika took care of materials used in times of worshipping the deities in temples. The Dhūpa Goṣṭhikā supplied incense for burning at the altar of different deities and monasteries. Himaśālā for a cold house might be guessed. It probably may mean cold storage, but how can it be qualified by hid? The amount of contribution it gets is 10 mā. It comes in the same category as Vāditra Goṣṭhika or Dhvaja Goṣṭhikā. There is also a contribution of mā 10 to Visveśvara who can be no other than Lord Śiva. The word gosthikā is missing. But Visveśvara is surely the Goṣṭhi connected with Śiva's temple like Indra goṣṭhikā or Vāsudeva or Mādhava goṣṭhikā.

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There is archāgoṣṭhi. Archā means worship as well as image or idol. Was it a Goṣṭhi conducting worship on behalf of individuals wanting to perform it or was it a body in charge of idols? When we talk of idols, we are reminded of a body or guild of idol makers or sellers also. What character the Goṣṭhi bore is not clear. It might well be a guild of idol makers if we exclude the worship aspect of it, because the Goṣṭhi for worship looks odd, because every individual performs worship of the deities on his own. But if it refers to idols in the making archāgoṣṭhi might be considered to have been a body of artists who made images. They were guilds of sculpturists.

Because of the letter being indistinct it is difficult to say whether it is Mādhvava or Mādhyava śālā, the word occurring in the beginning of the 8th line of the Lele inscription. If it is associated with madhu, any sweets or honey, the meaning might be different. As it comes after ārogyaśālā, health resort, it might carry the meaning of a Goṣṭhi distributing energy giving foods. But it is a far-fetched meaning.

But more than reading it as a mistake mādhyavaśālā might be taken as the house of a particular Vedic school, that of Mādhyandiniśākhā (branch) of Yajurveda. It might have been connected with the middle oblation ceremony. The Goṣṭhi here, probably, was conducting the ceremonies collectively through special agents.

Whenever aid in general was required for the poor and needy the Sānāthya gosthi had its responsibility. The fields contributing the amount of grain all lay within the boundaries of Lembaṭi draṅga, which was a prosperous area with a flourishing market. The activities of the goṣṭhikās were confined to this draṅga. But it was probably a model for other villages and draṅgas as well. The gosthikas were collective bodies. They were not individually concerned. The members were not members of the same family nor they belonged to a single part of the area. But they had a common purpose and were engaged in common activities. There is no doubt that for every type of activity which was social in character there was a Goṣṭhi or Goṣṭhikā, which brought different persons in a single camp for a common aim. As we know it from the inscription the activities were of various nature but the aim was to serve the society collectively. The Government came to their assistance donating fields yielding a particular measure of grain, the proceeds of which were used for the purpose and aim of the goṣṭhi concerned.

But Goṣṭhi in the context of the present day guthi was a committee of management of certain temples or family deities or of donations for certain mortuary rites. These were to continue for eternity through the aid received from the land property assigned for the purpose. Those who benefited out of this were certainly the descendants of those who were named in the first guthi formed. As the practice goes at the moment the descendants perform their duties in turn one after the other. Goṣṭhis in Lele inscription were of various kinds, some had a priestly character and some were those of instrument players, and it seems that they were associations collectively performing their professional duties.

The prototype of Goṣṭhi coming down to our age appears for the first time in the Bhasmeśvara inscription, where the pratihāra Dhruvasaṅgha varttā donates bhūmi 400 with a levy of 400 mā in the south of Yupagrama and hands it over to his own kinsmen (*svajanagosthikādhinām kṛtva*) to do the repair work and kāraṇapūjā of the five Śiva lingas he set up for all times to come.

There are other inscriptions giving Gosthikas. The Chyasaltol inscription mentions Nārāyaṇadeva kula goṣṭhikā, daśami goṣṭhikā and Lopring grāmendra goṣṭhikā.

In the Naksal Narayanachaur inscription of Kathmandu (n. 143) we have Taiteriyaśākhā goṣṭhi and Svāmī Kārtikeya Goṣṭhi. Those who belonged to the Taiteriyaśākhā school of the Yajurveda had their own Goṣṭhi. They formed a group by themselves. This was a Brahmanical group linked to Yajurveda (black).

Trikara (Three Taxes)

The *trikara* is mentioned in several inscriptions of the time of Śivadeva in connection with the order allowing government officers to enter villages or pāñchālikās for the collection of the 3 taxes (त्रिकर) and not for *lekhyadāna* and *pañchāparādha*. The expression is the same in all the charters or

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the inscriptions, which are of (1) Patan (Bhimsenthān), (2) Golmadhitol (Bhadgaon), (3) Tulachchhetol (Bhadgaon), (4) Dharmasthali, (5) Budhanilakantha and (6) Dhāpāsi. The *trikara* i.e. the three taxes must be very important as the *chāṭa-bhaṭa* or others concerned could not go for investigating the five serious crimes but they could go for the realisation of 3 taxes. But what are these taxes?

Trikara is unknown in Indian inscriptions. Dhanavajra[17] argues that *bhāga* (agricultural tax), *bhoga* (tax on cattle) and *kara* (tax on trade) constituted the 3 *kara*. It is much difficult to say if Vajracharya's meaning of the *trikara* is correct. Earlier we have suggested that this should be taken to mean a tax on land, a tax on goods of consumption and a tax in general applying to commodities. I have put forward my own alternative to Dhanavajra, and I think that this is more reasonable. Whether it is *trikara* or *kara hiranyadi pratyāya* this is qualified by *samuchita*, which means that these were the basic and proper taxes realised by the king.

Lekhyadāna

The Abhilekhya of the Chowkitar inscription of Vasantadeva can be compared with Lekhyadāna, which appears in some of the inscriptions of Śivadeva. Lekhyadāna and panchāparādha come together in the two inscriptions of Bhadgaon dated S. 517, Dharmasthali stele S. 517 and Budhanilakantha S. 517. The charters in these conceded freedom for the inhabitants mentioned therein from intervention of the office holders of the Kuthera department. There are other records, which put kuthera and others together. As we have already explained pañchāparādha in the preceding passages it is necessary we consider Lekhyadāna at this stage.

Lekhyadāna literally means a sale or gift executed in writing. Yājnavalkya has explained the procedure in detail. In *Vyavahārādhyāya* there is a *Lekhya* prakaraṇa, where a procedure has been provided for a relation between a creditor (dhanika) and the man who receives the debt (ṛṇi). The procedure requires names of the creditor and debtor to be written on the paper executed by any one of them. Narada thinks that the document is of two kinds, one written by the debtor himself and the other by a third party with or without the witness. After this was prepared there follow full particulars of date and the names of the dhanika (uttamaṛṇa) and ṛṇi (adhavarṇa), their father's name, their caste, their gotra and the amount to be borrowed. For unquestioned validity they have got to be written in the deed paper. The witness also will have to attest in his own writing by the expression 'I, so and so, son of so and so am a witness'. The writer has to write at the end 'I, son of so and so, have written'.

According to Bṛhaspati the document in writing becomes essential because people have a tendency to forget things within six months of happening and therefore god had created writing.

Bṛhaspati further says that where the creditor and debtor are themselves writers, the document does not lose its validity even if witnesses (Sākṣi) die (vyavaharatatva) or are not available when required.

But to Bṛhaspati the witnesses are very important because it is they who in all cases, written or unwritten, provide evidence for a correct decision in cases of dispute.

Bṛhaspati also envisages two categories of lekhya, the śāsana and Jānapada. The latter applies to the document which has been signed by the king or bears the royal seal. This is called Jānapada vyavasthāpātra.

The document is subjected to scrutiny by the authority on the basis of valid and correct writing, which means that it should be properly worded and bear the signature of witnesses apart from that of the creditor and debtor. But in the event of the witness being absent the decision must be based on inner vision (divyena) of the judge. About the particulars of writing Yājnavalkya says: Ubhayābhyarthitenaitānmayahyāmuka sunanā likhitam likhitamhyamukeneti lekharkotetelikhet (V. 88).

In the cases outlined in verses 91 and 92, the document loses its validity. The verse 91 states that if a document is written in foreign country, if it is not factual, if it is marred by unclean or unclear letters due to defective ink or stolen or torn asunder, its validity is lost and the creditor is advised to have another document prepared as replacement. In the verse 92 the document of a doubtful character is

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rejected. A partially recovered debt has to be recorded on the back of the document. The redocumentation of a deed can be obtained by mutual consent.

When there is a king's seal stamped on the document its validity is not questioned, and it is called royal seal. Manu says in this connection:

Rājnah svahasta saṁyukta saṁyuktaṁ svamudrāchinhitaṁ tathā /
Ṛājakīya smṛtam lekhyaṁ sarvasvārthesu sākṣimat //

This is about the debt contracted in the words of Yājnavalkya, Manu and Nārada.

The sale of land has a different procedure. The sale went through a procedure in which the king's seal was needed. The sale record was also kept in the palace. But Dhanavajra's quotation from Yajnavalkya is not applicable to sale of land between two persons.

The quotation is meant for a gift of land by the king himself. Lekhyadāna, however, might relate to the creditor-debtor relationship.

In respect of the king's land donation Yajnavalkya has two verses 318-319 in Rajadharma prakarana (13) of Adharadhaya.

Datvā bhūmi nibandhani vā kṛtvā lekhyaṁtukārayet /
Āgāmibhadra nṛpati parijnānāya pārthiva // (V. 318)

The king was to create a document describing the nature of land and premises involved for the knowledge of future kings. Further, the whole thing was to be either written on a piece of cloth or engraved on a copper plate bearing the king's seal. The document should not only mention the king but also his family and forefathers:

Patre vā tāmrapatrevā svamudropari abhilekhyātmano
chinhitam vaniśyānatmanāmcha mahipati (V. 319)
Pratigraha parimanam dānachchhedropavarṇaṁ
Svabusta kalasaṁṛannaṁ śāsanam karayet sthiram (V. 320)

The land grant record should bear in detail everything about the land, the boundaries, the yield and the amount involved and responsibilities if any to be borne by the donee.

In our inscriptions Kuthera and other departments are prohibited to enter a village or dranga for the investigation of cases involving 5 great crimes and Lekhyadāna. But by the use of the expression lekhyadāna, did the scribe mean the royal land gifted? Or did he also include subjects like credit and debt? In any case we might suggest that the department might not interfere in both the cases.

But they could enter for the realisation of the three taxes, which could not be abandoned in any case.

Babhruvarmā and Other Varmans

In the inscriptions of Gaṇadeva available in Balambu-Kisipidi area the dūtaka is Babhruvarmā who figures as a departed person, uncle of Deśavarmma in the lines inscribed on the pedestal of the Mātrikā deities near the lost Sikubahi (date S. 495). Babhruvarmā has no titles, but Brahmuṅ Prasādagupta who is stated to have been administering the area in the former inscriptions is called Vārta.

Persons bearing the titles of Varmā are found as dūtaka in the Tchapaligaon inscription of king Gangadeva and several inscriptions of Śivadeva except the Bhimsenthan inscription (Patan) where Rāmaśīla vārtā is a witness. The other dūtakas in the rest have in their name as Gomī or nothing of it and some have Vartā before their names. For some time Bhogavarmā Gomī figures as dūtaka in the

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inscriptions (Banepa, two Bhadgaon steles) followed by Vipravarmmā Gomī (Dharmasthali, Budhanilakantha, Tokha) and then come Deśavarmmā Gomi (Khopasi), Lachchha Gomi (Dhapasi), who became pratihāra later (Lele). In between, however, come Vārtā Bhogachandra (Dharampur) and Vārtaputra Guṇachandra (Satungal). Deśavarmmā Gomi was the nephew of Babhruvarmā who was a dūtaka in some of the inscriptions of Gaṇadeva. But all these were not officers of highest ranks as Ravigupta in earlier inscriptions or Mahābalādhyakṣa Vindusvāmi in Śivadeva's inscription of Sam. 512 where Śrī Bhaumagupta appears in the same capacity as his predecessors just as dūtakas. But Amśuvarmā's case was different.

We do not know if all these people having varmā surname belonged to the family of Amśuvarmā or they had adopted the suffix just to show that they belonged to Kṣatriya caste. However the matter does not seem to be of caste only. These persons were in important position. They surely functioned as dūtakas. But they are also given high titles. Obviously they belonged to Amśuvarmā's group and might be his kinsmen.

It appears that Kulapravīra, the chief of army staff, has gone out of the scene. Now as Śivadeva's reign comes to be associated with Amśuvarmā the vārtās and Gomīs come to the fore. The earlier inscriptions of Śivadeva do not show the dūtaka's name because of the damage on the stones. But since the Changu inscription when Amśuvarmā plays a significant role being the royal advisor, the dūtakas like Rāmaśila vārtā and Bhogavarmmā and Vipravarmmā appear as persons of distinction (n. 53-57). The old names have totally disappeared, and new names have taken their place. Such is the story we have to deal with in the days of Śivadeva as he reigned and Amśuvarmā ruled.

Amśuvarmā and His Supporters' Titles Compared

Amśuvarmā does not adopt titles like Mahāpratihāra and Sarvvadandanayaka in common with persons of his importance like Ravigupta and Bhaumagupta. Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Kramalilah also goes without such titles (Chowkitar and Paśupati inscriptions). But the mahāsāmanta might be a title even equal in status to that of a ruler as it appears in the genealogy given by Samudrasena in his Nirmand (a Tahsil of the Kangra Dt.) copper plate (date unknown), where all the kings of the dynasty bear these titles simultaneously.[18] We do not know whether Samudrasena's kingdom enjoyed a sovereign status or not. But the dynasty of the Nirmand C.P. might have been sovereign rulers. Kramalilah's position, however, is of a definite nature. He pays obeisance to Rāmadeva by referring to his reign in the Śivalinga set up by him in the Paśupati area (on the Śivalinga a little to the west of Āryaghat bridge by the side of the ascending road to Mṛgasthali). His name also figures in other inscriptions as no. 2 in the hierarchy of ministers (Chowkitar stele and others). We have also to consider the case of Mahārāja Vipravarmā who appears as a dūtaka in the Bhatuwal stele of Amśuvarmā. The title must have been granted by the Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā. Another case of a similar character in the case of Amśuvarmā is offered by the title of Mahārājādhirāja in one of the inscriptions of Śivadeva who calls himself just Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja. Thus we should not allow ourselves to be misled by analogous titles evident in North Indian inscriptions. We have seen how the sovereign ruler and his minister, both of them, assume the title of Mahārāja. The title has to be examined according to the context.

Gomīs

A Gomī is an upāsaka, a lay disciple of the arhat, the Buddhist monk. But in Nepal mostly non-Buddhists appear with this title after their name. Gomī is not an official title but it was indicative of respectability. Gomī has another meaning which has to do with cattle rearing. But this meaning is out of place here.

As we have suggested the surname Gomī in the sense of respectability appeared after the name of influential persons. For the first time we hear of a Gominī from a Deopatan inscription. This belonged to Bhaumagupta's mother and Bhaumagupta was the future chief minister who functioned in

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that capacity in Gaṇadeva's time.

Many persons who called themselves Gomī are dūtakas in Śivadeva's inscriptions such as one Gomī in Patan (Chyasaltol) inscription (n. 51), Bhogavarmā Gomī in Banepa and two Bhadgaon inscriptions (n. 55-56), Vipravarmā Gomi in Dharmasthali and Budhanilakantha (n. 57, 59) and Tokha (n. 61) inscriptions. Lastly Lachchha Gomī appears in Dhapasi and Lele inscriptions. It appears that they had formed a class by themselves. They could have familial ties. But they were extremely powerful persons who were supporters of Amśuvarmā and helped him to seize power.

The most important of them was Vipravarmā who appears with the title of Mahārāja in the inscription of Bhatuwal (S. 31 intercalary Pausa). Bhogavarmā who had also in Amśuvarma's reign been given the title of Mahāsāmanta had given up the surname. Vipravarma obtained the title of Maharaja in the inscription as a reward for services rendered to the co-ruler.

Vārta

There were other office holders also. We have already made a statement on the Brahmuṅ who was a local administrator. A Vārta generally meant a salary (*bṛtti*) holder of the king who earned his living by the salary provided by the king. But the Vārta is an officer, and not an ordinary salary holder.

According to Amarakośa bṛtti means 'livelihood'. But our Vārta should not be confused with those who just lived on the king's bṛtti. He was a high ranking person.

The Vārta is also called vṛttistha, who lives on bṛtti (*vṛttaye tiṣṭhati iti*). Several Vārtas appear in our inscriptions as dūtakas. The local administrator in Chowkitar, Balambu, Kisipidi and Satungal inscriptions was Prasadagupta whose official title is Vārta (n. 39-43). Śivadeva's several inscriptions show Vārtas as dūtakas. Ramasila Varta is a dutaka in the inscription of Bhimsenthan, Patan (n. 54). Perhaps the dūtaka of Dharampur stele Vārta Bhogachandra was a relation of Vārta Guṇachandra (n. 67). The post of a Vārta was not ordinary. Vārta was a high ranking officer. One Guṇachandra who calls himself a Vārtaputra, a son of Vārta, is a dūtaka in one of Śivadeva's inscriptions (n. 60). The Sūryaghat inscription shows that Mānadeva's own son-in-law Devalābha held the post of a Vārta (n. 18). Svāmi Vārta who was a supporter of Bhaumagupta in king Gaṇadeva's time could issue an inscription in praise of Śankara-Nārāyaṇa, the deity combining the two of the trinity in one image (n. 45).

Babhruvarmā was the last of the Vārtas who had constructed a water conduit for the supply of drinking water to passersby in the reign of Amśuvarmā in S. 45 (n. 88).

Kings as Dharmaguru and Guru

The charters of Śivadeva while requesting the future kings to grant protection to the royal favours, the objective defined, stress that the latter should regard them as gifts of dharmaguru or guru and the maintenance and preservation should be based on the principle of dharmadhikāra of dharma. The expression *dharmaguru* and *guru* starts since the time of Gaṇadeva. It is common with all the charters of Śivadeva and Amśuvarmā. The future kings are called as maddurdham bhūbhuja bhavitarastairapi dharmagurubhi guru kṛta prasādānuvartibhi, which means those who obey or respect or follow up the favour or gift made by the teachers of morality and prescribed conduct and teachers and they are asked to maintain them (pālanīya). But all these expressions vanish with Amśuvarmā as his regime ends. On the other hand since Jiṣṇugupta there comes the expression *pūrvarāja kṛta prasādanuvartibhi* (n. 97). Thenceforth the kings are also asked to protect the gift which was 'an act of virtue created by us' (puṇyādhikāra). Wordings are different but they are intended to create the same impression. The Balambu inscription (n. 102) calls the future kings dharmādhikāranupāla nayādrtairbhvityam, i.e., the protectors of gift who maintain the gift with respect. The Silāpaṭṭaka was dharmādhikāra (act of virtue). The dharmapeksaya occurs in the Thankot inscription of Jiṣṇugupta (n. 106). The charter wants to protect the gift being grateful to the king who issues it and in consideration of dharma. The

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charter of Viṣṇugupta (n. 107) follows the same pattern but states pūrvarāja gurutayā i.e. acknowledging the greatness of the past kings instead of krtajnataya.

These were the considerations expected to prevail upon the king while granting protection to the gift. The dharmādhikāra comes more often in one form or another. In the inscription of Deopatan (Kasaintole) future kings are asked to honour the pledge keeping in view the greatness of the king issuing the charter (dharmādhikāratayā). But in other inscriptions they are just asked to maintain the objective of the charter because it came from a king, they were supposed to undertake the work of maintenance out of respect for the benevolent ruler of the past (n. 121). In a different wording, pūrvarāja prasāda saṁraksaṇa pravaṇa mānaireva to protect the previous king's gift (prasāda).

The Indian inscriptions express the same sentiment while they have to seek protection of the gift they made from future kings. Every king wants that land grant or any glorious work he leaves behind must endure. We have already said how inscriptions of the later Imperial Gupta period quoted Vyāsa. This practice was continued not only in the later Gupta period but also in the post Gupta period. But there is no direct appeal to kings to protect the prasāda (gift) of the charter which would in any way go without reference to Vyāsa.

The Nepalese way of calling the first king as dharma guru or just guru and appealing to the royal authorities coming in future without quoting Vyāsa is not in evidence in any of the Indian records. Even the quotation of Vyāsa or Vachana does not come directly like an appeal to future kings but put in such a way as to apply to all the people. It is an expression of a proven hope that everybody will protect the gift.

It was true that the king was the de jure ruler of the country, but at times, there emerged a de facto ruler who governed the country overshadowing the king. He might not adopt any official titles. He was nevertheless a man wielding real state authority. There are 4 individuals in our history who could possess such authority. There were Ravigupta who held the official position of *Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka* and *mahāpratihāra*, and Śrī Kramalilah who was just *mahāsāmanta* and *mahārāja* in Vasantadeva's reign. At the last stage both of them were associated with the king himself as authorities issuing the charter (n. 29). But Ravigupta functioned also as a dūtaka in this inscription and in all the preceding ones, whereas Kramalilah did not. The other two figures about whom we are going to say later did never appear as dūtakas. Persons of lesser status acted in that capacity in their time.

The most important man of the time in such situation was Śrī Mahāsāmanta and later just Śrī Amśuvarmā and at the third and last stage as king, Mahārājādhirāja. As mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā was the person who had kept his king under his thumb. Śivadeva, the monarch on the throne, issues his inscriptions with his consent and grace and sometimes with him. The Changu inscription (n. 53) is the first record to speak of him as a great personality, to whom the feudatories paid respects and whose fame was spread far and wide (*svayaśomarıchi vistārāśeṣa dikman pālinā praṇata sāmanta śiromanī*). Śivadeva on his part is just a repository of high qualities (*prasastāneka guṇaganādhāra*) and Śivadeva issues the charter along with him (*sākamsamavāyya*). The Banepa inscription has similar epithets for Amśuvarmā, and in addition his learning and knowledge are also praised and this is issued on consultation with him and with his permission.

Other inscriptions are not issued with Amśuvarmā's partnership but his recommendation was essential when charters are issued, and it was so done with his consent and to enhance his glory. But since the Khopasi inscription it was Amśuvarmā who issues the inscriptions, and it was Śivadeva's duty to support them. The 13 inscriptions follow this pattern. But all these are enough. I find it difficult to understand why the expression *sākam samavāyya* appearing in the earlier two inscriptions was dropped for some time in favour of retaining only *vijnapitena etad gauravād*. But it should not make any difference, because Amśuvarma's dominant role is evident in every case, and at the last stage Śivadeva allowed Amśuvarmā to issue the inscriptions though it was done with his consent.

Śivadeva was completely under Amśuvarmā's tutelage. He was a weak monarch, while Amśuvarmā possessed a domineering personality. Amśuvarmā kept him under his thumb. At a later stage he was relegated to the background, and his name ceased to appear in records. The finale of the story

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was that the circumstances had driven him to renunciation making way for his junior partner to rise as the sole ruler and king of the country. Amśuvarmā had the pride to become the first ruler to issue coins in his name and on his own.

66. Na-bahil, Patan

The Jyabahal inscription of Samvat 535 and the Na-bahil inscription of Samvat 500+?, both charters which were hitherto attributed to the period of Amśuvarmā, do not seem to find a suitable place in the chronological arrangement. As the Jyabahal stone bears the date year Sam. 535 it must come in line with those preceding Amśuvarmā's name which, however, is missing here but the word *vadeva* in the first line might suggest a ruler of the Lichchhavi family, either Śivadeva or another person. The Na-bahil inscription issued by Śrī Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā goes without any reference to Śivadeva as often used in other inscriptions coming earlier. How these inscriptions came to occupy the present positions, one after the Sundhara (S. 34 prathamāṣāḍha) and another following it. Of course, the Na-bahil stone has not been properly assessed in regard to its date year. But as it was issued by Amśuvarmā with the old era it has certainly its importance in regard to its place in the chronological order. We also come to know from this inscription that Amśuvarmā had used the old era at the initial stage of his regnal career. In the same way the Jyabahal inscription must follow the Dhapasi stone of S. 526 but might precede the Na-bahil inscription, which in any case must get a position prior to Bungmati stone of S. 29 of the late era. It appears that the Na-bahil charter issued by Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā was the first record issued by him as he did the Bungmati and the following charters. Although the title of the person issuing the charter is not sovereign, he is just mahāsāmanta, it is certain that Amśuvarmā was in a far stronger situation now than before while he was just advising Śivadeva to issue certain charters. The title mahāsāmanta is not at all strange for this inscription but what is strange is the older era he followed. We can very well understand Śivadeva issuing the charter of Jyabahal in S. 535 as firstly the date year is referred to the earlier era and secondly, it is in continuation in the series of the inscriptions of the old era. But Na-bahil's old era is a bit of surprise. However, it is not at all surprising that he uses the title mahāsāmanta here. This is so because even as mahāsāmanta, Amśuvarmā issues several charters by himself without mentioning Śivadeva's reign.

The Na-bahil Patan inscription of 500+? issued by Śrī Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā from Kailāśakūṭabhavana without any epithet of praise but Bh. Pasupatipādānudhyāta and ba(ppa padanugrhita) could follow n. 70 above. It appears that at the initial stage Amśuvarmā did not prefer his charters to be in new era. Perhaps Śivadeva I was living during this time. After his death the new era came to be used. Some of the later chronicles say that Śivadeva entered Buddhist monastery at the end of his career. Nothing can be said about this. The dūtaka is here Mahāsāmanta Bhogavarmā, who is also a dūtaka in Śivadeva's two inscriptions of Bhadgaon, if he is the same person as Bhogavarmā Gomī. But the word Gomī is missing as suffix from the name of our dūtaka here. However, he is in a more advantageous position with the title of mahāsāmanta. It is probable that Bhogavarmā, son of Amśuvarmā's sister, figuring in the Pasupati inscription is the same person as Mahāsāmanta Bhogavarmā of the present inscription.

The charter announces that the temple of Mirmeli Śankara Nārāyaṇa has been repaired, and having been pleased with those who had supervised the work with ability, he had banned the entry of Śrī Paśchimadhikaraṇa (western department) in this area. But the village concerned remains unknown because of the damage on the stone.

A writer thinks that western department was charged with the task of looking after the affairs of the temple or other non-secular matters. He cites the Paśupati crossroad inscription (no. 80) where the western department's entry is banned and the temple affairs made over to the charge of Panchali. According to this writer because the prefix 'Śrī' is added to both eastern and western departments, they must have enjoyed higher status and they were stationed within the royal palace.

The Na-bahil inscription, which contains a charter, was issued from Kailāśakūṭa Bhavana.

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Amśuvarmā also issues his first charter under the new era from Kailāśakūṭabhavana. Thereafter uninterruptedly Kailāśakūṭa figures as the Royal Palace and secretariat till the time of Jayadeva II. But in the regnal years of Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva, stop-gap sovereigns, set up by Jiṣṇugupta (S. 48 and S. 65), Mānagṛha had continued as a Royal palace of the kings, while Kailāśakūṭa was being occupied by Jiṣṇugupta and his son. The place from which charters were issued bears the names of both Mānagṛha and Kailāśakūṭa. Mānagṛha was totally abandoned on Narendradeva's return to power and Kailāśakūṭa alone was used as the Palace secretariat. But 3 inscriptions of Narendradeva were issued from Bhadrādivāsabhavana (Chyasaltol, Yangubahi and Vajraghar Inscriptions).

67. Jyabahal, Kathmandu

The Jyabahal Road inscription which has a date S. 535 Śrāvaṇa śukla daśamyām is the last record in the old era. The dūtaka is Rājaputra Vikramasena who also is a dūtaka as sarvadaṇḍanāyaka in the Bungmati inscription of Amśuvarmā of S. 29 and Sanga inscription of S. 32. The former is the very initial record of the Mahāsāmanta issued only in his own name as a ruler in the new era. The inscription of Jyabahal Road is a charter through which a favour conferred on some people has been announced. But the king's name is missing on account of damage on the stone except letters *va deva*. The place from where the charter has been issued is also missing.

The inscription talks of Tegvala Nārāyaṇasvāmī, Tegvalapradīpa Goṣṭhikā, Dakṣiṇrājakula (South Royal Palace) and a pānchālikā. One writer is of the opinion that the palace was the one near Hanuman Dhoka also referred to in another record. But where is another palace in this area? Were there two palaces side by side?

A Nepalese writer has suggested that this charter might have been issued by Śivadeva. He contends that up to this time Śivadeva was still in the royal palace though he was living in retirement. But he had not abandoned the throne.

He later became a monk and according to the writer this paved the way for appointing Udayadeva as crown prince (yuvarāja) who appears in subsequent records. The writer interprets yuvarāja as successor.

The Jyabahal and the Na-bahil inscriptions are placed in the order of records after the Sundhara inscription of S. 34 (intercalary Pauṣa) by Renio Gnoli and Dhanavajra following him. As they carry dates in the old era, I do not know why the inscriptions were not placed along with inscriptions of the old era and are removed to the present place after some records of the new era.

If the charter is issued by Śivadeva why he awoke suddenly after nearly 9 years of his Lele inscription of S. 526 to issue this record? If he had retired why he felt to threaten those 'earning their living at his feet' to have them subjected to disciplinary measures if the gift (prasāda) is not well looked after and treated without courtesy. The man who issues this charter is very much active in asserting and exercising his power. It is not the voice of a man in retirement, which we hear. The charter is issued without the name and presence of Amśuvarmā. His name disappeared either due to the damage on stone or Śivadeva himself avoided him. The possibility of the man issuing the charter deliberately omitting Amśuvarmā seems to be more probable.

Apart from the identity of the man who issues this record the circumstances in which it was issued look mysterious. No records bearing the dates in the old era in between Lele inscription of S. 526 and the present inscription of S. 535 are available. What happened during these 9 or 10 years? Introducing the Jyabahal inscription in the midst of later era inscriptions is not going to bridge the gap. The arrangement some scholars have made in this connection does not appear congruous. It is only if Samvat 29 is referred to Śaka 498 era, the gap is bridged because in that case the inscription of Bungmati with date Śaka 29 (+498)=527 will be a year subsequent to the preceding date S. 526 of the Lele inscription. Perhaps on this understanding the Jyabahal inscription has been allotted a place after the Sundhara (Patan) inscription. Other things being equal this posture automatically accepts the hypothesis of a Śaka era (78 A.D. expired) for the first group of inscriptions and Śaka 498 as the epoch

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for the second, which might or might not be correct.

Be that as it may, the problem remains as to the identity of the king in the inscription. The identity will reveal some important matters relating to Śivadeva and his relation with Amśuvarmā at the fag end of his career. If the inscription belongs to a king as different from Śivadeva it raises many other issues. On further reading the line *vadeva kuśali* can be read but the preceding letters are not clear. One may like to ascribe the name to Śivadeva. In the space available there is no place for Amśuvarmā. This creates further complications as to why this inscription of Śivadeva in the old era was issued after 9 years of absence. And as Amśuvarmā also issues his inscription (Na-bahil, Patan) in the old era, the first date symbol of which is definitely 500, the confusion gets more confounded. My opinion is that this inscription of Amśuvarmā precedes the first inscription with the new era. But in view of the other two date symbols missing in the Na-bahil inscription nothing more definite can be suggested in this connection.

The Jyabahal inscription seems a stray record if it is in the name of Śivadeva issued without Amśuvarmā. If it is mixed up with the new era inscriptions of Amśuvarmā one is apt to read a controversy around his career. It may even give rise to doubts about the course of events if Amśuvarmā lived in peace with his sovereign in the latter's retirement. We could introduce an element of internal squabbles between them. Śivadeva must have tried to assert his rights in a struggle as he found himself pushed to this situation by his adversary, who was once a close friend. The logical conclusion follows. Śivadeva escapes from prison camp called the Palace. He asserts his independence and breaks the shackles. He issues the record, the Jyabahal inscription. All this took place in S. 535 as the date of the record shows. But he could issue only a single document and probably was overpowered by his foe, and met an unlucky end.

If such an eventuality had arisen we can imagine that Vikramasena who is a dūtaka in this inscription must have gone over to the king's side. He is no more a sarvadandanāyaka as he appears in the Bungmati inscription.

But this is all a guesswork and it might prove true or false. About the record we have no doubt that it was issued by Śivadeva. Why Amśuvarmā allowed him to issue this decree or grant whatever it is is a mystery surrounding the event.

The place given to the inscription of Jyabahal by Gnoli and Dhanavajra is the same. DV thinks that Śivadeva was the author of the charter and he issued it from the palace of Mānagṛha, which he still occupied. But he left the palace to take up the life of a Buddhist monk about this time. He also says that the inscriptions with Udayadeva following immediately after the Jyabahal stone only suggest that the latter was also declared crown prince after Śivadeva became monk. On Na-bahil inscription Dhanavajra has no comment as he escaped noticing the date year figure of 500. Gnoli, of course, has no comment as he never came out with notes on his materials.

Anybody who takes the line with the word *deva* as the first would like to take the inscription to have belonged to Śivadeva. But this line might not be the first one as possibly there were 2 or 3 lines earlier to this within the damaged top. However, it makes no difference if we ascribe the record to Śivadeva, of which name only *va deva* is visible. But why this charter was issued by Śivadeva and this also without Amśuvarmā after nearly a decade of the last available charter (Lele)? Perhaps the stones of this period are lost or lying undiscovered and may reveal more facts about Śivadeva and Amśuvarmā once they are discovered. The Na-bahil inscription was definitely issued by Amśuvarmā referring to the old era as till then he had not decided to issue the new series. But it cannot be true that Śivadeva had become a monk suddenly after eclipse of 9 years. All this, however, is pure speculation from whichever side the argument was offered.

As to the place we give to the Jyabahal road inscription in our order it is only to put the old era inscriptions together in chronology of the records per era. It has nothing to do with the chronology of historical events. But it may ultimately help us to trace the original date of the old era, which will unfold itself in course of the arguments we have offered in that connection.

With the inscription of Jyabahal road we complete the records belonging to old era. The records of

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the old series started with the inscription of S. 386 (Changu pillar) and ended with that of S. 535 and here a new era begins and to this era are referred all inscriptions up to the end of our period. The last date of the new series is provided by Sahottaratantra colophon of S. 301. This date happens to coincide almost with the epoch year of the so called Nepala samvat or the Newar era, which was officially used by the people of the Nepal valley for nine centuries till the end of the 18th century.

The first inscription of the new series, the Bungmati stele, is dated S. 29. This was issued by Śrī Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā from Kailāśakūṭabhavana, the newly built Royal Palace, where lived the head of state and where his secretariat was lodged. Surely Kailāśakūṭa represents a change and a vital change. But the man who was the power behind the throne up till now issues his own charter and introduces a new age, which looks odd. The old era is now replaced by the new era but the instrument was the man who figured so prominently in the records issued with the dates of the old era.

Since it is S. 29 which is the date of the first inscription of the new era it is obvious that the era came to appear in use after 29 years of its birth. Why Amśuvarmā who served under Śivadeva I, the outgoing monarch, for so long and helped him to issue decrees in the old era and had himself issued 2 of his records in the same way had now felt induced to introduce charters in a new era totally doing away with the old?

There are two points of importance in this connection, first, the epoch year and second, the occasion which caused its introduction.

Amśuvarmā is given high sounding titles in these inscriptions. Although he is just Sāmanta in the inscription of Changu (n. 53), he is 'such a one who had compelled the feudatories, samantas, to bow to him and whose feet are brightened by the brightness of the jewels over their crest, and his fame through its rays spread over all the directions'.

In the Banepa inscription Amśuvarmā appears 'as one who is endowed with knowledge, learning, fame spread over all directions, and (again) the Samanta mandala bowing to his feet'. Yet in S. 517 he was just a Samanta and the glory of Amśuvarmā is sung by the Bhimsenthan inscription of Śivadeva in similar fashion: his fame is clean and Samantas bowed to his feet. The Bhadgaon steles describe him also as suppressing the enemies by his prowess (svaparākramopa śamitāmitrapakṣaprabhāvena) and by his clean fame. These inscriptions were issued by his glory. Then it is the Dharmasthali inscription which is louder in the praise with this expression 'his feet brightened by the jewels over the head of many kings, who had put their head at his feet' (upanamitāneka ksitipati śirobhibhuṣāṇa maṇi ruchāvabhāsita charaṇa yugalena). In this inscription Amśuvarmā is described as 'one who had earned fame by the hard labour with which he ruled his people so well' (prajāpālana pariśramopārjitadiganna vyāptaparākramah). The Satungal inscription gives him the title of 'a person who by his bravery had suppressed his enemies'. The same expression is repeated in the next few inscriptions.

The last 3 inscriptions are also of the same nature as far as the description of Amśuvarmā's glory is given by them. In the Khopasi inscription he is the man 'who had by the jewel of his merits destroyed the darkness of ignorance' (svaguṇa maṇimayūkhāloka dhstājnānatimireṇa). Not content with this the scribe adds 'by the good name he had earned by paying respect to the Lord' and 'who had uprooted his enemies by the powers of his hands' (svabhujayuga balotkhātākhilavairi barggeṇa). In the Dhapasi inscription of S. 526 Amśuvarmā is said 'to have caused many kings to bow to him by defeating them in many battles' and in Lele stone at the ending month of the year 526, Amśuvarmā is described 'to have decorated many places by his beneficial actions standing in one or another place as kirti (symbol of a meritorious deed).

While all these epithets go to Amśuvarmā, Śivadeva, the monarch, was to enjoy very short titles. He is just 'the base of many merits' in the inscription of Changu or his fame brightened by his numerous meritorious qualities and this kind of epithets continue throughout. He is, however, the banner of the Lichchhavi dynasty and he is meditating upon the feet of his father.

Probably Amśuvarmā came to be associated with him as a powerful personality only after Bnaumagupta had died. It might be true that he had issued records by himself and on nobody's recommendation. But as the earlier stones are much damaged, nothing can be said definitely.

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But what these epithets do actually mean? When the person so lauded to the skies is virtually an absolute ruler who could dictate what he wants, even to the man on the throne. Such epithets appear in the inscriptions of India, and they are meaningless. Even a puny and a tinpot absolute ruler could claim these titles. Amśuvarmā only displays his qualities in words, but does not say anything more about his actual deeds when he says, he defeated enemies, feudatories and others we are not told as to who were these enemies. It is very easy to talk of a fight but we must be told how this fight took place, and with whom and where. It was not a vast country he ruled and when it is claimed that he defeated kings and feudatories who bowed to his feet the fact on its own is not convincing.

But there is no doubt that Amśuvarma's excellent qualities and meritorious deeds performed as well as the learning he commanded had brought him an undying reputation, which had travelled far and wide. This reputation had travelled as far as Vaisali, where Hiuen Tsang heard of him as a great king possessing vast knowledge of Sanskrit grammar (Śabdavidyā).

The high sounding and almost unbelievable words of praise used along with the name of Amśuvarmā, are taken seriously by a Nepalese writer, and he compares them with expression of similar ideas by Yaśodharma in Mandsor inscription and Bhaskaravarma in Bana's Harṣacharitam who emphasised that he did not stoop to respect anybody except Lord Śiva. He thinks that the epithet does not suffer a false or exaggerated sense of prestige. It is the claim of a proud ruler to absolute independence. But Amśuvarmā had already used expressions which go to show that kings and feudatories touched his feet in reverence.

As usual the charters are issued by Śivadeva from Mānagṛha on the recommendation of Śrī Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā, whose praise is sung in phrases with gradually rising emphasis on his supposed qualities of head and heart. The epithets in nos. 62 and 63 surpass all such used in the past, while in other inscriptions the epithets adopted by Śivadeva were matched with those given to Amśuvarmā, the description of Śivadeva's qualities is comparatively diminishing in the Dharmasthali stele. Here Śivadeva is just *prathitāmala bipulayaśa nirupama guṇagaṇo*, 'endowed with clean and high fame and commanding unequalled merits'. Amśuvarmā is admired as one 'whose feet have been brightened by the gems on the stooping heads of the many feudatories and who had earned victory due to his hard labour undergone in protecting his subjects' (see this passage in translation in the section devoted for the purpose).

After Śivadeva I, the man who for the first time claimed his descent from the Lichchhavi family, Amśuvarmā wears the mantle of a sovereign, however, first calling himself mahasamanta as during the last phase of the reign of Śivadeva I and then using just Śrī. Amśuvarmā's family identity is not known. He is called a son of Śivadeva's sister (*bhaginī putra*) by V[1]. Some other chronicles call him son-in-law. The occasion of the new era is also nowhere explained. But Amśuvarmā adopted it and all his records refer to this era. Rightly or wrongly he has been called the founder of the era. But we shall discuss this question elsewhere.

Although in Śivadeva's records under the name of the mahāsāmanta Varmā is spelled in some records as Amśuvarmmā, but as we start his own records there is only one m, and it is just spelled Amśuvarmā. But this is confined to the suffix Varmā only.

The reign of Amśuvarmā extends from the new Samvat 29 to 45 or 47. As suggested earlier a new palace structure highly admired by the Chinese mission and getting no mean compliments in our own inscriptions either had come into existence, which continued to be the royal place for another hundred and fifty years. Why and when it was built it is difficult to say. Probably Mānagṛha had become old or partially destroyed by natural calamities, or was left unoccupied, because a new palace had been raised to be used as a royal palace. Henceforth we find all charters issued from here. For the first time the practice of calling oneself as 'one devoted to the feet of Lord Paśupati' was also introduced by Amśuvarmā, which was followed by later kings.

Amśuvarmā used only a few epithets of praise in his own inscriptions. One word about use of the era here. It appears that Amśuvarmā initiated his reign with the old era as the dates in the following two inscriptions go to show.

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It appears that Amśuvarmā built Kailāśakūṭa bhavana about the time the two inscriptions were issued.

The first of these is dated 535, whereas the second is dated 500+? and we do not know what is the exact year because the symbols for the next two figures are damaged. Even the two were of proximate dates, the fact remains that there is a gap between the reigns of Śivadeva and Amśuvarmā. This is at least of 6-8 years, and no inscriptions fill it. What this suggests? It may suggest a state of chaos in the intervening period until Amśuvarmā proved stronger to thwart opposition and established his authority over the kingdom. This has got to be explained.

If there were adversaries, who were they?

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Part II

THE AGE OF AMSUVARMA—MOST PROMINENT RULER

THERE is no doubt that Amśuvarmā was the most prominent ruler in our ancient history.

We have seen how he rose to power during the reign of Śivadeva I. He was virtually a Regent overshadowing the throne. His titles were not royal but with those of a feudatory he passed as the de facto ruler of the country. Śivadeva was a puppet as soon as Amśuvarmā appeared on the scene. He lost his throne.

We shall talk about Amśuvarmā's ancestry some time later. His origin is obscure but he earned a fame in course of time, which spread far and wide. Amśuvarmā became known across the border in China and Tibet in the north and in the Vrjji countries in the south. Hiuen Tsang, the great Chinese pilgrim who was in north Bihar in 637 A.D., heard of him as a great man, enlightened and learned and illustrious.

He had grown so overwhelmingly powerful that he started a new era, and then he saw to it that this new era was adopted in all his inscriptions. But that was not the only achievement in this respect. He made the era so popular that it continued to be used in future throughout also in the time of his successors, all of whom were Lichchhavis. The old era was discarded for good except for two occasions, the Jyabahal and Na-bahil inscriptions. The latter was issued by Amśuvarmā himself, the last record to appear in Śivadeva's name is the inscription of Lelve dated S. 526. We cannot say definitely anything if the Jyabahal inscription of S. 535 belonged to Śivadeva. Even if it is so, the story ends there. It appears that Amśuvarmā introduced the new era with mature thought and deliberation, because as we find that the very first record of Amśuvarmā issued on his own is dated in the old era. Other records followed his own era and in succession one after the other until 878 A.D. The last inscription is of the year Samvat 301 of this era.

That Amśuvarmā was the person who put in practice the new era is not subject to doubt but why he chose a year 29 years after its birth for adopting the same in the official record causes surprise. But this can be explained by his reluctance to do anything in this direction so long as Śivadeva was alive. He must have introduced the new era with mature deliberation because he does so after one record he issued with the old era.

But the question comes as to the founder of the era or if the era is posthumously put into operation

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who was the person, to whose memory the era was founded.

Because the era is said to be the Mānadeva era according to the colophon of the Sumatitantra, it has been suggested that it was founded by Mānadeva who had a short reign in Śaka 498. Tibetan sources attribute the founding of the era to Amśuvarmā and there are many people who also think on that line.

It has also been suggested that although the Śaka year 498 is the epoch of the era, nothing can be said about the founder.

Some scholars are very serious about the founder, and not finding it possible to identify him with Mānadeva or Amśuvarmā bring in Śivadeva's name in that context, but there is no evidence traditional or otherwise in favour of Śivadeva. The Indian eras also suffer from the same lacunae as to their founders. We are worse placed in this regard because our records are even silent about the paternity of the person issuing the inscriptions except in two cases. With all this as the second era began with Amśuvarmā's own charter and not earlier we have to accept the proposition that it was Amśuvarmā who was responsible in one way or another for creating the second era (samvat) either to honour Mānadeva (Nepalese tradition) or to assert his own supreme position (Tibetan tradition).

The Valabhi era runs parallel to the GS since it is said to have started when a subsidiary ruler Bhaṭṭāraka Senāpati by name with capital at Valabhi came to found the dynastic rule of his descendants. He was not a dependent governor as his ancestors but remained and was independent enough to assert his de jure and de facto sovereignty in the area he ruled yet he remained tied to the Gupta era and to all that went with it, which he and his descendants used in their inscriptions. According to Fleet for 6 or 7 generations the feudatories were called Mahārājā and Senāpati, but in the genealogy given in the inscription of Dhārāsena II, the king who succeeded Droṇasimha, both are just called Mahārājās, since Dharasena II, they had issued charters (CIII, XXIV).

The Gangā era is attributed to an uncrowned founder of the kingdom of Kalinga, south coastal and mid western region of modern Orissa. The first dated record is 84 G.E. There are other records as well which push his reign a little longer. The question arises as to the founder who had probably created a small kingdom and the occasions he used as the epoch of the new era. We are unable to say anything about the epoch of the Gangā era from some inscriptions which give both Gangā and Śaka eras because the founder's identity is missing in these as in many others. There are several other inscriptions which reveal the same difficulties. Fleet in his introduction has explained it fully well. But he is too much out of date at the moment, and probably the epoch and founder of the Ganga era are still subject to controversy.

Here we end inscriptions dated in the old era, and now begin those with a new era.

As Mānagṛha was the palace of issue for the old inscriptions, we have now a new palace from where inscriptions in the new era were issued.

Amśuvarmā is the first ruler to issue his charters from Kailāsakūtabhavana. Mānagṛha had no occupant during Amśuvarmā's time, and it had gone at least out of use if it was not dilapidated. Mānagṛha was revived in Jiṣṇugupta's time. It was the residence of a nominal sovereign. But Kailāsakūta palace continued to be the secretariat of the de facto ruler, from where all charters were issued.

It is possible that Śivadeva after S. 535 must have retired to lead a monk's life or died a natural death.

The Śrī Śivadeva Vihāra of Narendradeva's two inscriptions, the Yangubahi and Vajraghar (n. 128), is surely after this king's name. Either he founded or some other rulers coming after him founded the vihāra to honour his name.

But the Gopālarāja Vamśāvali (V^1, f 22 b) does not say anything about his founding a monastic settlement nor does it talk of his becoming a monk on retirement.

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68. Bungmati Stele

The stele of Bungmati, a village to the south east of Patan, where stands a shrine of Red Mastyendranātha (Avalokiteśvara), actually lies buried under ground and it is dug out and kept to public view only during the 12 yearly festival of the God. First its impression was published by Bhagwanlal Indraji in his book 'Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal'. The inscription is dated Sam. 29 (the date was until now misread as 34 by all authors including myself), of the new era and is the first of the New Era Inscriptions. Dhanavajra could correctly read it and although I observed the error about 1971, its publication was delayed up till now.

This is the charter issued to the kuṭumbis, the inhabitants who had migrated to the village of Bugāyumi (modern Bungmati), by Śrī Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā who was ingratiated by Lord Paśupati (Pāśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānudhyāta) and who was meditating on the feet of his father (bappapādānudhyātaḥ). It was issued from Kailāśakuta bhavana, his palace secretariat, like all the inscriptions of Amśuvarmā. But there are no other epithets. The charter bans the entry of Bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa.

Bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa

The word bhaṭṭa comes from *bhartri* in the sense of a learned man specially the Brahmana. According to Daśarūpa, II, 64, a bhaṭṭa means a title of respect used by humble persons addressing a prince but generally affixed or prefixed to the names of learned Brāhmanas, e.g. Kedāra Govinda Bhaṭṭa, Kumārilla Bhaṭṭa etc. It is also the name of particular mixed caste of hereditary panegyrists, a bard[1] (bhāṭa). In the stone the second letter is missing, so it can be either bhaṭṭa or bhaṭa.

As the word is used in connection with some office (adhikaraṇa), we should give here a little thought to see if by bhaṭṭa the inscription means learned men in this case. Bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa becomes an office run by learned men who could be no other than Brahmanas. But what this office has to do with the rearing of fowls, pigs and mallapota (baby malla), and fisheries? And how the officers are stopped from entering the village? The obvious inference is that these men must have tried to pilfer the species mentioned in the inscription, or interfere in the affairs of the people concerned who were engaged in breeding fowls, pigs, fishes and mallapota. But their actual job, whether it was to collect revenue or something else is not clear for no remission of taxes is mentioned. It is not clear what reasons compelled the state to ban the entry of Bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa into this area. But probably it was a privilege given as a reward for nursing well the pigs, fishes and some infant animals (?) (kuttuka sukara malla-potānām matsyamchā).

As the lines go Amśuvarmā expresses satisfaction over the fact that these animals, birds and fishes were treated by the people of the village without causing injury. Was the Bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa to satisfy itself that the people did not maltreat the domesticated fowls or fishes or animals in their farms?

Bhaṭa or Bhaṭṭa might not necessarily mean a person of respectability or learning. Bhaṭṭa sometimes means the same as Bhaṭa, a hired soldier or constable. So whatever might be the conjectural letter, it is immaterial. In any case it does not loo8 sensible that a body of learned Brahmanas should have been asked to realise the tax in cash or kind on such impure birds or beasts. Therefore Bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa should not be taken as an office of Brahmanas or it received any more respectability than other offices of state. This office by all means was in charge of bhaṭas whose duty was to collect taxes from the villagers or arrest them on certain charges of offence. They were like ordinary employees of the lowest grade, the police constable for example.

According to D.C. Sircar the word Bhaṭṭa used in a record published in Indian Epigraphy, Ch. VIII, section II is used to give the sense of bhaṭa meaning a soldier or servant. Bhaṭṭa has several meanings.[2] If Bhaṭṭa means a Brahmana in some texts, it also means a bard or singer of praise or dancer called bhaṭa. The bhāṭa or bhāṇa is born of a śudra father and vaiśya mother or of a Brahmana girl and Kṣatriya father.[3]

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वैश्यानांशूद्रवीर्य्येण प्रमानेको वभूवह ।
सभटयावड्त्रकश्च सर्वेषां स्तुति पाठक:
इति ब्रह्मवैवर्तेपुराणब्रह्मखण्ड (अध्याय, १०)
क्षत्रीयाद् विप्रकन्यायांभट्टो जातो नु वाचर्क: (जाति संकर लक्षणम्)

But as we have argued, bhaṭṭa or bhaṭa of our inscription is meant for an employee of the state whose work was to visit the village and collect revenues on behalf of certain office here called bhaṭṭa or bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa or arrest people on charges of certain crimes in accordance with the dictates of the same office.

Dharmasankara

The Bungmati inscription of Amśuvarmā talks of *dharmasankara*, and his anxiety to see that none of his people deviated from their traditional duty within a varṇa and became *dharmasankara*.

The word *dharmasankara* is not known to lawgivers generally except Kauṭilya. Instead they talk of 'varṇasankara', however, not exactly in a different sense. The state of *dharmasankara* is a state of deviation from traditional duties and functions of one's varṇa and identifying with the lower varṇa to whose calling he had subscribed.

The functions of the 4 varṇas have been laid down by Kauṭilya, Manu, Yajnavalkya and others. When Kauṭilya suggested that a person becomes a dharmasankara once he leaves his varṇa's traditional professions, he had emphasised the need to maintain the varṇāśrama order at all costs. It appears that changing of one's calling as it came from traditions was not tolerated by the society in those days.

Dharma

The word 'dharma' may carry the meaning of one's belief in a particular faith, the same which we now call religion constituting the fundamentals of social structure on which it rested. Its root is *dhri*, and it is so called because it maintains a particular order of the society by a set of rules. These might cover religious beliefs and practices, traditional occupation or calling of an individual belonging to one of the varṇas and many things else. But we should not take dharma as sectarianism to confound it with Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism or even with Brahmanical religion with cults of deities.

Dharma carries different meaning in different places. Dharma means just laws which regulate and maintain social life (*dhārayet dharmaityāhu*). It might mean also an act of virtue the result of which follows the doer after death:

एक एव सुहृद् धर्मो निधने प्यनुयाति य: । शरीरेण समंनन्यद् ।

Kauṭilya's Trayīsthāpanā

Kauṭilya defining *dharma* as the particular profession of a particular varṇa (the 4 high castes, 3 twice born, and one coming in the 4th order assigned to the profession of agriculture and service of the upper Varṇas) takes sankara a departure from traditional profession by a casteman taking to one which was not his or hers. This departure ultimately does harm to the society.

Kauṭilya discusses the whole thing in 17 passages in section 3 of the 1st prakaraṇa (vidyāsamuddeśa, tatra trayisthāpanā).[4] These duties were called svadharma as they were professional. The duties assigned by Kauṭilya to the 4 varṇas were as follows.

For Brahmanas, study and teaching, performing sacrifices and causing such sacrifices to be performed (स्वधर्मो ब्राह्मणस्याध्ययनं अध्यापनम् यजनंयाजनं दानं प्रतिग्रहश्च) (1.3.5).

For Kṣatriyas, the duties were, of course, first learning and then performing sacrifices, making grants, living by means of weapons (क्षत्रियास्याध्ययनं यजनं, दानं, शस्त्रजीवो भूतरक्षणं च) (1.3.6).

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The Vaiśyas also perform all the duties of the Kṣatriyas except weaponry and add to their duties agriculture, rearing of animals, and commerce in place of soldiery (वैश्यस्याध्ययनं, यजनं, कृषिपशु पालनंवाणिजश्च) (1.3.7).

The 4th varṇa i.e. Śudras performed the task of serving the three upper castes (dvijas), commerce, arts and crafts. The Śudras also followed agriculture and cattle rearing like the Vaiśyas (शूद्र द्विजाति शुश्रुषा, वार्ता करू कुशील च) (1.3.8).

Sometimes a dharma is made to accord with one's character.

आचार: परमोधर्म: श्रुत्युक्त: स्मार्त एवं च तस्मादस्मिन्सदा युक्तो नित्य स्यात्मवान्द्विज:

Usage is highest dharma, it is mentioned in the Vedas and approved by tradition. The same authority classifies dharma in different categories according to country, caste, family and other factors.

देश धर्म जाति धर्म कुल धर्मञ्च शाश्वतान् ।
पाषण्ड गण धर्मश्च शास्त्रे स्मिन्नुक्तवान् मनु: ॥ (1/118)

The dharma towards the country, castes, kins and the dharmas of heretics and of gaṇas are eternal and it dictated the conduct, and Kauṭilya suggested that a deviation by any varṇa from its usual conduct caused dharmasankara, whose status was lowly having lost his usual dignity and honour.

This is all about the dharma and dharmasankara. If what we have described is not without relevance, then the state of dharmasankara as Kauṭilya thinks, has surely got to be shunned.

Kauṭilya defines also duties of a gṛhastha, a householder and also of a Brahmachari (leading a life of celibacy), vānaprastha as well as of paribrājaka. These are the same for all castes.

Then to all varṇas belonged the duty of abstaining from causing injury to others, following the path of truthfulness, uprightness, freedom from malice and compassion towards all. But these are not professional duties, and our concern is not with them.

But professional duties were to be strictly observed. The king was obliged to see that they were not transgressed by any one (तस्मात् स्वधर्म भूतानां राजा च न व्यभिचारयेत्) (1.3.16).[5]

By svadharma Kauṭilya meant the professional conduct of all the four Varṇas according to the line recommended for each. For example a Brahmana is required to read and to teach, to perform sacrifices or preside over the sacrificial rites and to make a gift or accept the same from others. The duty of a Kṣatriya is to extend protection in addition to what the Brahmanas were required to do. The Vaiśya has similar functions. But he also followed the calling of trade, cattle breeding and agriculture, while a Śudra served the upper 3 varṇas as domestic servant or earned his living as an artisan or artist or agriculturalist. But do dot think that Kauṭilya has said something different from other lawgivers in regard to the functions as demanded by the concept of dharma. A dharma surely did not mean what a particular religion in the modern sense demands of its followers on Varṇa basis and duties. But what we have to take note here is the fact that the duties in this connection are the same as defined by Kauṭilya.

To Kauṭilya the svadharma of each Varṇa was of sacred nature and no one could break it. The svadharma (one 's traditional profession) is for heaven's sake and also for eternity.[6]

On transgression of professional duties Kauṭilya thinks the world will be exterminated because the result would be dharmasankara (तस्यातिक्रमेलोक: संकरादित्युच्चते).[7] This gives the idea of dharmasankara. At the end Kauṭilya observes:

स्वधर्मसंदधानोहि प्रेत्यचेहचनन्दति व्यवस्थितार्यमर्याद: कृतवर्णाश्रमस्थिति: ।
त्रय्या राक्षितोलोक: प्रसीदति नसीदति) (16-17)

Kauṭilya called the system as Āryan, and he thought that by following this practice the people benefited largely. This is the established rule of the Āryans who have laid down what each varṇa should do. The rules must not be ignored.

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From this it also appears that varṇasankara though connected with the functional aspect of varṇa came within the purview of varṇāśrama.

Varṇasankara and Dharmasankara

If it is just a profession of a varṇa, and we mean to stress the fact of profession in the context of deviation, then it will appear that there is very little to distinguish between Varṇasankara and Dharmasankara. Varṇa and Dharma go together in as much as each varṇa has its own dharma. But this fact is set aside as we talk of varṇasankara. In this case what comes to be emphasised is not actually deviation from the professional conduct of the varṇa. This is so when we deal with dharmasankara. But the Varṇasankara system is used on ties of mental relationship between the two varṇas. A varṇasankara is the person born of parents belonging to two distinct Varṇas. The status of the issue will depend on whether it is an anuloma mixing. The pratiloma relationship does surely downgrade his status. It is just the same when a high caste man follows the profession of a low caste man. But when this is the case, the question of dharmasankara arises.

Apart from Dharmasankara there are other sankaras such as Chaṇḍāla sankara, for which a penance is prescribed by Chyavana and Pārāsara. But here a Chaṇḍāla sankara means the person of higher caste, who has drunk water from the same well with the Chaṇḍālas (untouchables). The act of drinking water with the chāṇḍālas is put in the same category as the offence of approaching a low caste woman (with whom intercourse is prohibited) and contact with Chaṇḍāla. The penance is a fast for half a month, as it is just becoming a sankara for a short period. In the case of having sex life with a Chaṇḍāla woman, the Brāhmana would undergo punishment for half a year. The issue born of this union is also a chaṇḍāla. But if it is just a touch with the Chaṇḍāla, he may become pure after proper bath. However, if he is on travel by a boat, his touch of a chaṇḍāla is not a sin (Pārāsarasmṛti). Manu also holds the same view.

Rājaputra Vikramasena

This charter has a dūtaka like any other. The dūtaka's name is Rājaputra Vikramasena, and he holds the title of sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka. We shall make a short observation about him here.

The Sikubahi image pedestal is the first record, where one Rājaputra Vajraratha is said to have (come) from an outside country in the south (n. 48). This is for the first time a Rājaputra appears on the scene though in different capacity.

The dūtaka in this inscription is Rājaputra Vikramasena. The same man figures as dūtaka also in the inscription of Bungmati and Sanga. But in the former he is just mahāsarvadaṇḍanāyaka and not Rājaputra (n. 68), whereas in the latter he is Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka as well as Rājaputra (n. 65).

Rājaputra Śurasena of the Paśupati crossroad stele, who was the husband of Amśuvarmā's sister (Bhogadevī), appears in the inscription. In his name a Śivalinga was set up by his wife (n. 80). In the inscription of Jiṣṇugupta (n. 100) one more Rājaputra comes to the scene, and this was Nandavarmā. Although Rājaputra is rarely used for the crown prince, it is surprisingly used in the case of Jayadeva.

Rājaputra literally means king's son, but it applies generally to the members of the Kṣatriya aristocracy. In the glossary D.C. Sircar says 'originally he was a prince or it was a title of a subordinate ruler and later a title of nobility'.[8] J.F. Fleet also thinks on the same line.[9] We do not know why Jayadeva was called Rājaputra in this record, which is a departure from the practice that a son and successor of the king always figured as yuvarāja.

Not in the sense of yuvarāja but in the sense of a nobleman of Kṣatriya caste names with Rājaputra designation also appear in the contemporary records of India in many instances. Rājaputras are one element of addressees in the Deo-Baranak inscription of Jivitagupta II.[10]

The inscriptions of the Pāla period also show Rājaputra in several contents (Khalimpur C.P. of Dharmapāla, Manahell C.P. of Madanapāla). They are placed in the same order such as *Rājapuruṣān rājā rajaṇyaka rājaputra rājamātya mahasandhivigrahika mahāsāmanta* etc.

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Perhaps all these persons bearing Rājaputra as title were the noblemen of Kṣatriya caste. A few of them might have been related to the ruling family in one or the other way as Rājaputra Śurasena with Amśuvarmā.

Rājaputra Vikramasena makes his first appearance in the Bungmati inscription of Amśuvarmā, the first record of the reign issued in the new era (n. 68). Here he is sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka, the chief minister of Amśuvarmā. He continues to function in that capacity until S. 32 (Bhādraśukla I) because he appears as sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka in the Sanga inscription (n. 75). Third time his name appears in the Jyabahal inscription but without this title. He is just Rājaputra. Who took the position of chief minister after Vikramasena we do not know, for thereafter the official designation completely disappears from his name, and he is lost after S. 435.

The fact that he lost his official position after S. 32, and he associated himself with Śivadeva in S. 435 is significant. It may be that he had aroused suspicion of Amśuvarmā because of his association with Śivadeva even after retirement, and as a result was stripped of his post. But we must presume that Amśuvarmā and Śivadeva were no more on friendly terms and their relation was under strain and the latter was fretting and fuming against Amśuvarmā because the latter had prematurely retired him and made him defunct.

If Śivadeva had escaped from his confinement at Mānagṛha, then he had found a natural ally in Rājaputra Vikramasena who might have been his near relation.

The escape bid succeeded for a while. In the interregnum that followed Śivadeva issued a charter with Vikramasena as dūtaka but ultimately he lost everything and was heard no more.

Two Harigaon Inscriptions

The two Harigaon inscriptions issued by Amśuvarmā from Kailāśakūṭabhavana tendering donations to the principal deities of the royal family, Buddhist monasteries and high and low officials of the Palace dated 30 and 32 Samvat of the new era are significant as the donations are made in monetary units called pu and pa, which must be puraṇa and paṇa. These units obviously suggest the existence of currencies of the value pana and purana in those days. But as a reference to currency is totally absent in pre-Amśuvarman period, it might also readily suggest that Amśuvarmā himself initiated the coinage in Nepal and he struck coins in the name of rulers who flourished earlier. But we shall take up all such issues in this connection for consideration a little later when we describe the currency system of Nepal as it obtained in ancient days.

In the observation we made regarding the question of currency we had left the historical aspect of the monetary system entirely untouched. Nor was this dealt with in its detail. But this time we shall have a detailed discussion and in historical perspective.

69. Harigaon Stele I

Amśuvarmā is said to have introduced this inscription for ensuring the *maryada*, which was to be followed in the distribution of favours among state dignitaries, big or small.

This stele of Harigaon dated Samvat 30 is one of the two available in that area. Amśuvarmā wanted to renew the contributions made by the king to various officers of state appointed in the palace and to the deities set up and worshipped therein. He did not want any kind of misunderstanding in this respect and he also intended to avoid discriminatory treatment and introduce a dispensation by which everybody got his due share as ordained by past rulers since long and nobody suffered. The whole was kept in writing through the present stele and this was announced to the people in general without specifying the village or area. Those who benefited were not only officers and men working in the palace but also deities set up and worshipped there.

In the list the first to figure are deities.

Śrīdevī pu[11] 3 pa[12] 1; Agni (fire) pu 3 pa 1
Śrīkuladeva pu 3 pa 1; .... pu 3 pa 1

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Ṣaṣthīdevakula pu 3 pu 1; Śrī Bhaṭṭāraka pādānām pu 25 (members of royal family)
Mahābalādhyakṣa (C-in-C) pu 25; prasādādhikṛta, the officer who supervised the royal charters and grants called prasāda, pu 25
Abhisekahasti (the elephant used in coronation) pu 3 pa 1; Abhisekasva (coronation horse) pu 3 pa 1
Runner.....(dhāvaka gachchhenjākasya) pu 3 pa 1
Bhāndanāyaka (superintendent of stores) pu 2 pa 2
Chāmaradhara (flywhisk carrier) pu 2 pa 2
Dhvajamānuṣasya (flag holder) pu 2 pa 2
Devakulānām (temples) pu 2 pa 2
Pānīyakarmantikasya (artisan of the drinking water department) pu 2 pa 2
Pīṭhādhyakṣa (head of the department of management of the holy shrines at the palace) pu 2.....
.....nam pu 2 pa 2
Puspabhuvābahaka (carrier of flowers and ?) pu 2 pa 2
Nandi (from the word nanda in music a particular measure, śankhavādyoh, the player of Nandi, the conch blower both played on the auspicious occasions) pu 25
Bhaṭanāyakasya (leader of the irregular soldiers) pu 6 pa 2
Aśvasyārgha (for oblation offered to the horse) pu 6 pa 2
For the main road where coaches made an approach pu 1 pa 4
To the southern gate pu 3 pa 1
To the western gate pu 1 pa 4
For the gate of the Managṛha pu 1 pa 4
Middle gate (madhyamadvara) pu 1 pa 4
Northern gate pu 1 pa 4
Sammārjayijyā (the person who cleansed and purified the palace) pu 1 pa 4
For the purpose of viśvaṣika nāyakas in Yadiyātrā pu 20 (the trusted leader of the festival called Yadi)

There is no dūtaka in this inscription. It just says '*svayamājnā*' meaning 'his own order' while terminating the announcement. There are some words like bhuvāka and gechhijāka, which are not understood. It is not possible to make out any meaning of these words.

Amśuvarmā does not use high sounding epithets of praise for his qualities and actions. He simply says that he was devoted to promoting the welfare of others.

The first Harigaon inscription of Amśuvarmā a charter issued on the lines of records left by past kings in the name of the contemporary and future recipient of the royal pleasure and all officers collecting 'maryādāpaṇa' is for general information. Its purpose is to remove the suffering of those who contributed and also of those who received and to ensure that no one suffered by overpayment or receipt of a lesser amount.

The inscription is in the form of a charter issued by himself 'svayamājnā' or 'iti samājnapanā' and where there is no dūtaka. But it addresses the state servants as those 'bowed to our feet for livelihood'. This is certainly an indication of his royal powers. Amśuvarmā now passes as a reigning and ruling king.

Amśuvarmā says 'I have executed the administrative arrangement in writing and this I have done in order to make grants in due proportion following the practice adopted by kings in the past. This is śāsanopanibandha.'

It appears that only the recipients are treated here and not those who contributed the amounts.

The recipients are 4 divinities and the king enshrined in the palace, members of the royal family, royal animals used during the coronation and high and low ranking individuals serving in the palace in different capacities. There are also a few dignitaries such as chief of army staff, officials directly serving the king, royal store keeper, gate keepers or secretary general and personal assistants.

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The first come divinities who are Śrīdevī, Agni, Śrī Kuladeva and Ṣaṣṭhīdevī. We do not know anything about Kuladeva. But Kuladeva might be a family deity of Amśuvarmā, to whom a donation of puraṇa 3 paṇa 1 is made in the dispensation. Śrīdevī is a mother goddess who is worshipped on the 6th day of the birth of a baby. She is mentioned in various ancient texts. Śrīdevī is regarded as Lakṣmī by some. The Śrīsūkta of the Rigveda is one such text. In Viṣṇupurāṇa Śrī is described as the wife of Viṣṇu, and she emerged out of the churning of the ocean by the devas and daityas. But wherever Śrī is mentioned in such cases it is done in place of Lakṣmī. But others think that Śrīdevī is different from Lakṣmī. According to Yajurveda Śrīdevī and Lakṣmī are the two wives of Viṣṇu, Śrī signifying worldly fortune, prosperity and light and Lakṣmī wealth and divine prosperity. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa states that 'Śrī' is the symbol of life and was created by Prajāpati. Śrī also appears as the symbol of beauty and grace. In Rigveda the first few donations go to deities. The names of Śrīdevī and Ṣaṣṭhidevī occur. We have seen how the Sikubahi inscription lets us know about the prevalence of worship of Mātrikās (Mother Goddesses) by reference and Uma-Mahesvara by iconographic representation on the pedestal. Śrīdevī might be another form of Lakṣmī, wife of Viṣṇu. It is said that she is known so in the form of beauty which means Lakṣmī in this shape looked more beautiful. But Lakṣmī and Śrī are two wives of Viṣṇu according to Taiteraya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa which say that Śrī was the daughter of Prajāpati. Śrī was the mother of Kāmadeva (2.1.45) and in this case she becomes a consort of Viṣṇu in incarnation. Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī go together in the early iconography. Śrīdevī was known to Nepal as early as the 7th century, the age of this particular inscription of Amśuvarmā, but her iconography is available to us from the south western Terai along with the remains of Sunga style potteries. Bhūdevī's image is now available to us from Kapilavastu in the same way as it is from Kausam, now deposited in the Allahabad Museum.

Śrīdevī also figures prominently in both the Bauddha and Jaina literature. Lakṣmī as flanked by elephants appears in the toraṇa of Sanchi, a work of the 2nd century A.D. In Dhammapada Śrī is a goddess of fortune. This is in line with her place in Śrīsūkta (67). In Jaina conception Śrī appeared in dream of Mahavir's mother. In iconographic representation she is seated on lotus just like Lakṣmī in Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina art concepts.

Ṣaṣṭhīdevī who is also recipient of the donation in the inscription is a mother goddess described in a separate *kalpa* called Sasthikalpa of Śrīsūkta. She is no different from the goddess Śrī. She is invoked for worship on the 6th day of the child-birth. Some people think that she has a resemblance with Buddhist Hāriti.[13]

The next recipient of the donation is mahābalādhyakṣa. He was Chief of Army Staff as we have already noted. He receives puraṇa 25. He must be really very important person. Levi writes about him 'India only gives the equivalent mahābalādhikṛt in inscription of Hastin (CII, 3.108) and the inscription of Budharaja Kalachuri (Ep. Ind., VI, 300). Manu mentions balādhyakṣa side by side with Senāpati (VII.189). They might be two dignitaries or a single one.

Prasadadhikrt was the officer in charge of donations and entrusted with the execution of charters announcing the favours granted by the king or someone in his position. An author thinks that he was the dūtaka himself called by another name and suggests that he was of a high rank, either the crown prince or any other prince or chief minister or chief of army staff or any other high dignitary. I do not think that prasādadhikṛt had the same functions as those of a dūtaka. He could be a different dignitary and equal to a minister in rank getting 25 purana like the chief of army staff.

Abhiṣekahasti is the elephant and Abhiṣekāśva is the horse both used to carry the king during the coronation. Levi quotes Rāmāyaṇa (II.15) referring to the coronation of Rāma where elephant and horse played prominent part. The horse was white (मत्तश्चवारवरणः) and then पाण्डुरश्वाश्च सस्थिति: (VII). Both explain the nature of elephants and horses. In Agni Purāṇa (Bibli. Ind. Ch. 218) the expression goes अश्वमारूहय नागमुचपूजयेत् Dhāvaka Gechchhinjaka follows the elephants and horses. The dhāvaka is the runner, a message carrier. The other word is inexplicable. It can be only distantly suggested the name of the runner but as no names of individuals occur in the inscription our surmise might be far fetched. All those mentioned as recipients are either deities or are functionaries

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and the latter are mentioned without names. So the word Gechchhinjaka remains dark to us. He gets 3 pu and 1 pa. The Bhāṇḍanāyaka who gets 2 pu and 2 pa seems to be the chief store keeper. The bearer of flywhisk during the coronation also figures in the inscription as a grantee. Chāmara, a tail of a Yak, is a royal mark and figures regularly in the coronation.

The Pānīyakarmāntika was a mechanic for any mechanism associated with water. According to Levi, Karmatika in Ramayana (II.80.2) means a wage earner. He got payment for the work he did, and his work was surely connected with water. Levi adds in this connection, 'It concerns perhaps the water necessary for the coronation and the task here was arduous. Brahmans demand rain water collected before falling on the earth at the moment when the Sun was shining. The Ramayana mentions that water for Rāma's coronation was brought from the confluence of the Ganges and Jamuna.' Dhvajamanusya is the flag carrier and Devakula . . . . nam might refer to the worshipper of the temple.

According to Levi, a pitha usually meant royal throne of the king, on which he sat during the coronation. This is what Ramayana says. The Ramayana (V.4) describes the coronation and says bhadrapitham svatamkrtam. Pitha is also a sacred place associated with a male or female deity. Pithadhyaksa might suggest that there were many pithas, places of worship, for whose management a presiding officer was appointed. There was also a puspabhuvakavaha who supplied puspa (flowers) and bhuvaka (?). We do not know what bhuvaka means. All these persons drew purana 2 and pana 2.

Nandi was played and sankha (conch) was blown on an auspicious occasion like the coronation, and the two who performed this duty were also paid like amount. Both received 25 purana. Nandi literally means which pleases. It is an eulogy or praise of the divinity. In music it is a particular measure (dvadasaturyanirghosa). In the inscription it is used in the last sense.

A Bhaṭanāyaka who was the officer in charge of the bhaṭas (irregular troopers) gets pu 6 pa 2. There were people who offered oblation (argha) to the horses in the coronation and they received pu 6 pa 2. Levi quotes a passage from the Mahābhārata where Yudhisthira's crowning ceremony is beautifully described. It is just the same as that of Amśuvarmā. Certain gates are mentioned in our inscription like the south gate, Managṛha gate, Madhyama gate (middle gate), the northern gate, each getting pu 1 and pa 4, but the south gate received puraṇa 3 and paṇa 1. Similarly the main road passing through a town or village, here probably the road passing by the side of the palace gate received 1 puraṇa and 4 paṇa. The person who cleansed the Palace (sammārjayidyā) was awarded pu 1 and pa 4. Kulluka Bhatta, a commentator on Manu (VII, 26) states that the man who cleanses the house should get 1 pana as a daily wage. During the festival (probably it means Kailasakutayatra) the two trusted chiefs of the managements of the ceremony received 20 purana and 25 pana each.

The Monetary System

We have to discuss this problem in the light of paṇa and purāṇa coins mentioned in the inscriptions. But the coins available to us are of copper and they are all paṇa coins of single denomination. No fractional coins have come to notice. The Thankot inscription of Viṣṇugupta established a ratio between a paṇa and purāṇa as 1 : 16, which is to say that a purāṇa is sixteen times higher in value than a paṇa. A puraṇa is a silver coin which however has not come to light.

Coins do not show the full names of persons except in two cases. The two exceptional cases are those of Amśuvarmā and Jiṣṇugupta, whether they may be royal personages or not. Manāṅka and Guṇāṅka coins are attributed to Mānadeva and Gaṇadeva only by implication.

Manu thinks that money was created for transacting business in the society as the people have to deal with one another. A coin is of gold, silver and copper. The commentator Kulluka Bhaṭṭa added that it was solely meant for the sale and purchase of goods in the mutual relations amongst members of the society (8/131).

Pāṇini and Kauṭilya have referred to weights of different metals but the elaborate descriptions come from Manu (8/132-35), Yājnavalkya (1/13/361-65), Viṣṇu and Nārada. They have suggested different weight systems for gold, silver and copper coins.

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The Amarakosa talks of copper paṇa (2/9/88) and it lays down that a copper (tāmrika) paṇa is equal to 20 māsa=40 kakinis=80 ratis. One rati is equivalent to 0.122 gramme. Thus a gramme is equal to 15.432 grains and 1 grain to 0.064 gramme according to the relative weights of English grains and metric grammes.

But this is no place to discuss the coin system in detail. It will suffice to say that the tāmrika paṇa as defined by our classical texts was the paṇa coin in circulation at the time. These coins are available to us at the moment. They betray a wide range of difference in weight. The difference is estimated to be between 3 to 14 grammes. They are, however, of single denomination and as we see there are no fractional coins. A coin of 3 grammes is as much a paṇa as a coin of 14 grammes. There should be no mistake about it, and we shall not entertain any idea of coins of fractional denominations on any basis.

E.H. Walsh is the first writer to draw our attention to ancient coin system of Nepal, who discusses the problem at length and illustrates his finds. He gives 13 illustrations but describes 20 varieties with their weights. He starts from a coin called Mānānka attributed to Mānadeva (I) of the Changu Pillar inscription. There are two varieties of Guṇānka both illustrated (Figs. 2, 3 in E.H. Walsh's book). This is followed by 4 varieties of Amśuvarmā's coins (Fig. 5-7). To Jiṣṇugupta belongs one coin (Fig. 8). Others illustrated and the rest just described are called Paśupati coins.

The weight measure is highest in the coins of Amśuvarmā ranging 13-14 grammes. But the Mānānka coin also is of 12 grammes, which comes close to Amśuvarmā coins in weight. The Vaisravaṇa coins are supposed to be of highest weight along with the coin Mahārājādhirājasya (Fig. 6). Macdonnel, a comparatively recent writer, has tried to determine the age of the coins on weight basis. He thinks that greater the weight of the coins the older was the time the coins had been struck.

It is said that coins were issued for the first time by Amśuvarmā. Indeed, the first Harigaon inscription is the earliest authoritative source to talk of puraṇa and paṇa, silver and copper coins respectively. The coins of Amśuvarmā are also of highest weight. This statement might be true if it was not for the Śrībhoginī legend in the Mānānka coin. Śrī Bhoginī is identified with Mānadeva's queen from the Sūryaghat Śivalinga inscription, and if the identification is correct then the Mānānka should have been struck quite earlier to Amśuvarmā's time. Nothing, however, can be suggested at this stage with certainty. The Mānānka is a symbolic coin as it does not bear the name of the ruler, and there is a question as to whether Śrī Bhoginī as queen of Mānadeva can be associated with this coin.

There are many more questions relating to the coinage of the period and we shall deal with the subject in detail in our next volume 'Nepal as known from Ancient Inscriptions'.

70. Bhatuwal

This is a stele in Bhatuwal, half a mile north east of Tistung, a village on the Tribhuvan Highway. Amśuvarmā, the Mahasamanta, is called here in a short epithet 'one' who had spread his fame being a bridge of the congruous propriety of the अन्तिष्टम आर्यमर्यादा. He asks the welfare of the head of a district or division attached to the western door, customs officers, officer of lesser rank in charge of a division (तदायुक्तक), superintendent of taxes and officer in charge of Gulma but keeping in the front, the officer of the kunda, customs and tāpana. The name of the village is damaged. It is a charter to allow the inhabitants of . . . . . a freedom to anyone or exemption from the payment of taxes as they go out for the sale of goods other than iron, flywhisk, hair of the deer, musk, fishes, articles of copper which could not be exported and return after sale. The dūtaka here is Mahārājā Vipravarmā and the date Samvat 31 prathama Pauṣa . . . . . fifth day.

In this inscription in the 9th line the inhabitants are exempted from taxes such as śulka and tāpana etc. But tāpana looks unknown while śulka, of course, is a customs duty. According to Harivaṁśa (ch. 87) tāpanya means alloyed gold (the quantity of a niṣka of gold and the rest of alloy).[14] In another text, the word is used in the sense of gold purified by fire. If tāpana and tāpani are the same then the officer (adhikṛt) might have been looking after gold export and import.

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This inscription gives the date Samvat 31 prathama . . . . . panchamyām. As the intercalated month, Pauṣa, is clearly read in the Bhaktapur Inayatol inscription, the month here is Pauṣa. This is the first occasion we find an intercalated Pauṣa in the second series of our inscriptions, which means that the Bhāradvāja or Nārada system of intercalation had continued also in the later ancient period.

71. Tistung Steles

These inscriptions after due enquiry of the welfare of the head of the district administration (viṣayapati) (Tadāyukta), customs officer (Śaulkika) and an officer in charge of gulma (Gaulmika) all of them tied to the west gate direct them to observe the provisions of the charter. It keeps the officers who were charged with collecting kuṇḍa, śulka and tāpana in advance also addressing them. Articles such as iron, flywhisk, musk and copper utensils, which were otherwise prohibited for export, were allowed to be exported by the people of the Tistung village. They could go without obstruction through the customs with these articles for sale and return with other articles purchased in lieu. They were exempted from paying śulka and tāpana taxes which were payable also while returning.

The officer in charge of customs was called śaulkika and the officer in charge of Gulma, a police or military outpost, was called Gaulmika. Tāpana is a name for gold. The adhikṛt (authority) was in charge of the costly metal. Perhaps tāpana was a literary substitute for hiraṇya, which often appears in inscriptions of the western region of present day Nepal in 9th-15th centuries.[15]

Śulka as Customs Duty

The word occurs in the Tistung inscription of Amśuvarmā. This was collected by an officer called śaulkika.

Śulka is mentioned by Kauṭilya:

वाह्या भ्यांचातिथ्यम् । निष्काम्यं प्रवेश्यं च शुल्कम् । (2·22·1-2)

A Śulka is imposed on goods exported and imported.

Kauṭilya is of the opinion that the duty should be 1/5 of the total value of goods thus transacted (2.22.1-2) through water and land routes at the port or checkpost. Manu, however, recommends just 1/20 part of the profits assessed. He also asks the king to appoint an officer of experience to determine the price and profit of goods which passed through customs (शुल्क स्थानेषुकुशलाः सर्वपण्य विचक्षणः । कुर्युरर्घं यथापण्यं ततो विंश नृपो हरेत् ।।) (8/398).

Manu at the above place includes Śulka the same as *kara* and *vali* and *bhāgadeya*. He thinks that they are synonymous. But Kulluka Bhaṭṭa in his commentary explains that a śulka is the share acquired by the king while goods pass through water and land routes at the port or checkpost (स्थल जल व्यवहारतो राजग्राह्यो भागः शुल्कम्).

Yājñavalkya also recommends I/20 part of the total value of goods. Yājñavalkya's treatment of the subject of Śulka is just like that of Manu (II.261, 262, 263). The verse 263 looks just like Manu's verse with Kulluka's commentary.

The customs officer should take 10 paṇas as śulka on goods coming through land route. Manu, however, recommended different rates for persons of different categories.

The Amarakośa (2/8/27) also defines the duty levied at ferry station as śulka:

द्विपाद्यो द्विगुणो दण्डः भागदेयः करोवलिः घट्यांदिदेयं शुल्कोऽस्त्री प्राभृतं तुप्रदर्शयन् ।।

But here śulka is also confused with bali and bhāgadeyah. However we can explain that it was a tax paid at the river station (Ghat).

The Divyavadāna, a Buddhist collection of tales, recounts the story of a merchant who . . . . . to undertake a voyage without paying śulka. Here śulka might be considered payment of an export tax.

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Kauṭilya, however, remains still the most authoritative writer and his statement represents what actually śulka means.

72. Inayatol, Bhadgaon

The upper part of the inscription is lost. The lower 5 lines are preserved. If it were not for the intercalary Pauṣa, the inscription was useless.

The date is Samvat 31 intercalary dvitiya Pauṣa śukla astamyām. The intercalary Pauṣa is of significance.

73. Changu Image Kavacha Inscription

Amśuvarmā had renovated the gold kavacha (coat of arms) worn by the image of Nārāyaṇa. He does it according to tradition. The word svasamsthaya had no connection with the date, which is given in words and in verse, meaning Samvat 31 Māgha 13 Puṣya asterism and Sunday (savitur dine). This is the first verifiable date as it gives day of the week in the inscription of Nepal and is first of the only two, which give week day. This inscription does not give the yoga, while the other does.

Amśuvarmā calls himself narapati, a synonym of the word which is translated as king. Much earlier than this date, the Eran inscription of Budhagupta's time in India gives a date with week day. The Eran inscription is dated Asadha masa sukla 12 suraguru (Thursday) of Gupta Samvat 165.

74. IInd Harigaon Stele

The second stele of Harigaon comes in the form of vyavasthā and as Levi's statement in this inscription is much illuminating we quote it: "The second inscription of Amśuvarmā in Harigaon is the exact counterpart of the first. It is erected against the same platform at the other corner of the northern facing. It has the same dimensions, the same arrangement, the feature and the contents are analogous. It is surmounted by a front on which are represented a chakra in the centre and three fourth of a sankha is visible on the left; the design on the right has completely disappeared. It was broken and defaced. An ordinary line separates the fronton from the text. The inscribed portion of the stele covers a height of about 68 cm by a width of 37 cm; the charter has an average height of 0.14 cm. An accident that does not seem due to chance alone made the higher portion of the stone on the right disappear; the middle of the lower lines and the right brim have also suffered a mutilation. The rest is in excellent state of preservation, the writing is clear and well traced. The style of writing is naturally the same as in the preceding inscription; I mention, however, the use of a small letter above the line for the final consonants; kulānām (l.15); pādānām (l.16); gauṣṭhikānām (l.18) parallel to the anuśvara in l.10; sāmānyamanuṣyānām in l.19. One of the numerical signs most frequent in the inscription has a dubious value (see note I.7).

"The inscription is entirely in Sanskrit and almost entirely in prose. It, however, ends up with a stanza in Vamcastha, which comes immediately before the date and in which Amśuvarmā addresses himself directly to the reader. And indeed Amśuvarmā does not show himself in it as a sovereign; not a single term evokes the idea of an order. The official position of Amśuvarmā has then not changed since the inscription of Samvat 30. It is a question of a distribution of taxes; the beneficiaries are principal and minor deities, temples, the Viharas (Buddhist institutions) and persons belonging to all the religions of Nepal. The inscription calls the allocation, my dear vyavastha that is maryadabandha to stress the sacred character of the grant. Amśuvarmā claims that he had caused an arrangement to be made for allocating donations to deities, temples, vihāras and the Pānchālīs. It is to establish the propriety of conduct in regard to the distribution of donations the word *bandha* is added to give it a sanction of a covenant."

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Śrāvaṇikādāna

The donations made to different divinities, temples, vihāras, Pānchālīs and Goṣṭhikās as Śrāvaṇikādāna are made under rules of maryādābandha i.e. dictated by a sense of high propriety and morality.

Śrāvaṇikā means the full moon day of the lunar month of Śrāvaṇa and the donations though made on the 13th of Āṣāḍha Śukla seem to have been made for the next month. According to the wording of the expression it is gṛhakṣetrādi Śrāvaṇikādāna, the gift or donations of house, land and other materials, but it mentions only gifts in terms of cash, puraṇa and paṇa (pu and pa).

Maryādābandha

Amśuvarmā calls his dispensation in both the Bungmati (n. 67) and Harigaon inscription (S. 32) as maryādābandha. There are some other inscriptions which call provisions of the charter as maryādā-bandha. The expression in the former is puskalā maryādābandha. Maryādā is 'the limits of morality and propriety'. Maryādābandha would mean bound to their limits as in a covenant, which none could violate. It appears that the donations assigned to different purposes here mentioned came to be made on a permanent basis and as a matter of convention. Amśuvarmā's prasāda was given for the sake of maryādā.

Earlier the Jaisideval inscription of Vasantadeva while warning those who violate the order states, 'this is maryādābandha. I will enforce the rules strongly' (dṛdhaṁ maryādābandha anusthāṣyāmi).

The Bhatuwal and Tistung inscriptions of Amśuvarmā call all those who disobey the order as maryādābhedi, one who breaks the rules of covenant agreed upon by the king.

Amśuvarmā was also known as Śrīkalahābhimānī. Sometimes this name is used by itself. But in this inscription his name is qualified by this name (Amśuvarmaṇā Śrī Kalābhimaninā). Here 'Śrī' is not used before Amśuvarmā but before Kalahābhimānī. This was so because he wanted to give an idea that he had developed a quarrel with the Goddess Śrī, another name of the goddess of wealth.

Kalahābhimānī

Amśuvarmā issues his inscription of Harigaon (S. 32) in his name adding also Śrī Kalahābhimānī to it. The content was given the name of vyavasthā (arrangement) and it was promulgated after thinking how the people would be made happy. The Pharping inscription calls him *Kalahābhimānī nṛpati* without mentioning his name, by which it appears that Kalahābhimānī also had become a name to address Amśuvarmā (n. 83). It was a sort of viruda, a second name. In the Dumja stone also Śrī Kalahābhimānī nṛpa appears and not Amśuvarmā (n. 87). Dhanavajra had published an inscription which talks of Śrī Kalahābhimānī's sister-in-law, brother's wife. Thus Kalahābhimānī had become another name of Amśuvarmā. This name was chosen by Amśuvarmā on his own.

But why Kalahābhimānī?

It is suggested that Amśuvarmā took pride in the vast knowledge he could acquire and he felt that as a man of learning he was automatically drawn to a quarrel with 'Śrī' the Goddess of Wealth. As tradition goes learning and wealth do not go together, and it has been a practice for ages together that a learned man detests wealth. Amśuvarmā thought this way and he adopted this name. He tried to show that he detested wealth in his pursuits of knowledge.

In the Viṣṇuite tradition Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī are co-wives of Viṣṇu and they are always at war. Their devotees suffer to that extent and as a result it so happens that a follower of Sarasvatī is cursed by the Goddess of Wealth and reduced to poverty. Similarly the curse of Sarasvatī makes the man who obtains Lakṣmī's blessing a fool.

Amśuvarmā had surely staked too high a claim. But if we mean to say that as a man of learning he had quarrelled with the Goddess of Wealth and had invited her curse and got his due, we would be

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wrong. No king suffered from poverty or want, and Amśuvarmā for sure did not.

The beneficiaries here are the share

(of) Paśupati pu 6 pa 2
(of) Dolāśikhara swāmi pu 6 pa 2
(of) Gumvihāra pu 6 pa 2
(of) Śrī Mānavihāra pu 6 pa 2
(of) Śrī Rājavihāra pu 6 pa 2
(of) Kharjūrikāvihāra pu 6 pa 2
(of) Madhyamavihāra pu 6 pa 2
(of) Sāmānyavihāra pu 3 pa 1
(of) Rāmeśvarasya pu 3 pa 1
(of) Haṁsagṛhadeva pu 3 pa 1
(of) Māneśvarasya pa 3 pa 1
(of) Vāgvatīpāradeva pu 3 pa 1
(of) Dhārāmāneśvara pu 3 pa 1
(of) Parvateśvara pu 3 pa 1
(of) Narasimha pu 3 pa 1
(of) Kailāseśvara pu 3 pa 1
(of) Bhumbhukkikā pu 3 pa 1
(of) Jalaśayana pu 3 pa 1
(of) Other temples pu 2 pa 2
(of) Śrī Bhattarakapāda's feet (Bhaṭṭārakapādānām) offering of pu 6 pa 2
(of) Sapelā Pānchālī pu 6 pa 2
(of) Sāmānya Pānchālī pu 3 pa 1
(of) the man in charge of palace stores pu 2 pa 2
(of) Gauṣṭhikās pu 2 pa 2
(of) the person who offers pu 2 pa 2
(of) Brāhmaṇas pu 1
and ordinary persons pu 2 pa 2

In respect of donations the first six are important enough to get each the largest share. Then come the monastic settlements and Śivaliṅgas.

But except in a few cases the identification of divinities, temples and Vihāras is much too difficult to arrive at a conclusion.

Identification of Deities, Śaivite and Buddhist and Sacred Sites

If the 1st Harigaon inscription of Amśuvarmā (S. 30 Jyeṣṭha śukla 8) throws light on various dignitaries of administration and persons with functions at the usual celebration of a festive occasion and main gates of the palace, the second inscription shows contributions to different deities and monasteries of both the Śaivite and Buddhist sects. But their identification and location are difficult to determine.

In the list of those getting contributions from the state the first place is taken by Bhagvat Paśupati and Dolāśikharaswāmi, both easily identified with Lord Paśupatinātha and Lord Viṣṇu of the Changu hill temple which are popular even today. Dolāśikhara is the name of the Changu hill. Dolā signifies the state of a swing like hill and the Śikhara is the top of the hill. The temple is situated on the top of the hill of that name, which means that it was situated on the śikhara. The Swami of Dolāśikhara would certainly refer to the God who occupies the said temple i.e. Viṣṇu image of the temple on top of the hill. The deity is known as Changu Narayana or Garuḍa Narayana from ancient times. These two Brahmanical deities are followed by Vihāras (Buddhist monasteries), Śrī Gum Vihāra, Śrī Mānadeva Vihāra, Śrī Rāja Vihāra, Śrī Kharjurikā Vihāra, Śrī Madhyama Vihāra and Śrī Sāmānya

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Vihāra. After this are listed some more Brahmanical deities such as Rāmeśvara, Haṁsagṛhadeva, Māneśvara, Sāmbapura, Vāgvatipāradeva, Dhārāmaneśvara, Parvateśvara and Bhumbhukkikā Jalaśayana.

Guṁ Vihāra is probably the Chaitya to the east of the temple of Yogini in Sankhu (Sake) six miles to the north east of the city of Kathmandu. The spot with the Chaitya is still known as Guṁ Vihāra and also in medieval records. The Śrī Mānadeva Vihāra stands unidentified. One may agree with L. Petech that Śrī Māna(deva) Vihāra is so called after the name of Mānadeva, the second, in whose name the era was founded. But we do not stand on a sure ground. The Rāja Vihāra and others beginning from Guṁ Vihāra to Madhyama Vihāra, all get 6 pu 2 pa as much as Paśupati and Dolādri Viṣṇu. The highest contribution is 6 pu 2 pa. Therefore all these gods and Vihāras are very important. The Kharjūrikā Vihāra comes for notice in several other inscriptions.

The Yagbahal or Yangubahi stone of Patan talks of the point at which the lands of Śrī Mānadeva Vihāra and Kharjūrikā Vihāra meet. The location of these monasteries, however, cannot be defined. It is there in the delineation of the boundaries for the grant of agrahāra in the Vajraghar inscription (l. 15) of Narendradeva (S. 103). It is located at the place reached through the agricultural field of Mhupriṅ Pānchāli, its western corner and thence going along south west. Although the inscription is said to be situated in a part of Patan, the area delimited cannot be recognised. The Rāja Vihāra (l. 21) precedes Kharjūrikā Vihāra in order. It also figures in the Yagbahal inscription of S. 103. The Rāja Vihāra is located near Madhyama Vihāra in Gomi bhu Dhancho pradeśa. But how to locate this place?

In the Harigaon inscription there is also a reference to Sāmānya Vihārānām, obviously in plural number, indicating the donations to many ordinary monasteries. The donation is just pu 3 pa 1, half of what a major Vihāra would get. All the deities, coming hereafter, receive pu 3 pa 1 and these include Rāmeśvara, Māneśvara, Dhārāmāneśvara and Parvateśvara which are probably Śivalingas. But it is virtually impossible to identify them.

A writer[16] identifies Rāmeśvara as Śivaliṅga situated near Tikā Bhairava, a hill at the south eastern tip of the Valley and Parvateśvara about a mile north east of Paśupatinātha and north of Bauddha. But the argument is based on materials which could not be accepted as reliable.

The argument is based on a statement of Himavatkhaṇḍa and a chronicle. But we have no sure ground to tread on as both of them were composed in the late middle ages.

Haṁsagṛhadeva is taken to be the same deity as Lokapālaswami of the Anantalingeśvara inscription (S. 80) as Haṁsagṛha draṅga was the place where the temple was situated.[17] But this is subject to further research. Māneśvara is a Śivalinga so called in the Tangal area east of the city of Kathmandu. However, there is no evidence of this being the Phallus image set up by Mānadeva. Sāmbapura is mentioned in the Naksal Narayanachaur stone as one of the places raised to draṅga status. Vāgvatipāradeva coming next to Māneśvara must have been a Śivalinga as well though Dhanavajra's guess is to identify it with the present Trivikramamūrti lying in a field across the river Bagmati nearly a furlong to the south of Pasupatinatha. Vāgvatipāra literally means across the river of that name. It can be any linga round Pasupatinatha on the other side of the river or near to it or far away. It does not appear that the deity was near Paśupatinātha.

There are several kinds of Śivalingas, some called after the shape they bear and some after the person who built them. Some are plain images and some are Mukha lingas. Pasupati and many others with faces at the top portion, which might be one or four in addition to the one at the centre remaining invisible.

Śiva and Śivalingas are of hoary antiquity. The deity is said to be of non-Aryan origin. His cult flourished in the pre-Vedic period, and lingas came to be adopted in the fold of Aryan gods since quite a long time in history. Lingas were known as sisna devatas. They represented the male organ in coitus. In the main there are two types of lingas, chala made of soft materials such as cooked rice, rudraksa seeds, clay, metals, kurcha grass and not endurable and achala made of stone. The latter is also called sthavara, which are in number and each is grouped into a different sect. The Swayambhu linga occupies the highest position amongst the 9 lingas.

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The chala lingas are variously called mṛṇmaya (made of earth), lohaja (metal), ratnaja (jewels), dārujo (wood), śilaja (stone) and kṣaṇika (of anything but worshipped only for a moment). The last are made of cooked rice, clay, butter, sandal paste, kurcha grass, flowers, jaggery and flour. According to T.A. Gopinath Rao the stone lingas under classification of chala are very small meant to be carried in the pocket by the followers of Śaiva cult called Jangamas, Lingāyats or Virasaivas.

The 9 sthāvara lingas are Swayambhu, Pūrva, Daivata, Gāṇapatya, Asura, Sura, Rākṣasa, Mānuṣa, and Vana. This is classification of Suprabhedāgama. Another text called Manasara counts amongst achala lingas, Saiva, Pasupata, Kalamukha, Vama and Bhairava. As we have already observed the Swayambhu is most highly respected linga (uttamottama) followed by Daivata and Ganapata less respectful (uttamamadhyama) and others come third in the hierarchy (madhyamadhama). The Swayambhu lingas 68 in number are scattered all over India according to the commentary on Jirṇodhāra darśana by Nigamajnānadeva. But no linga belonging to Nepal is available in this commentary.

All these liṅgas have particular shapes. They are not just erect pieces e.g. the Ganapata lingas are like cucumber or citron or wood apple or palm, Arsa (set up by the sages) have the top portion wide but the lower portion slightly diminished just as the coconut fruit in natural shape. The Manusa lingas literally associated with human beings are of many varieties. The Mukha lingas, whether one faced or four faced, come in this category. The Dhara lingas also belong to the Manusa variety. Gopinath Rao describes it as follows, 'it has the Pūjabhāga which has round it vertical fluted facets ranging from 5 to 64 in number'. There are illustrations of Dhārā liṅgas in his book. The Suprabhedāgama prescribes 5, 7, 9, 12, 16, 20, 24 and 28 facets for Dhārā liṅgas. But the Māyāmata lays down the rule that the number of facets in the Brahmabhāga, Viṣṇubhāga and Rudrabhāga should be 4, 8, 16 or 8, 16, 32 or 16, 32, 64 respectively.

The bhāga is particularly the concept of the Mānuṣa liṅgas.

The liṅga's three parts from top to bottom are as follows, the top is called Rudrabhaga circular in shape, the middle Visnubhaga octagonal and lowest square. But variants are also noted.

Among the modern authors T.P. Gopinath Rao has dealt with the subject of lingas in detail.[18] The Dhārā liṅga is there but there is no reference to the lingas of Nepal. J.N. Banerji does also refer to Dhara linga along with Astottara sata linga or Sahasra linga. He repeats almost what Rao writes 'If the cylindrical shaft of a Manusa linga has fluted facets it is Dhārā linga.'

According to L. Gopal and T.P. Varma the Dhārāmāneśvara could be the same as Dhārā mānuṣa liṅga.[19] But the location and identity of the linga are not given by the authors.

Narasimhadeva could also be a Śivalinga. As Narasimha Pānchālī appears in the inscription of 512, one author tries to locate it in the pānchālikā supposed to have existed north of the present site of Buḍhānīlakaṇṭha. But nothing definite can be said at this stage.

Kailāseśvara could be a Śivalinga by the side of the Paśupatinātha compound over an upland still known as Kailāsa.

Two Pānchālīs mentioned are Sapelā and Sāmānya, the former getting 6 pu 2 pa and the second 3 pu 1 pa. We have no idea of their location.

Bhumbhukkikā Jalaśayana

Thus far we have acquainted ourselves with the limitations we are facing in regard to the identification of deities, shrines and monasteries mentioned in the inscription. We found that there were some which are easily identified. But there are others whose identity is difficult to establish in the modern context. But there is one image still very much popular, which could be identified if it were not for the controversy surrounding it. The controversy arises because a future ruler Viṣṇugupta by name coming after nearly 35 years refers to the image of the same character (Viṣṇorjalaśayanarupa).

Here we mean to draw attention to the image called the Amśuvarmā as Bhumbhukkikā Jalaśayana, which literally would mean Bhumbhukkikā lying in deep sleep in waters. There can be no other god than a particular form of Viṣṇu who was supposed to lie in deep sleep in the ocean of milk. He is

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variously called, Śeṣaśāyī or Anantaśāyī or Jalaśayana in Purāṇas and lores. He is depicted lying in sleep with stretched legs sometimes kept straight and at other times one leg put on the other. India has a different way of representation and Nepal has its own. The Śeṣanāga by his hood protects his head, while Lakṣmī and his carrier Garuḍa sit at their feet on two sides of the serpent whose name is Śeṣanāga. This is the usual form of representation adopted in India. There is one more feature. The divine head is tilting on one side and it rests on the fingers of one of the hands and legs are straight. In Nepal the sleeping god has no tilting head and the stretched legs cross at the knee. Besides this, the image is always on a raised platform at the centre of a tank which symbolically represents the ocean. This element is lacking in India where the sleeping Viṣṇu is formed always out of waters inside a temple. In Nepal the image goes also without Garuḍa and Lakṣmī.

The Fish and Colour Theory

The inscription speaks of *Bhumbhukkikā Jalaśayana*. But as there are 2 more such images it is much too difficult if this meant Budhanilakantha. The reference to Jalaśayana shows that the image, whichever it is, existed nevertheless. The present name of Budhanilakantha as called by the Newārs is *Bhuyujasi*. But instead of giving a 'colour' interpretation to the meaning of the word, why not take it as Newārī corruption of *Bhujaṅgaśāyī* (sleeping on Serpent)? *Bhuyujasi* is a later name given in the late medieval period. But what is this *Bhumbhukkikā*, the name given in Amśuvarmā's inscription? In the lexicon *bhukkikā* is the name of a kind of fish. Perhaps the tank of Budhānilakaṇṭha was full of such fish and the name of the God was derived from this fact. Of course, I had mistakenly supposed earlier that the present name carried some other sense. But here we have to note that the word is Bhumbhukkikā and not only bhukkikā, so the 'fish' interpretation will not be valid.

Dhanavajra might be right to say that *bhuyujasi* is not a corrupt form of the word *Bhumbhukkikā* which means a kind of fish in the pond where at the centre a platform is erected for the Lord who is lying on his back and his legs fully stretched in rest but lie in crossing position. Dhanavajra is also right when he observes that Newārī meaning of the word bhuyu is the colour 'white'. But are we concerned with such corruption and meaning? Actually speaking the present name of the sleeping Viṣṇu, *Bhuyujasi*, might be the Newārī form of *Bhujaṅgaśāyī*. In Newārī language Sanskrit words are adopted with many letters dropped in the middle and at the end to mould them in a monosyllabic form or if the word is of more than 3 syllables in bi-syllable form. In the old text of the 12th-13th century since when Newārī finds place in the inscriptions Sanskrit words are rendered to suit this convenience. For example the word *pratipadā*, Sanskrit name of the first day of the lunar fortnight, is made *pādu* in the *Gopālarājavamśāvali*. We may not repeat instances because they are so common. But this persists even today. The Sanskrit word, *chitrakāra*, used for the caste of painters is just *chikā*. Here the central *tra* and the end syllable *ra* are missing. Similarly the Newārī word for *Piśācha chaturdaśī* is *pañchare* which is surely its local corrupted rendering. If we give thought to all this, it will not be difficult to project *Bhuyujasi* as a corrupt form of *Bhujaṅgaśāyī*. It appears that *bhu* is retained but *jaṅga* and *śāyī* are corrupted into *yujasi*. The word altogether becomes *bhuyujasi*, which might fit itself in with the text.

Bhuyujasi or Lokeśvara

The image of sleeping Viṣṇu known as Budhānīlakantha is popular both with the followers of Brahmanical religion and Buddhism. If the former worship the image as Śeṣaśāyī, the latter do so as Bodhisatva Lokeśvara, the name Nīlakantha is given to the image by the Buddhists because one name of Lokeśvara is Nīlakantha. One should not confuse the name with that of Śiva whose throat suddenly assumed blue colour as he drank deep the poison Kālakūṭa.

It appears that the Buddhists in Nepal had always worshipped the image of sleeping Viṣṇu as Nīlakantha Lokeśvara. This was the reason that the other image slightly thinner and as above noted

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situated at the foot of the Nagarjong hill was called Bālānīlakaṇṭha. The images reflected the extension of the Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara cult, whether one may call it Bhuyujasi or anything else. But this does not solve the problem of giving a right interpretation to Bhumbhukkikā.

Bhumbhukkikā is the name of the image in Amśuvarmā's Harigaon stele (II) so prominently mentioned. Bhuyujasi figures in several medieval records. Bhuyu means the colour white but we do not know how 'meghavarṇa' (cloud coloured) Viṣṇu got this colour. But some forms of Lokeśvara have white colour, specially Sukhāvatī Lokeśvara. Here, however, tradition has identified the image of sleeping Viṣṇu with Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara, whose colour is yellow and throat blue. So either it is the confusion created by Lokeśvara tradition based on misunderstanding the colour aspect or it is a corruption of the word bhumbhukkikā. Jalaśayana is definitely corrupted into Jasi. If it is so, it is not clear what the word bhuyujasi actually means, and how it came to be shaped in a corrupted form.

Bhuyujasi, the Newari word, might also be a corrupt form of bhujangaśāyī. It is an identified image referring to Budhanilakantha śeṣaśāyī But Bhumbhukkikā is yet subject to controversy.

The exact corruption should be bhujasi but in thinking of colour the preference was for 'white' and hence *bhu* becomes bhuyu and in totality it is bhuyujasi. But the 'colour' argument is irrelevant and the present Newari name is of no help to determine the identity of the image concerned. If we can find a clue to understanding how it is called *Bhumbhukkikā*, that might solve our problem. Nevertheless, the Jalaśayana image is there since a long time and it exists at the moment. It is to our knowledge that the inscription and the image exist separately. I think what we are going to say in connection with the image referred to in the Yangāhiti and Bhṛṅgāreśvara image provides also an irrefutable argument for the identity. But an identity of the Bhumbhukkikā image could only be established after we examine thoroughly all the aspects of the question of identification of Viṣṇugupta's image referred to in the Yangahiti and Bhṛṅgāreśvara Inscription.

Dhanavajra's argument is not convincing and I do not think that what he proposes to establish the dynastic identity of the ruling family can carry conviction to any extent. The argument is offered for the sake of argument. I do not think that the word bhuyujasi is relevant here. What is relevant is Bhumbhukkikā Jalaśayana. Viṣṇu is always represented in a dark colour (*meghavarṇam gagana sadṛśam*). Where is the relevance of bhuyu, which means white?

The word Bhumbhukkikā as it qualifies the word Jalaśayana, the god sleeping in waters, must be a particular name for that god. But what is this Bhumbhukkikā? There are four images of this type in view: (1) Budhānīlakaṇṭha, (2) Bālānīlakaṇṭha otherwise known as Balāju, (3) Śeṣaśāyī image in Bhandarkhal tank in the old Kathmandu Royal Palace and (4) the same image in a hill in Palanchok. The last though as large as the Budhanilakantha is of later period and might be ignored. But the second and third are important and of the two the third is more important. There is much similarity between Budhānīlakaṇṭha jalaśayana and the third image both in respect of size and finish. Both are fine examples of excellently executed sculptures on large stones. In respect of artistic beauty, grace and elegance their likes could be rarely seen. All the four images are carved on large stones and their size impresses anybody. The Bālāji image also betrays a highly developed form of art. The sleeping Viṣṇu assumes the same posture as the two others. A comparison between the Budhānīlakaṇṭha and Bālāji will, however, go to show that on account of differences in the style, size, dimension and mass and serenity and elegance the former should be placed to an earlier age. That way it does not create any problem for identification. We may also see that the two images are separately placed, the former at the foot of the Śivapuri hill about 5 miles north of the city of Kathmandu, while the latter occupies a place in a tank at the foot of the Nagarjong hill about 2 miles north west of it. Of the two images the Budhānīlakaṇṭha is larger and is of stronger built than the other which is a little thinner, but both stand together in respect of execution as art object. However, the former shows more deftness and refinement and a more highly qualified and experienced artist had chiselled it. All the same, the art quality of the image of Bālānīlakaṇṭha should not be underrated. It is also a beautiful object of art on stone.

The Jalaśayana Viṣṇu lying at a site called Bhandarkhal inside the old Palace complex rather

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comes to intervene as regards identification. This image can compare favourably with the image of Budhānīlakaṇṭha in size as well as in beauty and finish from art point of view. We, however, find ourselves at a loss to know which of these belongs to Viṣṇugupta (mid 7th century) and which refers to Amśuvarmā's Bhumbhukkikā. It has to be noted that not only the old chronicle the V[1] (f. 22a) but also two inscriptions, the Yangahiti and Bhṛṅgāreśvara (no. 108 and 109) with the same particulars, Phālguṇa sukla 2 record a grant of certain privileges to the people of a part of Dakṣiṇa-koligrāma and the whole of Bhṛṅgāra pānchālī respectively by the then de facto ruler Regent Viṣṇugupta being satisfied with the services rendered by the people in carrying through their respective areas to its destination a very large stone, which was best suited for carving an image of Viṣṇu sleeping in waters (Bhagavato Jalaśayana rupa niṣpādana yogya bṛhachchhilākarṣaṇa vyāpāra). The question whether the image constructed under the patronage of Viṣṇugupta is the same as the Budhānīlakaṇṭha has been discussed later. But Bhumbhukkikā comes again and again to our thought at this stage, as the inscription under review refers to this form of Viṣṇu as the then popular deity.

The word Bhumbhukkikā is of Sanskrit origin but still much used in Karnataka though lost elsewhere. It is just the same as Bhumbhukkika which means 'the ornament of the world'. One conjures a vision of beauty and excellence at the sight of the image lying over a raised platform at the centre of a pond. Bhumbhukkikā as a qualified term to describe the beauty and excellence of the sleeping Viṣṇu (sleeping in peace) is supported by D.C. Sircar in the Glossary (p. 58) quoting sources (EI, 13). He thinks that Bhum is for bhumi, the earth or bhuvana, the world. Viṣṇu is called the ornament of the world even in other classical texts. So the qualifying Bhumbhukkikā is surely for Viṣṇu Śeṣaśāyī. The Nepalese have devised to place the image in a pond and call it Jalaśayana. But how to identify the Bhumbhukkikā Jalaśayana with one particular image when there are more than one image?

I have argued the case thoroughly to identify Amśuvarmā's image with Budhānīlakaṇṭha called Bhuyujasi at present. But in spite of our best efforts we cannot establish the fact of identity at this stage. We have to wait till we come to discuss the image of sleeping Viṣṇu in waters carved on a large stone by renowned artists at the orders of Viṣṇugupta, some 35 years later. I think that the discussion at that stage will help to clear up the confusion for the identification of the image.

75. Sanga

This is a charter of Amśuvarmā addressed to the families inhabiting the village of Sanga. The first four lines invoke the blessing of Śiva. The record describes the palace of Kailāśakūṭa as a wonderful object for the people looking at it without eyes winking, and with surprise and eagerness. Amśuvarmā speaks of himself as one 'always engaged in solving problems relating to the welfare of the people'. Some collections by the state were taken to be causing harassment to the people of the area. These included Humhum article, 12 jars of oil, and 5 kumhum articles; all of these have been stopped. The state will not collect them. Henceforth none of these should be given to the state. All the departments are prohibited to induce people to work in oil mills.

The dūtaka is Rājaputra Vikramasena with the title Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka Rājaputra Vikramasena, and the date is Samvat 32 Bhādrapada śukla 1.

Rājaputra Vikramasena appears in Amśuvarmā's inscriptions for the last time. It might be that since then he had ceased to hold the post under the government of Amśuvarmā for some reasons.

The place is called Sangā village, to whose householders along with the chief, the ruler had directed enquiries of their health and his address as to exemption from certain contribution to the state. They were exempted from the payment of taxes on humhum article, 12 jars of oil and 5 Kumhum articles which were causing harassment to them.

There is no doubt that by Sanga, the present village of Sanga was meant. The name does still exist intact. It also appears that Sanga was a centre where oil was produced on a large scale. But it is difficult to explain what Humhum and Kumhum are.

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76. Sundhara, Patan

This is an inscription on a stele in the courtyard of a water conduit known as Sundhara in Patan. This incorporates a charter issued by Mahāsāmanta Śrī Amśuvarmā.

Amśuvarmā repairs the temple of Matiṅ village. The temple was destroyed by the mongoose and mice, the woods had grown too old and as a result windows and door-frames had fallen. After repairing he had donated lands belonging to the government in the south and south-west of the said village, so that Matiṅgrāma Pānchālikā could do their job in regard to repair work by income received as contributions from the fields. The land to the south of the village gave the Pāñchālikā in contributions $20 \times 64 = 1280$ mānikās of grains, and another $6 \times 20 = 120$ mānikās from the land in the south east was also received. Both contributions were to be used in relation to the temple of Matiṅ village. This was done for setting the arrangement in the proper order on a permanent basis (by the process of *aksayanivipratibaddha*). The date of the inscription shows intercalary Pauṣa, in S. 34 śukladiva tritīya. The record was issued with mahābalādhyakṣa Vindusvāmī as dūtaka.

77. Taukhel

The Taukhel stele is dated Samvat 37. The Taukhel village is about 3 miles to the south-east of Tistung. The top of the stone bears a chakra flanked by śankha. Here again, Amśuvarmā assumes high sounding epithets of praise, which meant 'he was ever devoting his mind to do good of all living beings (satva)'. But he is still Śrī Mahāsāmanta. The address is to the village kutumbis of Chustung, who were suffering greatly from the encroachment of she-buffaloes. Here he grants some lands for the transfer of population from Chustung, so that they no longer have to face the harassment from the buffaloes. The only quid pro quo in this respect on the side of the people was to pay 300 janga (?) to Tistung, Sulhun and Brahmun, the three villages.

As this area seems to have been engaged in following the calling of animal husbandry particularly buffalo breeding, it might be that they were the people, the left over of the invaders called Mahiṣapāla kings in the chronicle.

The new feature in the inscription is the emergence of a new personality as dūtaka whose name was yuvarāja (king's son) Udayadeva. From now onwards he appears as dūtaka in all inscriptions of Amśuvarmā. But his parentage is not known. He, however, appears as father of Narendradeva in the Paśupati stele of Jayadeva II. The meaning of the *janga* is not available in any lexicon.

The Taukhel inscription of Amśuvarmā mentions Testuṅ Sulmhum Brahmuṅ karaṇīyam jangas śatatrayam deyam. What these Testuṅ, Sulmhuṁ and Brahmuṅ mean? We know from some inscriptions that they were officials. The last was a local administrator but we know nothing of the other two. We are also ignorant of the meaning of Janga, 300 pieces of which were to be paid to these officers. The karaṇīyam might mean the job which was to be done in the context or it might also mean that the officials were to get as levies.

The expression might mean 'pay 300 jangas to these Testuṅ, Sulmhuṁ etc. what is to be done to them'. But a *janga* is unknown to our lexicon and we do not know what it is the people had to pay to these officers.

The present Taukhel village was probably the old Chustung of the inscription. The name bears likeness to Tistuṅ the village mentioned in the earlier inscription, which was situated adjacent to Taukhel or Chustung.

78. Otu Stone

The inscription of Otu (Kathmandu) is dated Samvat 38. The epithet of Śrī Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā is missing in the damaged line. The name of the pāñchālikā is also lost. The charter exempts the people from taxes on *mallapota* and *sukara* (pigs). Probably some adhikaraṇa is not

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allowed to enter the area even for actions connected with five crimes. There is a reference to earthen pots going to the market. The dūtaka is yuvarāja Udayadeva.

One author thinks that in following the teaching of Kauṭilya, the practice of calling the son of the king as yuvarāja was introduced by Amśuvarmā. He thinks that there was no yuvarāja previous to the Taukhel inscription. But yuvarāja in India is older than Kauṭilya and may date back to Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata.

But now we come to discuss what mallakara or mallapotakara means. This inscription uses the expression mallapotasūkarakara. There are other inscriptions of the time, which add *matsya* (fish) as well as kukkuṭa. However, other words are simple enough and they do not need any explanation. But a *malla* belongs to a different category in the context it is placed and carries more than an ordinary meaning. It is certainly not a wrestler, or a tax on a wrestling bout could be conceived at the time of display but a wrestler is not a beast or a domesticated bird to be put in the inscription to live up with the fish, fowl and pigs. The natural meaning of a *malla* in the context it is used is obviously a bird or an animal. But what actually it is, a bird or animal and if it is the latter, of what kind, all this has got to be ascertained and it is for this reason we have thought it proper to discuss the subject.

We choose the occasion here because the word used is *mallapota*, which was to pay a tax to the state. *Mallapota* literally means a child or a baby. So we are to understand that there is a tax on baby *malla*. All these lead us again to know that a *malla* could have a baby. Obviously there is no sense in imagining a baby of a wrestler, on which the state extracted a tax. The very idea is ridiculous, so we will have to abandon once for all the conception as regards *malla* being a wrestler in our context. Errors had been committed in the past but now it is high time that they are corrected. The present inscription by talking of a tax on a *mallapota* serves to draw our attention to a *malla* and its baby. T his did not ccme out in the earlier context. Hence we have a choice of the place at this stage, which was not possible to do elsewhere for lack of adequate data.

Mallakara

Mallakara, a tax on malla, by itself is mentioned first in the Visnumati Hill inscription of S. 512 (n. 49), then in the Dharampur inscription of S. 520 (n. 62) and the Thankot inscription of S. 57 (n. 106).

So far the Mallakara was taken to be a tax on wrestling bouts or wrestlers (mallas). But as malla has come along with kukkuṭa (fowls) and sukara (pigs), we are likely to take it as some animal or domesticated bird like Kukkuṭa as in the Otu inscription (n. 78) of Amśuvarmā (mallapota sūkara karāṇām) and pratimuktāmalla potanāmapi in the Yangahiti inscription (n. 103) of Jiṣṇugupta.

In the Bungmati inscription of Amśuvarmā (n. 68) mallapota comes along with matsya, the expression running *Kukkuṭa sukaraṇām mallapotānam matsyanāmchāvādhanena.* Here malla is put as different from matsya i.e. fish. In lexicon a malla also means a fish and a small variety of fish at that. The Vachaspatyam (VI, p. 118) and Śabdakalpadruma (III, 1646) take malla as a king of fish (bheda) quoting a passage from Medini. The malla itself is a small variety of fish and accompanied by potaka along with kukkuṭa and sukara will mean a microscopic fish born of very small fish. In this context a tax on infant small fish (malla potakara) looks ludicrous. This is, however, suggested by a research scholar[20] as the right meaning, who thinks that in the expression mallapotānām matsyānām the word mallapotānām just qualifies the word matsyānām. He does not take them as two words applying to two separate objects. To him, Mallapota means a matsya i.e. fish. But anybody can see it for himself that they are placed in the passage much as two words. In such a context any hypothesis suggesting the word *mallapotakānām* as a qualifying term is incorrect. How can the combination of two words carrying different sense have qualifying relationship? If one accepts this sort of argument then Kukkuṭakānām and sūkarānām might also be taken in the same way and be treated as qualifying terms.

But fowls and pigs, mallas and their infants are not the same as matsya, the fish. As such the argument falls through. After all Amśuvarmā's passage was not designed to wear the character of a

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kośa, a lexicon like the Amarakośa to give paryayah, words of similar meaning.

A writer has suggested that malla is a male buffalo and mallapotaka is an infant male buffalo. The word is just malla if it means an adult he-buffalo and malla potaka if it is to mean an infant he-buffalo. He thinks that the Newari word Maleme meaning a he-buffalo of a particular variety is a corruption of malla[21] and as such a malla carries with it the sense of a he-buffalo of that kind. I agree with Shrestha, the writer of the first article, that maleme means a he-buffalo belonging to the Terai or farther south. Maleme is the Newari version of marsyāme, the marṣyā as applied to the people of the Terai and northern parts of Bihar and united provinces on the other side of the frontier and it is not the corruption of malla. It only means a he-buffalo which came from the region of the south across the frontier, or within it from the Terai which they called madhyadeśa. We know that Madhyadeśīya is corrupted into Marsyā in Newari, and it is not unusual that marsyā becomes malé.

There is another writer who has put forward the view that malla is a corruption of Malhā, a ram used in Vedic Śrautasūtras and Brahmanas as they talk of animal sacrifices in the Vedic age, the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (2/3/1-6), the Āpastamba and Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra and Śatapatha Brahmana (ch. 54, 1-9).

But we have to take this view also with a grain of salt for we know from the commentary Mitākṣarā on Yājnavalkya that a malla is different from a ram or sheep. Quoting Manu[22] who classifies gambling into two categories, the one played without animal (apranibhiryatkriyate) and the other played with animals (birds included) and calls them dyūta and samāhvaya respectively Mitākṣarā states that in Samāhvaya the birds and animals involved are kukkuṭa (fowls), pārāvata (pigeons), malla, meṣa (ram) and mahīṣa (buffalo).[23] The commentary gives additional information as to the distinction between a meṣa (ram) and malla whose identity has yet to be traced and established. The Mitākṣarā is one of the early commentaries on Yajnavalkya and is a reliable authority to interpret his views. The Mitaksara's comment cannot be ignored.

I think that a proper meaning of the word malla has yet to be discovered. Now the question comes as to what it actually means. It surely conveys the meaning of an animal but what sort of animal the malla is, nobody knows. Obviously it is not buffalo nor it is a ram. There should be more vigorous search for the meaning of the word malla to find a suitable image for the kind of animal it means.

79. Gairidhara Inscription of Kathmandu

The Naksal Gairidhara inscription of Kathmandu issued by Śrī Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā is without date because of the damaged date figures. The charter is addressed to the householders of Jonjondin village. Amśuvarmā having been pleased with the work of building a canal in Nilisala (modern Naksal) had prohibited the entry of bulls, horse drawn chariot and cart with bullocks. The dūtaka here is yuvarāja Udayadeva. The word yuvarāja is used for the first time in the history of the inscriptions.

80. Deopatan Crossroad

The stele lying just about a hundred yards to the west of the western gate of the temple of Paśupatinātha with a bull atop is mainly devoted to ensure the care of Śurabhogeśvara set up in the memory of her husband Rājaputra Śurasena by Amśuvarmā's sister Bhogadevī, mother of Śrī Bhogavarmā and of Laḍitamaheśvara installed by Amśuvarmā's niece Bhāgyadevī, daughter of Bhogadevī and of Daksineśvara established by their ancestors, all these lingas situated in the Paśupati area. The charter issued by Amśuvarmā is addressed to the office bearers of the western department (there is no Śrī here before the name), those serving at the moment as well as those coming to succeed them. The charter runs to say that their entry is banned, and the maintenance of the gift would be the duty of the Adhahśālā Pāñchālikā. If at any time some work in that connection arises or in course of time

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the Pāñchālikā abandons the work to be performed under regulations the ruler should give his thought to all such problems by means of antarasana. The dūtaka here is yuvarāja Udayadeva. Like all other inscriptions of Amśuvarmā this charter is issued by his own order (svayamajna) and the date is Samvat 39. There is no mention of a village or inhabitants in this inscription. As a charter it is addressed to the officials of a particular department, here paschimādhikaraṇa (western). There is no Śrī before the name of the department.

Mahāsāmanta Title Abandoned

One special feature of this inscription is that Amśuvarmā mentions before his name just Śrī, which is not a title at all. It is just a respectable prefix before one's name, not any official title. Here and onwards the title of Mahāsāmanta is abandoned and Śrī continues singly. We shall have discussion to explain why and how Amśuvarmā without adopting royal titles such a Mahārājā etc. had ruled over the country.

From this inscription it appears that by antarāsana the composer meant an authority associated with the ruler who was to decide by antarāsana all cases not decided by the Pāñchālikā.

In this inscription Amśuvarmā describes himself as one who had been purified of impure knowledge because of his debates on various subjects of learning, and who took pride in having established an order based on justice, virtue and morality, an act which he regarded as a great festival or celebration.

In spite of the verbosity of phraseology and exaggerated sense going with it, Amśuvarmā in the words of Hiuen Tsang was a man of great accomplishment in the field of learning although the words and the phrases used give an idea of parading his knowledge. But this aspect of his character also will have to be fully dealt with in another context.

81. Kisipidi

Amśuvarmā's Kisipidi inscription is probably a charter for the delimitation of boundary of the village concerned. But it is difficult to say which village it is, as the upper portion of the stele is totally damaged.

Amśuvarmā is here just Śrī Amśuvarmā and the dūtaka is Udayadeva.

The charter ends with svayamājñā as it so happens in all Amśuvarmā's inscriptions. The date is missing.

82. Bankali

With date lost the stele of Bankali near Paśupatinatha's shrine presents one Amstavarmā who had built the walls of the temple . . . . . and this writing on stone.

The wife of King (nṛpati) Kalahabhimani by her husband's grace and in order to enhance his virtues and to destroy her own worldly sorrows. It might appear that she built a temple where an image was placed. Further than this, nothing is clear from the record.

83. Pharping

This is a fragment of a Pharping stone, which tells us of the construction of a conduit with its cold water tending to quench the thirst of the world in the area of a Buddhist monastery by the grace of King Kalahabhimani. The date is missing.

Amśuvarmā is described as one who has given his body, wealth, head, hands for the welfare of the needy. The world was harassed by the deceitful kings of the Kali age. These kings always envied the qualities of others, and King Kalahabhimani resisted them and showered his blessing on the harassed

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one. The inscription wishes him omniscience. The king was an ornament of the monastery (Āryavāsa) and he was always engaged in the task of doing good to others.

From this inscription it will appear that Amśuvarmā's munificence also extended to Buddhism whose followers on their part revered him. But it will not be correct to say that the Buddhist community was subjected to harassment by the Ābhira Guptas. This question we shall take up in the text of 'Ancient Nepal', which alone is a proper place for such a subject to be discussed.

84. Pharping Stele

Another fragment of a Pharping stele with the date Sam. 43 presents a grant of land contributing 20 mānikas during a month . . . . . for the temple of Kumārasvāmi and 12 mānikas for umbrella, flowers, vermilion, burning lamp, and playing musical instruments.

It is difficult to say if the two fragments are parts of one whole. Its Buddhist character can only be established if it is a supplement of the other. The word शासितु before कुमारविजयिनः does not make much sense in the absence of other words which are missing. The donation of 12 mānikas is made for daily and monthly worship.

85. Gokarna

About the Gokarna inscription much damaged as it is, one can only say that it belongs to Amśuvarmā's reign as 'Śramsu' is clearly seen.

I think that the mere fact of Va (Jra) Yāna is clear enough to imagine the flourishing centre of Vajrayāna existing in Nepal.

86. Dumja

The Dumja stone very much damaged shows Śrī Kalahābhimāni nṛpati. It has no other importance. The stone shows just a few words in the 3 lines. But unfortunately the photographs are missing.

87. Stone Water Conduit

This is the last available inscription of Amśuvarmā with Samvat 45. Here is a testimony that Śrī Amśuvarmā was living in S. 45. One Vārtta Vibhuvarmā had built a water conduit by the grace of Amśuvarmā. In the ruler's name, the 'm' is doubled.

We have seen that in the record, as in others, the name Śryaṁśu occurs. This is also the way his name has been spelt on one of his coins. There is a coin with Mahārājādhirāja Śryaṁśu. Jiṣṇugupta refers to him as Bh. Mahārājādhirāja in his Tavajhyatol stele. But all these should not lead us to think that he had declared himself the king of his country. Maybe it is meant to honour his memory. But we shall come to conclusions only after examining all the evidences at our disposal. One should not forget that Jiṣṇugupta's reference is just made out of courtesy.

88. On a Brick

The one line Mahāsāmantamśuvarmā on a large brick available in Tangal Palace area might either suggest a palace of Amśuvarmā in the area or a practice of stamping a brick by a bricklayer with the name of the ruler. This practice had continued so late till the end of the Rana period.

Tangal seems to be a promising area where excavation is expected to produce results. Maybe here lie the ruins of Kailāsakūṭa Palace.

The brick is much larger in size than what it is today, but the inscription more than the size counts here.

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We have already suggested that kings always emphasised in their records their love for the people; they even went to the extent of saying that king was bound to serve his people, and his service called vinaya niyamah deserves to serve the world. Because a king was to dedicate his life to the service of his people, he was obliged to regulate his passions, suppress and control his anger, greed and vanity, and he had to fulfil his missions even at the cost of his pleasure. This is what Kauṭilya suggests in his Arthaśāstra (1.5.5). He observes that a vidyā means service to people, retention of all knowledge that was obtained, mutual discussion and deep thinking over it, and lastly he should cause the intellect sharp by these. Kauṭilya is of the opinion that the king well disciplined by vidyā who is dedicated to the service of his people and other human beings will enjoy the earth for long. Yājnavalkya and Manu almost repeat Kauṭilya as they plead for a king's solicitude for the welfare of the people. Yājnavalkya in Rājadharma prakarana of Āchārādhyāya (I.13.319) states that for a king there is no greater meritorious act than assuring the people their freedom from fear. Manu also stresses the king's duty to identify his happiness with that of the people.

Up till now we have recorded all the inscriptions of Amśuvarmā. These not only speak of his qualities of head and heart but also of his dedication to the service of his people. One inscription after another emphasise his deep love for his people. At one place he is described as a ruler always ready to solve the problems concerning the happiness of the people. The arrangement of donations was made keeping in view his desire and anxiety as to how to make his people happy. His mind was purified because he always thought of the welfare of his people.

These are fine sentiments no doubt and if he had really meant what he had said Amśuvarmā would have been definitely a ruler much different from others, whose statements were made just to stress the theory without any desire to follow them in practice. After all every king in those days spoke in that vein and no king or Regents could afford to rule without expressing a desire to work after the interest of his people. But it should be kept in mind that anyone who ruled in the real sense of the term, ruled with a rod. Even the classical lawgivers who warned the king of misrule advised him in the last resort to use his divine daṇḍa, an instrument of coercion, when he felt that the dharma was in danger and men and women had strayed from the traditional way of life.

Love for the People

Amśuvarmā had received highest possible praise in Śivadeva's inscriptions. He was praised as a man of fine qualities, excellent virtues, brave in battles with wide fame and learning. The interest of his people was uppermost in his heart. There was no like of him in this world. Feudatories danced to his tune and enemies respected and feared him. Such was Amśuvarmā while Śivadeva was living.

When he became the sole ruler enjoying royal dignity and absolute powers he gave up high sounding titles. He declared that he was always thinking of his people's welfare and how they would be made happy. At one place (Sanga stele) he talks of himself as one who was ever prepared to do anything in the interest of his people. Then in Taukhel stele (n. 77) Amśuvarmā likes to call himself ever desirous of doing good to all the living beings, and thereafter in the Gairidhara (Naksal) inscription (n. 79) he shows himself as one not devoted to any kings with tributes and of a mind content having promoted the basis of other people's sacred rights. The Deopatan crossroad inscription (n. 80) talks of Amśuvarmā as one who engaging himself day and night by discourses on scriptures has absolved himself of untrue philosophy and who thinks it a great festive occasion to achieve the cause of the maintenance of disciplinary conduct.

These are not epithets of vanity, and we find a contrast between the epithets used for Amśuvarmā in Śivadeva's records and in the records of his own. Although in two inscriptions Amśuvarmā talks about his qualities and achievements they are done in simple terms and they reflect his own feeling of mercy and compassion towards all creatures and his own desire to maintain a well disciplined conduct. As the head of state and later as king Amśuvarmā shows himself in a mood chastened by experience and he does not show himself as power drunk.

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But all this should not be allowed to compare Amśuvarmā with a modern liberal ruler. He was an autocrat essentially, and he enjoyed his power without restraint. In his own way he was no better than an absolute dictator, otherwise how could he eliminate opposition, declare himself a king when he had no title to the throne. It is not unusual for any king to talk of his people in the way Amśuvarmā does. After all he was a fatherly figure, and what does it cost him to express himself in their favour.

In spite of his solicitude for the happiness of the people, Amśuvarmā was nevertheless an autocratic ruler. Whatever may be his attitude to the throne, he was from the very beginning of his regime assuming the role of a king and did give expression to this position when in the Bungmati inscription asked the future kings to protect the prasāda made here as the same came from their predecessors. It might be there was a check and balance system devised by our lawgivers which was stressed from time to time, but this never stood in the way of the king being absolute. We should not be misled by expression of pious wishes as all kings behaved in the parental authority of the ruler over their subjects in a feudal society.

Kauṭilya, of course, lays stress on the identity of the interests between rulers and the ruled. But there is a common strain to this effect in all the works of our lawgivers. All this, however, is just an example of pious expressions without the sanctity of practice.

The Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva, 59, sl. 70) says that as head of the state (rāṣṭra) the king's foremost duty was to protect his subjects and he is a divine being descending to earth in unusual circumstances. Yājnavalkya and Manu speak of Brahmā's gift of a divine daṇḍa which is in the possession of the king using it to destroy the evil doers who deserved punishment. But it was within the king's discretion to choose whom to punish and whom not to punish. That way lies absolutism, and it is always the inherent monopoly of state powers in his hands that made him absolute. It is idle to speak of a king who would tolerate defiance of his authority from anyone and from any quarters.

Amśuvarmā has the coin in his name with Mahārājādhirāja Śryaṁśo as the legend. This coin establishes that he himself declared his position as the king towards the end of his career. This title passed on to Udayadeva after his death as Amśuvarmā after declaring himself the king of the country soon passed away.

The last three inscriptions show Amśuvarmā dropping his title of mahāsāmanta and using just Śrī before his name. This was anomalous. I think that he assumed kingship to do away with this kind of anomaly.

Seizing power at the first instance with the title of Sāmanta and then becoming Mahāsāmanta later Amśuvarmā became a de facto ruler behind the throne. For years together his name appears as a person who had advised the king to issue charters. He is lauded to skies by king Śivadeva while announcing charters. In the ultimate stage he issues the charter himself and the king's consent was just formal. Earlier Amśuvarmā's consent was necessary for the king when the latter had to issue a new charter. The situation had reversed by the time Śivadeva was to retire.

Śrī Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarmā starts his own charter doing away with the name of Śivadeva and this is the charter of the two inscriptions which are dated in the old era. A new era is introduced by this is the charter of the two inscriptions which are dated Samvat 29. The Sumatitantra calls it Mānadeva era and him in the third inscription which is dated Samvat 29. The Sumatitantra calls it Mānadeva era and the Tibetans call it Amśuvarmā era.

But the circumstance of his rise to power is unknown. We also do not know anything of his identity, and his family connections although the chronicle of the 18th century calls him a Thakuri, which has no meaning. The V[1] calls him Śivadeva's bhāgineya, which means his sister's son. But I do not know how he came to be known as Śivadeva's nephew in the tradition maintained in the chronicle of the 14th century some seven hundred years later, when the inscriptions of his time are silent about this kind of relationship.

Did Amśuvarmā become a King?

In the inscriptions Amśuvarmā appears everything but the king.

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Why upto the last inscription he is content with just Śriamśuvarmā and does not assume the title of a king? The most powerful figure and the sole custodian of the interests of the country and its people he could have easily declared himself king.

But there is the coin in his name (Walsh, Pl. 1.6) with the legend Mahārājādhirājasya on the obverse and Śryaṁśoh on the reverse, placed just above the winged lion with its legs raised. This is obviously a proof of his having assumed kingship. This evidence is supplemented by the reference to Amśuvarmā as Mahārājādhirāja by Udayadeva who came to succeed him. Jiṣṇugupta in his first inscription also calls him Mahārājādhirāja (Tavajya). These might not be courtesy references and the coin might have been issued by him towards the end of his career. But the title was withheld in his inscriptions. Even the water conduit inscription of S. 45 does not give him this title.

But we have to consider that since Samvat 40 Amśuvarmā's reign goes without any record of his own during all these years. What happened during these 8-9 years? There is no source to tell us anything about this uncertain period. We presume as in every other case that Amśuvarmā had died a natural death. Udayadeva's ouster, however, reflects his weak position. If he had left his supporters strong his nominee to the throne would not have been overthrown soon after he became king. Udayadeva inherited the title Mahārājādhirāja from Amśuvarmā. So without the assumption about Amśuvarmā's kingship, Udayadeva's succession to the title cannot be imagined. Either Śivadeva was living in a condition of retirement from the humdrum of state affairs or he had died and Amśuvarmā himself assumed kingship. The latter situation is more probable. Śivadeva probably retired after Samvat 535 and died some time later. It took for him a long time to discover a lineage of the Lichchhavi family, and probably Udayadeva was a Lichchhavi prince closely related to Śivadeva. He was all the same not directly connected to his family. Perhaps there were more than one line and Udayadeva belonged to one of those, and this was the reason Amśuvarmā did not find it possible to place him on the throne. But Udayadeva was made a successor. It might be that this was not liked by many factions, and ultimately in the void that was created on Amśuvarmā's death even his supporters did not stand by Udayadeva and he had to go. Nevertheless the fact remains that Amśuvarmā in the last few years of his life did assume not only the role of a king but also kingship and he died a king. Hiuen Tsang refers to him in his account as a past king, and he must not have heard an untruth.

Was Śivadeva really of a shy nature? I am also not satisfied with L. Gopal's postulate when he attributes Mananka (coin) to what he calls the first king of the dynasty, Mānadeva, being issued by Amśuvarmā at this stage i.e. when the new era came to be introduced. He says that Amśuvarmā did this because he had a desire to get Mānadeva associated with the new era. But he is introducing an element of confusion with the chronology by identifying Manadeva of the Changu Pillar inscription and Sumatitantra as one. But a person (Mānadeva) who issued his inscription in 386 (464-65 A.D.) cannot be alive in 498 Śaka (576 A.D.). But L. Gopal argues that the coin was commemorative.

In the same place Guṇāṅka cannot be the coin of Gaṇadeva nor the latter was the father of Śivadeva. Guṇakāmadeva is given as the immediate predecessor of Śivadeva by GV (I). The coin belongs to him. Very strangely the same author who in one of such arguments supported R.C. Mazumdar as to his Loka Kala era of 578 Śaka as applied to Nepal is now accepting the proposition of the era of 498 Śaka. But once he does it the claim of Manadeva of Sumatitantra to this era cannot be set aside. Not only one text (of Sumatitantra) but quite a few other sources have accepted the Mānadeva era of 498. It is not only confined to Nepalese sources but Bu-ston, the Tibetan authority of the early 13th century, refers to an era starting from 498 Śaka with Amśuvarmā as the founder. Names only differ but the fact of the era of Śaka 498 is supported. Then why doubt *Sumatitantra* and *Bu-ston* and resort to guesswork and take shelter behind the supposed grandeur of Śivadeva and similarly misplaced loyalty of Amśuvarmā.

To me it looks that if you do not accept Mānadeva of Amśuvarmā as the founder of the era of 498, there is no other name which could be associated with the era. It makes nonsense if you thrust Śivadeva for this, and to say that he has left it to Amśuvarmā to get it accepted in the records because of his weak temper, will be absurd. In dropping the name of Śivadeva from his inscriptions issued

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under the new era, Amśuvarmā ignored the throne altogether but retaining the title mahasamanta he showed allegiance to a superior authority who was to have been a sovereign ruler. This continued till Samvat 637. Whether after this Śivadeva died or there was another monarch who also died in the life-time of Amśuvarmā cannot be guessed. But the crown had completely lost its ground as Amśuvarmā started functioning without the title mahāsāmanta but just with Śrī. If he had struck a coin with the title Mahārājādhirāja the question will readily come as to the disappearance of the title in the inscriptions. Nowhere in his inscriptions Amśuvarmā adopted the title of Mahārāja or Mahārājādhirāja. It is argued that the obvious conclusion would be to regard the Mahārājādhirāja Śryamśoh on his coin as posthumous issued in the time of Jiṣṇugupta who in his inscription designates him as Mahārājādhirāja. Jiṣṇugupta struck a coin in his own name with just Śrī but Mahārājādhirāja Amśuvarmā's name was probably simultaneously coined to give him a higher status.

But this argument does not seem to be convincing. It is much probable that the coin of Amśuvarmā with Mahārājādhirāja was struck towards the end of his career. There are many damaged inscriptions of this period. It is idle in this background to expect them to throw any fresh light on the subject. However, the theory of a posthumous coin cannot be taken seriously. Unless Amśuvarmā himself had adopted the title of Mahārājādhirāja, it was nobody's business to give him that title, and that also after his death. Surely Amśuvarmā himself had adopted the title and struck the coin in his own life-time.

89. Degutale

The five line inscription on a long slab of stone being a part of the platform of the Degutale temple brings out the words *kirāta varṣadhara* and *chirantanam Lichchhavīrāja karitam puratana britti bhujā rupekṣam.*

This might suggest that there was a reference to a *Kirāta* whoever he might be, and that a palace was built by the Lichchhavi kings which had been destroyed in course of time and the state officers had neglected to repair the same. Now the entire premises have become a playground for birds and animals.

The palace said to have been neglected and gone into dilapidation is practically unknown. The script is of late Brahmi of Northern variety belonging to the 7th century A.D. Some might take it as the ruins of Mānagṛha. As the palace known as Kailāsakūta was just constructed and Mānagṛha had continued to be a seat of the kings the ruins do not obviously belong to them. So the palace talked about is a different one. None are in a position to know that the palace structure was a particular one.

Someone had suggested that this was Daksinarājakula.[24] But the suggestion is made without any basis and again the question comes as to where this rājakula was situated and to which factor it is related, to the palace or to a branch of the family.

Some people might suggest that the expression Kirātavarṣadhara might explain facts with regard to the Kirāta dynasty which is said to have been ruling over the country in the ancient past. According to the chronicles the Kirāta dynasty was very much in power before the Lichchhavīs. The dynasty came into existence after the Mahiṣapālas. But there is no reliable evidence to support the Kirāta domination in the valley. Names are given by the chroniclers, and these are said to belong to kings who ruled for 29 generations. It is said that a Kirāta king enjoyed the honour of fighting a battle in the Mahābhārata War. One author goes even to the extent of saying that Sthunko, a king of that race, had pillaged the Aśokan relics in the Lumbini area to avenge the conquest of the same place by King Aśoka of Magadha. But all this is a figment of imagination. The Kirāta dynasty leaves no traces in history so that we can count them in support of their influence in the history and culture of ancient Nepal. If Newari was a popular language in those days the Mongoloid influence is indelible but this is confined only to the dialect spoken. In no other cultural spheres the Kirātas are in evidence. So any hypothesis in that connection might be ruled out at this stage. If source materials are forthcoming in course of search for them, the matter is different. But then all this should be left to future consideration. But for the pre-

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sent we shall be content with the observation that there were some people of Kirāta origin in the valley to whom the record makes a reference. But then the question may come as to who are these Kiratas, to which ethnic stock they belong and what position they held in the court. Surprisingly enough there is not one name of an individual, either dūtaka or official who bears a name in the Sanskritic language.

It is difficult to say if all the inscriptions preceding belong to Amśuvarmā. But notwithstanding this fact we have now come to the end of the records standing in his name. These records have shown to us the first inscription of his regnal year, which shows a new era (S. 29) and there is also an inscription (S. 45), which gives the date and name together and might stand quite closer to the date of his death.

At this stage comes the occasion to sum up the facts of Amśuvarmā's career and achievements of his reign, and this we are doing with all the data collected from the local inscriptions and Sino-Tibetan sources.

It is true that this is no place to divert attention from the main issue, which is to talk about facts under notice in the inscriptions. But some authors, both foreigners and Nepalese, have talked of the age of Amśuvarmā in a way, which might create confusion. It is for this reason that I have thought it proper to discuss the whole issue they have raised in its true perspective to remove any kind of misconceptions in this regard.

Amśuvarmā's ancestry is unknown. But an Indian scholar has proposed that he might be related to Mahārājā Mahāsāmanta Kramalilah. Amśuvarmā throughout his career till Samvat 37, whether in association with Śivadeva or singly has adopted the title of Mahāsāmanta. In one inscription Śivadeva calls him Mahārājādhirāja. But these are no grounds to connect him with Kramalilah. We have already marked that our difficulties in tracing royal ancestry in many cases are immense because unlike contemporary Indian records, our own records fail to provide any clue in this direction. We know that except in two cases no king or ruler has ever mentioned even his father's name. So it must be made clear that wherever somebody's ancestry is suggested by way of speculation, this should not be accepted as truth.

If Amśuvarmā's ancestry is obscure the circumstances of his coming to power are equally dark. It does not seem that Amśuvarmā had clashed with the Ābhiraguptas and on his triumph over them he had gained state power. But Amśuvarmā appears 2 or 3 years later in the records after the last inscription showing Bhaumagupta. In the interregnum only king Śivadeva appears, Amśuvarmā's name is conspicuous by its absence, which is enough to prove that if there was at all a clash and internal conflict, Amśuvarmā was not a party to it. It is said that Amśuvarmā gets epithets suggesting that he had trounced his enemies by his power. But these epithets have no meaning once we know that these are dictated or they have been just courtesy references made by poets. Amśuvarmā's own relations with the Gupta family were nowhere seen to be inimical, and Śivadeva also not even distantly gives us an idea of antagonism between himself and Bhaumagupta's family. Amśuvarmā's rise, however, is sudden. But this is everybody's guess and we must realise that there is a paucity of materials on the subject, which debars us even from speculating about the circumstances leading to the course through which historical figures emerge and meet their end.

We have already spoken about the Ābhiras. We shall here examine how L. Gopal, a scholar of Banaras, is justified in eulogising the merits and achievements of Śivadeva I, who is supposed to have enunciated the new era and earned laurels, which were unique in the history of the country.

But I read with surprise L. Gopal's summary dismissal of the proposition that Bhaumagupta and his family were Ābhiras and hence they should be called Ābhiraguptas. He accepts Ābhirī Gominī of the Deopatan inscription as the mother of Bhaumagupta as the record itself has mentioned this fact. But L. Gopal thinks that Gominī belonged to the Ābhira stock and therefore her issues had no right to call themselves Ābhiras and while upholding this view, he warns us that if the Guptas of Nepal were Ābhiraguptas then the Gupta Emperors of North India would have to be called Lichchhaviguptas since the time of Samudragupta because he calls himself 'the son of the daughter of Lichchhavī'. But L. Gopal forgets that our case is different. Here no Gupta potentate has called himself *Ābhira dauhitra* i.e. a son of the daughter of Ābhira. Obviously Gominī was married to an Ābhira who was no

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other than Bhaumagupta's father. Gominī called herself Ābhirī after her marriage. One cannot draw a parallel between our Guptas and the Indian Gupta Imperial dynasty of Samudragupta. The learned historian of Banaras has certainly held erroneous view of Ābhirī Gominī and the Guptas of Nepal.

L. Gopal also suggests that the second era originated with Śivadeva. His explanation, however, is not at all satisfactory. He speaks with a tone of authority but he lacks authoritative sources to support his statement. The very assumption that Śivadeva started his career since 498 is wrong. It is really funny that this year is picked up from the post colophon statement of *Sumatitantra*, and yet rest of the statement of the text is discarded. It is equally funny that the year is accepted after admitting that no record belonging to Śivadeva is available for the period prior to 512. Arguing that for any one to start a new era he must have enjoyed a long reign and performed a glorious achievement to his credit and leave behind for posterity quite a few epigraphs the learned writer tries to prove that in the absence of a single record to his credit Mānadeva's claim to have been the founder of the new era loses its validity. If L. Gopal has chosen Śivadeva, it is because he has altogether issued inscriptions (1) with Bhaumagupta as witness, (2) on his own, and then either with Amśuvarmā or as recommended by him. But I do not know if the regnal years have any relevance in the founding of an era. We have Vikrama and Śaka Sālivāhana eras. Their founders remain still unknown, leaving aside the regnal years. It will be a futile exercise of mind indeed to trace individuals responsible for introducing these eras or events. I do not deny that some events must have taken place which caused the ruler to found the era. But the founders of Vikrama or Śaka Sālivāhana era have no epigraphic records or if legends were to be eschewed they also do not seem to have any prideful achievement or any evidence to prove that they had lived long as kings, we do not go as back as Vikrama and Śaka Sālivāhana eras.

Sometimes even assumption of high titles by a master of a small principality leads him to found an era. The Gupta era was founded on the day Chandragupta I adopted the title of Mahàrājādhirāja. It is said that the Śaka Sālivāhana era was founded to commemorate the occasion of the defeat of the Śaka rulers spread all over west India. But by this it looks that the Śakas were winners, for the practice is that only winners can have this kind of honour. However, little notice should be taken of such events. The epochs of the Valabhi era, the Ganga era and the Bhatika era are still subject to controversy. Such are the characteristics of the eras and as one argument follows another the position of the author becomes more uneasy.

We might have the circumstances in which the Gupta Samvat was founded. The initial year of the GS is 319-20 GE current or 320-21. According to Altekar Śrīgupta reigned over a small kingdom in present day Patna and Shahbad districts and followed by a year from this he enlarges his kingdom along the course of the river Ganges on both sides, and to the south.

The founder of the era of 319-320 Mahārājādhirāja Chandra Gupta I had a short reign of 10 years approximately. But he left no records except coins with Chandragupta and Śrīkumāradevī (his queen) on the obverse and Lichchhavayah on the reverse. The coin was issued to commemorate the occasion of his marriage. But when the era was founded no territorial expansion had taken place, even if some areas had been annexed, they were not big in size. The Visnu Purana extends the Empire of Guptas from Patna to Prayag along the Ganges (अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं चभोक्ष्यन्तेगुप्तर्वशजा). It is said that North Bihar came to be annexed in the time of Chandra Gupta II.

The same can be said of the Ganga era founded on 14th March, 498 A.D. according to V.V. Mirashi.

Nobody ever thought that the era had anything to do with the rise of Amśuvarmā to power. But to think that the Harigaon inscription of Amśuvarmā dated Samvat 30 (Jyeṣṭha śukla 10) presented a 'plan of the commencement of the 30th year of glorious reign of his overlord' (Śivadeva) is stretching one's imagination too far. We can say the same thing when L. Gopal tries to lead us to believe that Śivadeva had adopted high sounding and long titles of *Lichchhavī kulaketur* bhaṭṭāraka mahārājā. I am much disappointed as I read his observation. His attention is not drawn to the hitherto non-existing epithet of *Lichchhavī kulaketu*. This is the first time a ruler of ancient Nepal claims to belong to the Lichchhavi family.

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King Mānadeva's daughter called her father 'a full Moon of the Lichchhavi dynasty'. But we must take note that this was true of the context when we talk of the Lichchhavi rulers of Nepal. In any other context this would be of no consequence. And then we must know that this family was founded by a king whose name was Lichchhavī (vide the Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva). He is in no way said to be connected with the Lichchhavī race or tribe. Why rulers previous to Śivadeva do not assert this claim? Just once in about 115 years before Śivadeva it was put forward by a daughter of the king. But our learned author would not even take notice of this factor in his discussion. Further he also seems to have attached little importance to the titles Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja which have been uninterruptedly assumed by kings since Vasantadeva's time. The mere omission of the title in the declaration of one's lineage by a word would not make the usually assumed royal titles less grand and splendid. This is a difficult matter no doubt. But Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja by themselves express the full royal dignity and honour.

L. Gopal bemoans that 'such royal titles were in abeyance since the time of Vasantadeva'. His statement is wrong. Śivadeva does not assume higher royal titles than other kings in the past. Instead of such statement he should have queried about the sudden appearance of *Lichchhavī kulaketu* as a title before the king's name. And about Harigaon stele of Samvat 30 the learned author thinks that it was to open a scheme of celebration of the king's anniversary of coronation falling on Jyestha sukla 10. But when he says earlier that Śivadeva was crowned in 498, this should have been his 32nd year of coronation. Leaving this aside, we have to provide an instance when the king celebrated 30th or 32nd year of his reign and when we know it does not exist anywhere, the supposition of the 30th year of coronation has got to be dropped. Similarly, the proposition of the new era of Śaka 498 falls through. As the subject was unfamiliar to him, he forgot that there was another stele, the inscription of Bungmati bearing the date year 29 issued prior to the Harigaon stele I (30th year). More than that what we have to bear in mind is the fact that when he began to appear by himself as the man to issue the charter he dated the inscription in the old era (Na-bahil, 500+? and Jya-bahil steles). The interregnum of 9 years from 526 to 535 where no records of Śivadeva or any other ruler are traced must be surely regarded as turbulent years of chaos, disorder and external threat, but not the years earlier when Śivadeva came to power. But we cannot jump to any conclusion just because there is a period of 9 years, which goes without a record.

What led the eminent writer to suggest that Śivadeva was a man anxious to introduce a new era but 'shy' enough to come forward with the 'innovations' needed?

It might be so to win for himself wholehearted support of Amśuvarmā's favourites and relatives. This is not the place to touch all aspects of the problem connected with the second era. But as L. Gopal devotes some paragraphs to the supposed events of the era, it has to be made clear that bringing in a royal name has absolutely no connection with it, and we must warn that the entire argument fails to convince one who is acquainted with the history of Nepal. Opinions might differ as to Amśuvarmā or Mānadeva founding the era but Śivadeva's association with the era of Śaka 498 can in no way be supported.

As I read the articles of Drs. L. Gopal and T.P. Varma on Nepal, which they have contributed to the book 'Studies in the History and Culture of Nepal', I appreciated many points which they have brought to light, but the authors are not definitive and argue in terms of 'ifs' and 'buts', which renders their statements much ineffective. We must know that arguments in respect of certain conclusions cannot have smooth sailing and they are countered with the same ease by another set of 'ifs' and 'buts'. I am therefore always inclined to avoid the supposition element of the argument in any attempt to arrive at a conclusion in solving tangles of history.

But I shall end with one big 'if'. If Śivadeva was the father of Udayadeva, and founder of the era, how is it that Jayadeva II in his Paśupati stele mentions his ancestors upto 3 generations and not the 4th i.e. Śivadeva who in L. Gopal's view was to found the era, to which all monarchs from Udayadeva to Jayadeva II have referred their records? If Śivadeva was the father and a father who had to his credit glorious deeds, left numerous epigraphic records and reigned long enough, why he was not

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mentioned in the way he deserved but was thrown into the dustbin of history in a group of twelve forgotten rulers whose names are lost to us because Jayadeva II did not think it proper to produce their names in his inscription?

Śivadeva cannot be taken as better placed than the other twelve, and when his own so-called grandson four generations later ignores him, how 'ifs' and 'buts' in the articles of our eminent writers could help him to gain his place in history.

I have also big 'but' here. If Śivadeva did not find place in the inscription of Jayadeva II, there was no reason that Mānadeva of Sumatitantra should also have been omitted. But Mānadeva or Amśuvarmā should not be treated here in the same way as Śivadeva. After all Mānadeva can claim a tradition not only in *Sumatitantra* copied in the 13th century but also in subsequent records, which we have quoted in the 3rd edition of 'Ancient Nepal'. Similarly Amśuvarmā's claim is supported by the Tibetan tradition of Bu-ston and other writers in the 13th century, even if these records come six centuries later.

Amśuvarmā surely died a glorious death. He might have intrigued against his adversaries to come to power, and while in power might have unscrupulously tried to eliminate them. But as king he proved himself to be noble and good. He ran a government in the best tradition of religious tolerance and solicitude for the welfare of his people. He was himself a man of learning and patronised men of literature and art. His fame had spread far and wide. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim who was in India, 629-645 A.D., had heard of him as 'a recent king by name Ang-shu-fa-ma or Kvang-chou who had composed a treatise on Etymology'. The pilgrim describes the Lichchhavi kings of Nepal in general as Kṣatriyas 'eminent scholars believing in Buddhism'. The note incorporated here was written in 645 A.D. just after he had reached home. Some say that the noting was done in Vaiśālī where in course of his journey he had reached in 639 A.D.

Whatever the method and nature of machinations Amśuvarmā had successfully climbed to the highest rung of the ladder and become a king in due course. This is no mean achievement for a feudatory (Sāmanta). The Lichchhavī dynasty was for some time not only eclipsed but totally driven out of the throne. However, he had no intention to wind up the family's claim for good. The appointment of Yuvarāja Udayadeva who is a dūtaka in his last few inscriptions proves the fact that he had in mind to leave the throne to a Lichchhavī prince after his death.

By virtue of his merits, adroitness, sagacity and high policy and commendable behaviour Amśuvarmā had emerged as the greatest figure of our history in ancient days. He was respected by princes and people alike and feared by his enemies. He had combined power with strength but he loved his people. There are so many glorious achievements to his credit and he has left a mark in our history.

90. Chapatol, Patan

The Chapatol (Patan) inscription on the pedestal of the image of Buddha Śakyamuni records a grant of land at two places by a concubine of Dharmapāla, by name Upāsikā Mṛgiṇī, to the Ārya Bhikṣuṇi saṅgha of the Chāturviṁśa Mahāyāna school for their benefits and for the repair of a vihāra and purposes connected with it. The grant was made for relief of her husband and parents and her own from worldly sufferings and also to attain immortality by the merits thus obtained in the two places mentioned below:

1. the grants are made in Panapapphu area of the western region, the land being 100 bhūmi yielding a rent of 50 māni, and
2. in the south of the same village, 60 bhūmi yielding 36 manika 600 grhaprastha.

This is the only place where the word 'prastha' occurs.

The Bhikṣuṇi saṅgha of the inscription testifies to the existence of Buddhist nuns and their congregation.

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The first line is damaged and the date is lost, but the script belongs to the early 7th century A.D.

The date on the pedestal if not damaged would have given us an important clue to the time when the image was constructed. But by the style of art in evidence it can easily be fixed in mid 7th century.

Akṣayanivikrama

The word occurs in a land grant recorded in some inscriptions. The word Akṣaya means never perishing and nibi is endowment, both together carrying the sense of permanent endowment.

In the grant this will mean creating a permanent endowment for the donee, either a Brahmana or Āchāryapariṣad or Bhikṣu saṅgha.

The charters of inscriptions mention the expression to allow the donees to enjoy benefits of the endowment permanently. According to U.N. Ghosal it is a grant in perpetuity or a perpetual endowment which the donee could not alienate but make use of income accruing from it eternally as implied by qualifying clause sāsvatchandrārka medini. It is similar in meaning as *akṣayanibidharma* or *apradakṣanividharma.*

When the land was granted under the principle of akṣayanibikrama, it can never be eliminated or alienated.

Bhāravi's water conduit inscription uses the phrase Akṣaniyārthaṁcha. The Chapatol and Patan Sundhara inscriptions show a grant in the order of akṣayanibi. The Chhinnamastā or Tavajya inscription of Jiṣṇugupta S. 48 uses the expression *pāramparyābichchidena.* Others (n. XXI, XXXIV, XXXV) mention grants according to the principle of Akṣayanivi—observed traditionally.

91. Tyageltol Courtyard

It is a record in verse engraved around the 4 sides of a chaitya in praise of Śākyamuni, Lord Buddha, 5 celestial Buddhas, Bodhisatva, Manjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara.

We have in the following passages a brief description of the cult of these deities.

Śākyamuni is called in Nepal as mānusi Buddha, one of the 7 Buddhas who happened to be born in human form. More than that he is also a historical Buddha whom our history remembers to have lived in the 6th century B.C. and preached his religion against Brahmanical orthodoxy.

Avalokiteśvara is mentioned in an inscription of Rāmadeva dated 545 A.D. From this it appears that the Bodhisatva was popular about the 5th century A.D. He is the first of the Bodhisatvas to have received recognition in Nepal of the early Lichchhavi period.

Cult of Celestial Buddhas, Avalokiteśvara and Bodhisatvas

There are some inscriptions which bear testimony to the existence of Avalokiteśvara and the five celestial Buddhas in Ancient Nepal.

Avalokiteśvara finds place in two inscriptions of the earlier period belonging to the reign of Rāmadeva. One of these is dated S. 469 Vaisakha diva 15.[25] Avalokiteśvara is also referred to in the Pasupati inscription of Jayadeva II, dated Samvat 157 (new era). The Lagantole pedestal has date lines peeled off.

One of the 5 celestial Buddhas, the Aksobhya, is invoked for blessing in an inscription. These Buddhas are mentioned on the structure of a Chaitya around it. This Chaitya lies inside a courtyard on the main road in the eastern part of the city of Patan. In this inscription, the scribe also bows to Samantabhadra, 'always doing good to others and with clean fame', Śākyamuni, the sage of the Śākyas, to Vajradhara who holds a lotus, to Manjuśrī who had mastered the tenets of religion, to Amitābha who lives in Sukhavati heaven and then Lokeśvara, the lotus carrier. Though in this Chaitya invocation Lokeśvara is last in the list, nevertheless Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara was the most popular deity in Nepal and deserved first notice. Lokeśvara was worshipped in India as the Bodhisatva incarnation of the

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celestial Amitābha Buddha and of Śākyamuni Buddha in human form as early as the 4th century A.D. He is a deity of compassion also called Karuṇāmaya. Regarded as a male deity in the south and south east Asia but a female (kvan-yen) in China and (kyan-non) in Japan, Avalokiteśvara holds a high place in the Buddhist pantheon of the Mahayana sect in Northern Buddhism. This god has his own cult. He is said to have cherished no desire for emancipation to be able to serve living beings for eternity. A literary text in Sanskrit called Gunakāraṇḍavyūha narrates the good deeds performed by Lokeśvara. According to a Tibetan source (Mani Kambun) Lokeśvara with coins in his hand flashed out of the white ray emanating from Amitābha's eye while in deep meditation. The cult of Avilokiteśvara was in evidence as early as the first century A.D.

Fa-Hsien in his travels in India (399-412) mentions Avalokiteśvara as a popular deity worshipped in India. This means that it did not take a long time for the cult to travel to Nepal seeing our own images of the 5th century. The Suvarnapravasa sūtra translated in Chinese mentions the deity. This sūtra is said to have been composed in one of the Mahayana Puranas. The Saddharma Pundarika talks of 333 human incarnates of Avalokiteśvara who sought births and rebirths to serve humanity. The same Purana identifies Lokeśvara as Vajrapani.

The Dalai Lama is said to be his incarnate, and the Avalokiteśvara is worshipped as one of the trinities of Tibetan gods along with Manjusri and Vajrapani, the latter is often seen by the side of Śākyamuni in early Mahayana images.

In Nepal we have 108 Lokeśvaras. These are fully described in a book of the 17th century called Lokeśvara Śataka composed in the time of Srinivasamalla. The 108 Lokeśvara deities do not only belong to Buddhist pantheon but also to Śaivite and Viṣṇuite sects. Padmapāṇi is the best known of Lokeśvaras with a lotus stalk surrounded by a flower inh and.

The Jalaśāyī Viṣṇu in the northern part of the valley near the foot hill locally known as Bhuyujasi is also widely worshipped as Lokeśvara. There are images of Śiva Lokeśvara and Viṣṇu Lokeśvara. In essence Lokeśvara combined the divine essence of the Brahmanical trinity—Brahmā, the creator, Viṣṇu, the preserver, and Śiva the destroyer. He has the devotional pose of Brahmā and the colour of Śiva (also the five heads in some representations). But to represent distinctly the element he is presented as the spiritual son of Amitābha whose image he carries on his forehead. The image of the latter bears a five leaved diadem. The Garudanarayana of Changu is called Hariharavahana Lokeśvara who is supposed by the Buddhamargis to sit on the neck of Viṣṇu himself. But the Changu image does not show any image of the deity over his neck.

The Amarakośa, a work of the 4th-5th century mentions Samantabhadra as a name amongst Buddhas. The verse runs as follows:

समन्तभद्रो भगवान् मारजित् लोकजिज्जिनः ।
सर्वज्ञ सुगतो बुद्धो धर्मराजस्तथागतः ।।
षड़भिज्ञो दशबलोऽद्वयवादी विनायकः ।
मुनीन्द्र श्रीघनश्शास्ता मुनिः शाक्यमुनिस्तुयः ।।

Samantabhadra is the Bodhisatva of the primordial (Ādi) Buddha Vairochana. He has discus symbol and his pose is *lalitāsana*. His other symbol is also Chintāmani. Left hand is placed above the lotus, the stalk appearing behind the shoulder. The right hand is raised and the thumb and index fingers form vitarka mudrā. As Amarakośa lists Samantabhadra as another name of Śākyamuni, he was regarded for a long time as the Highest or original Buddha of the celestial region. One of the Japanese sects placed him (Fugen) before Vairochana manifestation but for others he is just another manifestation of Vairochana. Samantabhadra in the later ages wears crown and ornaments and garments as other Bodhisatvas. He is one of 8 Bodhisatvas according to a school and not a Buddha. He is represented both in the sitting and standing postures. Both in China and Japan sometimes Samantabhadra is one of the triad along with Manjuśrī and Śākyamuni. In China he is called P'u-shen. In both he rides an elephant with different heads and tusks.

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Aksobhya is in our Chaitya invoked first. He is one of the five celestial Buddhas. His colour is blue as described here and he rides an elephant. His name literally means immovable. He is often found in painting and on the sides of the Chaitya along with the other 3 Buddhas. In all he is in sitting posture with earth touching mudrā (bhūmisparśa).

Aksobhya is called in Tibet as mi-bskyod-pa, or mi-hkrngs-pa (imaginated), in Mongolia as Ulukudeluku (without movement), in China as A-chin and in Japan as Ashuklu. He is mentioned both in Prajnaparamita and Saddharmapundarika.

The Śākyamuni whose name is Siddhartha Gautama is a mortal historical Buddha, and is the real Buddha born in Lumbini, son of the ruler of a subsidiary principality of Kapilavastu, in 544 B.C. He is the 7th mortal Buddha according to Mahayana beliefs. But he is the founder of Buddhism. The Mahayana conception of Bodhisatva made Avalokiteśvara as the Bodhisatva of Gautama whose celestial origin was in Amitābha living in Sukhavati heaven.

Buddha was never worshipped in images until the advent of Mahayana. In sculptures he was shown worshipped either in the form of imprints of his feet (Amaravati Chaitya) or as in Sanchi in the form of a saddled horse without a rider. The latter represents a scene when Gautama left his horse and chariot and bade farewell to his family and home to renounce the world and then go on tapasyā (penance). The horse was returning without the master. In some scenes the Bodhi tree is shown as the symbolic representation of his attaining Bodhi. An eight spoke wheel, called dharmachakra, represented his preaching at Sarnath, and the wheel also is worshipped in similar fashion. The scene of Maya conceiving Buddha is shown with a white elephant with 6 tusks suspended above the abdomen of a sleeping woman. The elephant represents the Buddha who was to enter the womb of Mayadevi descending from the Tusita heaven.

The iconographic representation of the Buddha started with the age of Mahayana which created human Buddhas, celestial Buddhas and Bodhisatvas and the pantheon. The images are either standing or sitting. In both the cases they go without ornaments except in Siam where he wears ornaments. There is no head-dress. But Pancha Buddhas are painted showing ornamental head-dress. The Buddha has a broad chest. The earlobes are long and hands are long enough to touch the knees. In the sitting posture the soles are turned upward and show sign of the wheel (chakra). The right hand is always raised palm outward and fingers either kept straight or the thumb and the ring finger touching in a pose called Dharmachakra or vitarka (preaching) mudrā. The Buddha is seated either in cross-legged padmasana (lotus) or vajrasana (tight). The robe he wore covered half of his body but the left hand and the shoulder were kept bare. His forehead has a button mark called uṣṇa and there is urṇa on the top of the head.

The Gandhara sculptures show moustaches on the face in a strongly built body. The hair on the head is tied in a knot. We have an image, all skin and bone.

By continuous thought process Gautama attained enlightenment, became a Tathagata or Buddha. To him the cause of all the human miseries was tanhā i.e. desires and until a person was freed from these, he was ever subject to endless chain of suffering lives. Only when samskāra was destroyed he obtained a state of Nirvana, cessation of all cycles of birth.

Śākyamuni's historicity is established by relic casket inscriptions, and old texts in Pali and Sanskrit such as Jataka tales, Pali Pitakas, Mahavastu and Lalitavistara ard a great many other works. The Amarakośa calls him advayavādi. But this is to make him atheist and atheist he was who had denied existence of soul but never preached atheism. Buddha did not preach existence of soul but he could not get away from the traditional belief of cycle of births, though he attributed it to samskāra. Buddha's doctrine of anātta is explicit but his atheism bordered on agnosticism.

Maitreya is the 8th Buddha who is to descend to the earth. He is said to be the last of the mortal Buddhas. As such he is the only Bodhisatva after Gautama recognised by the Hinayana sect. His image is found in standing posture but there is seated Maitreya in a bas relief in the stupa of Bodobudur. Getty suggests that Maitreya cult was popular since the 6th century A.D. though he was known centuries before Christ. His cult had spread to Tibet, Mongolia, China and Japan and south east

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Asia. Maitreya is known in China as Mi-to-fo and Miroku bitsu in Japan. He carries a vessel in his hand, and he wears a stupa in his crown. His mudra is varada or dharmachakra pravartana (preaching). His garment is a scarf (dhoti) round the waist. The progenitor of 5 celestial Buddhas, the Vajradhara, who also comes to be mentioned in the inscription is identified by Tibetans with Vajrasatva both by dGe-lugs-pa and dkar-hgya-pa (Red) sects. Literally he is the deity holding a thunderbolt and in a few representations also a bell (by another hand) and he is popular in Tibet and regarded as another form of primordial (Ādi) Buddha. He is also worshipped in Nepal, but not so widely. Our inscription calls him Guhyādhīpam and Satrabjam. He is the lord of the secrets, and in Karmavajra form holds a lotus. The Tibetans give him dark blue colour in painting. The Nispandayogava (N.Y.) speaks of his reddish white colour.

Vajradhara is sometimes identified with Yamāntaka. But according to N.Y. he is 3 faced, the right being blue and the left red. He is six armed.

Manjuśrī is a Bodhisatva of wisdom and learning with a book in the usual form in his left hand and sword in the right to dispel darkness. Manjuśrī is known as won-shi-shih-li in China and Manju in Japan. He is the first Bodhisatva to have been mentioned in the Mahayana scripture Saddharmapundarika. To the Chinese he is the Bodhisatva existing in human form born in south China at Wu-tai-sheh in the time of Emperor of Ming-ti. The traveller I-tching said that Indians regarded him as their own preaching in China. He was again the God of wisdom and intellect.

Manjusri in Nepal is regarded as a Bodhisatva who cut the gorge at Chobar, and let the water of the lake out so that the land became fit for human settlement. The story is told in Svayambhupurāna, a work of the 15th century.

Manjusri is always in a sitting posture, either cross-legged or Maharabta asana and his colours also vary. Here he is called Kumara, bachelor.

Amitābha (boundless light) is said in our inscription to have been residing in Sukhavati (western paradise). He dispels darkness by mahaprajna (enlightenment).

Amitābha is the celestial Buddha of Sakyamuni. He is of red colour in painting. He belongs to Mahayana pantheon. Fa-Hsien (399-414) and Hiuen Tsang (629-645) do not mention to have seen Amitābha's iconographic representation in their sojourn in India.

Amitābha cult was described by Nāgārjuna and Sarahapada, two earliest Vajrayana siddhas and by Vasuvandhu later in the 4th-5th century A.D. One of the 3 Sanskritic Mahayana purāṇas, the Saddharmapundarika, also mentions him.

In the Chaitya Amitābha occupies the western side and Akṣobhya the east. Amitābha is called A-mi-to in China, Amida in Japan, hod-dpag-med in Tibet and baghlasi vijei gerultu in Mongolia. Amitayus who is a Bodhisatva in all forms wearing ornaments is regarded as Amitābha's second form in Tibet. His praise is sung in a text called *Amitau sūtra*.

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Part III

LICHCHHAVI UDAYADEVA'S SHORT-LIVED REIGN

UDAYADEVA is claimed as his great grandfather by Jayadeva in his Pasupati inscription (no. 142). Jayadeva traces his genealogy to the clan of the Lichchhavis. Obviously Udayadeva was a monarch of that clan and of the times, which kings from Narendradeva to Jayadeva belonged to. Yuvarāja Udayadeva appears as dūtaka in Amśuvarmā's records since Samvat 37, the date year of the Taukhel Inscription (no. 77). There is no record available so far between the Sanga inscription of S. 34 and Taukhel inscription. But it appears that as Udayadeva is called Yuvarāja (crown prince) Amśuvarmā had nominated him to be his successor just in the same way as Juan Carlos of the former ruling dynasty in Spain was nominated by General Franco as his successor. In ordinary course Udayadeva was destined to rule like his son and grandson or great grandson. But according to a Chinese source Udayadeva was ousted as a result of a coup d'etat. He must have had a very short reign indeed, for we have only one record of the year, which can be guessed to correspond to any time from S. 45 to 48, the latter being the year bearing the date of Dhruvadeva and Jiṣṇugupta in the Tavajhya inscription.

We might suggest some minor inscriptions to have been issued by Udayadeva. But these we can dismiss. The Chitlang stele gives the only inscription, which shows his reign, and from this source the fact of Udayadeva succeeding Amśuvarmā emerges. But the story of his ouster is given by the Chinese Tibetan annals only.

92-95. Bhimsen Temple, Bhvagananhi, Thimi, Naksal

These are short inscriptions and not important enough to say anything more about their contents.

96. Chitlang

This is the only inscription of Udayadeva who was dūtaka as yuvarāja in the last few inscriptions of Amśuvarmā. The date year 40 is visible but what year it actually is we cannot know because of the damage. The dūtaka's name is also missing.

Udayadeva is Mahārājādhirāja and bhaṭṭāraka. It is a charter issued to a Pānchālikā. The agrahāra is referred to here as a gift of Mahārājādhirāja Śryamśuvarmā. Udayadeva had inherited

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the high sounding title of Maharajadhiraja from Amśuvarmā who has a coin in his name with this legend. Unlike the previous kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty Udayadeva also assumes the epithets, showing respect to Paśupati, Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānugṛhita and bappapādānudhyāta. This was following in Amśuvarmā's footsteps as inspired by him. The practice is followed by all kings in his line who succeeded him after 641 A.D.

Udayadeva

The successor to Amśuvarmā was Udayadeva. We do not know of his identity. He figures in the inscriptions of Amśuvarmā issued since S. 34 as dūtaka. He is given the title of Yuvarāja, literally a prince but also a crown prince.

He is the thirteenth king mentioned in Jayadeva's Pasupati stele in the second list, where 12 names before him are missing. According to the same source he is the father of Narendradeva. He is also mentioned by the MMK. He was certainly not the son of Śivadeva whose available dates from inscriptions range from S. 512 to S. 526 uninterruptedly and there is a stray inscription bearing the date S. 535. All inscriptions since S. 515 were issued either with or under recommendation of Amśuvarmā who issued his own inscriptions, one in the old era and others in the new era starting from S. 29 (Bungmati Inscription).

The T'ang Shu also mentions him but not by name. It is said that he was ousted by his brother in a coup d'etat and was compelled to flee to Tibet. Thus he was the brother of Dhruvadeva who figures as the sovereign in the inscription of Jiṣṇugupta as we have it.

It appears that Udayadeva with the title of Mahārājādhirāja had become a successor to the throne in normal circumstances. For long he was a dūtaka as Yuvarāja in the inscriptions of Amśuvarmā. The latter had obviously appointed him as his successor for what reasons we do not know.

The T'ang Shu tells us that there was a palace coup d'etat just as Amśuvarmā died. The coup resulted in the ouster of Udayadeva who fled to Tibet along with his son and family.

As Jiṣṇugupta seems to play a great role in records coming after Amśuvarmā, it is obvious that he was one of the parties to the conspiracy. But what real part he played in it we do not know. Monarchs of the Lichchhavi dynasty who succeeded Udayadeva were puppets and Jiṣṇugupta rendered both political and social functions issuing the charters. He called himself the vanguard of the Lichchhavi monarchs whom he had placed on the throne.

Jiṣṇugupta's ancestory is known unlike that of Amśuvarmā. From one of his inscriptions he appears to be a grandson of Bhaumagupta and his great grandfather's elder brother was Managupta Gomi.

Whether the machinator of the conspiracy or not Jiṣṇugupta was a powerful personality of the time. An erroneous view of his relation with Amśuvarmā is being put forward by certain writers. But the story of his rivalry with Amśuvarmā or familial enmity with him is incorrect. The fact that Amśuvarmā's brother's wife acknowledges Jiṣṇugupta as the Lord of the earth (kṣmāpatau) speaks of his intimate relation with the family of Amśuvarmā. He also enjoyed the confidence of men who were intimate at the court of Amśuvarmā.

Although nothing could be said definitely as to what happened at the time of Śivadeva's demise, dismissal or retirement whatever that may be, we have a concrete evidence of the trouble when Amśuvarmā had died. The T'ang Shu and Tuan Huang documents throw light on the events. The T'ang Shu says that there was a dispute over the throne, and the legitimate successor was overthrown by his brother Dhruvadeva. Possibly this was the reason that we get only one inscription of Udayadeva, who was forced to take shelter in Tibet then ruled by Srong Tsang Gampo (618-650).

Jiṣṇugupta who appears enjoying the same power and status in this period as Amśuvarmā did in Śivadeva's time must have been a prime supporter of the usurper and a de facto ruler. But how did he play the role is not known as no description of the events following Amśuvarmā's death exists either in local or foreign sources which just take note of the incident of a coup d'etat.

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However, as Jiṣṇugupta comes on the scene about this time as the de facto ruler, it can be easily guessed that the coup d'etat was manoeuvred by him, and he was the real man behind it.

The Ābhira Guptas were once again in the seat of power. They were out of picture since Amśuvarmā became Śivadeva's prime advisor. No Gupta names appear in the inscriptions of Śivadeva-Amśuvarmā or Amśuvarmā. But Jiṣṇugupta's family was no enemy of Amśuvarmā as it will appear later.

It is not known under what circumstances Amśuvarmā came to occupy a position where he could function as the sole ruler without a king, but we know it definitely that Amśuvarmā did not meet challenge from any quarter, and his progress to the new height was smooth. His adoption of the new era in the name of Mānadeva or his own must have come when he consolidated his position.

Amśuvarmā was obviously helped to reach the pinnacle of ruling power by Bhogavarmā, the dūtaka in Śivadeva's two inscriptions of Bhadgaon and Vipravarmā, the dūtaka of the Dharmasthalī, Budhānilakantha, Tokhā (S. 529) and Deśavarmā of Khopasi and Lachchhā Gomī of Lele and Dhapasi, all of Śivadeva's time. Babhruvarmā is called Mahasamanta in an inscription issued by Amśuvarmā. Another associate of his was Rajaputra Vikramasena who bears the title Sarvvadandanāyaka in the Sundhārā stele. Perhaps this man was the first Prime Minister of Amśuvarmā. He is a dūtaka in the inscription of Bungmati. Mahābalādhyakṣa Vindusvāmi figures in the Sundhārā inscription.

It appears that Vipravarmā is elevated to the position of Mahārāja when he appears as dūtaka in the inscription of Bhatuwal of S. 31.

The very first inscription of Na-bahil has a dūtaka whose name is mahāsāmanta Bhogavarmā. Probably this man along with Rajaputra Vikramasena and Kulvira and mahabaladhyaksa Vindusvami were Amśuvarmā's principal aides.

Jiṣṇugupta was nowhere seen in the time of Amśuvarmā who had nominated yuvarāja Udayadeva as the dūtaka in all the later inscriptions. It appears that Jiṣṇugupta's family was completely eclipsed after Bhaumagupta had died. But who eclipsed the family? Could it be Amśuvarmā and his family? However, Jiṣṇugupta's respect for Amśuvarmā had not lessened as he rose to power. In his very first inscription (the Tavajhya stele of S. 48) Jiṣṇugupta announces the repair of a canal built by Amśuvarmā calling him Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja. The canal was built for the inhabitants of Thambu, Gangsul and Mūlavatikā villages, who were to enjoy the benefits. The grant of the canal is said to have been possible by the grace of the feet of Amśuvarmā. Jiṣṇugupta certainly did hold Amśuvarmā in the highest esteem, and if Jiṣṇugupta had a grudge of any kind against Amśuvarmā, the latter would not have received such a place in his heart. In the same way persons with the Varmā surname were receiving attention during the rule of Jiṣṇugupta. Through the Ādeśvara inscription Jiṣṇugupta had given state guarantee for the gift of land made by Rājaputra Nandavarmā to Nātheśvara, a Śivaliṅga, in order to propitiate him so that his father Rājaputra Viṣṇuvarmā, mother Vatsadevi, brothers Bhīmavarmā and others, might enjoy bliss in heaven.

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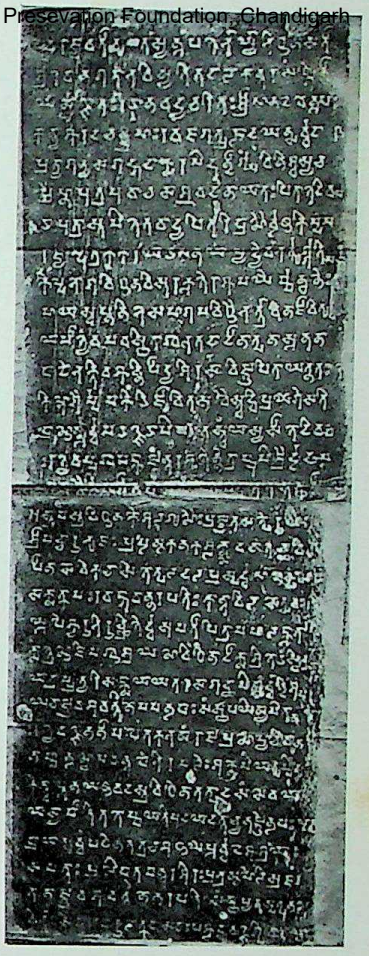
IA



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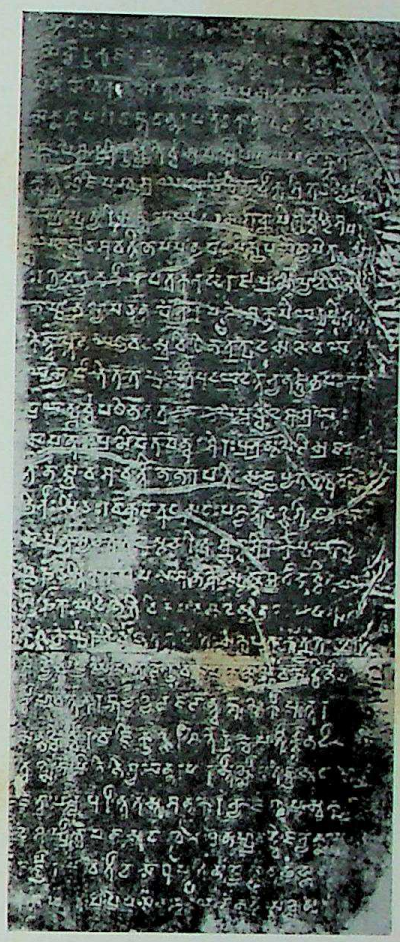

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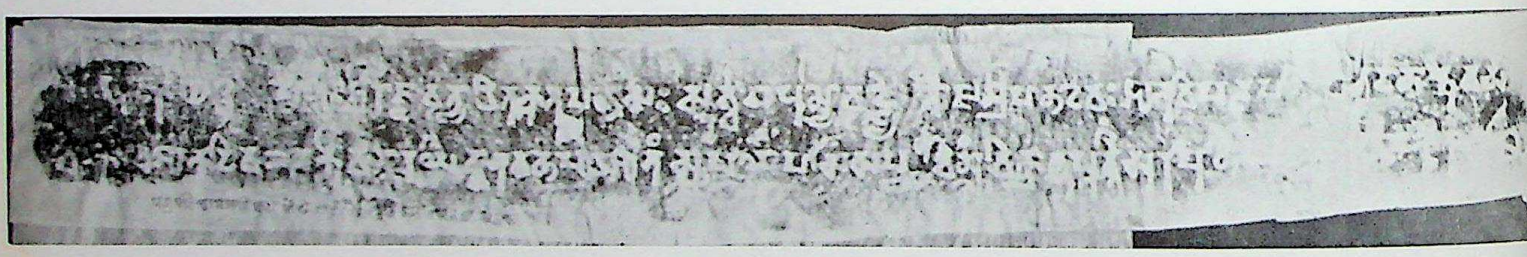

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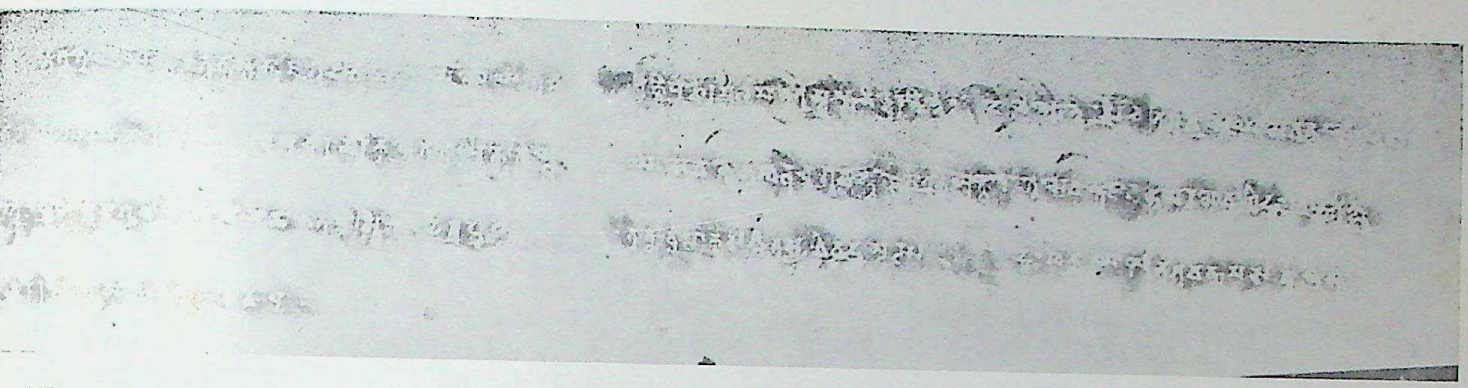

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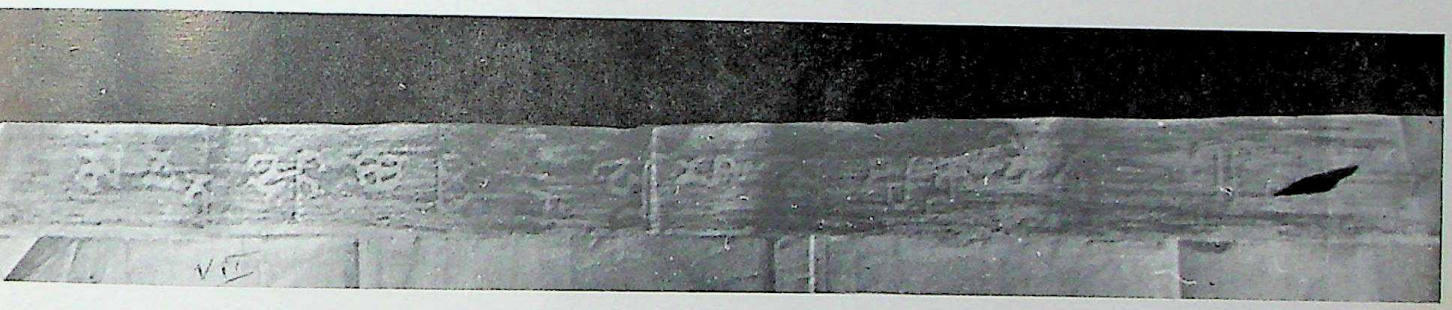

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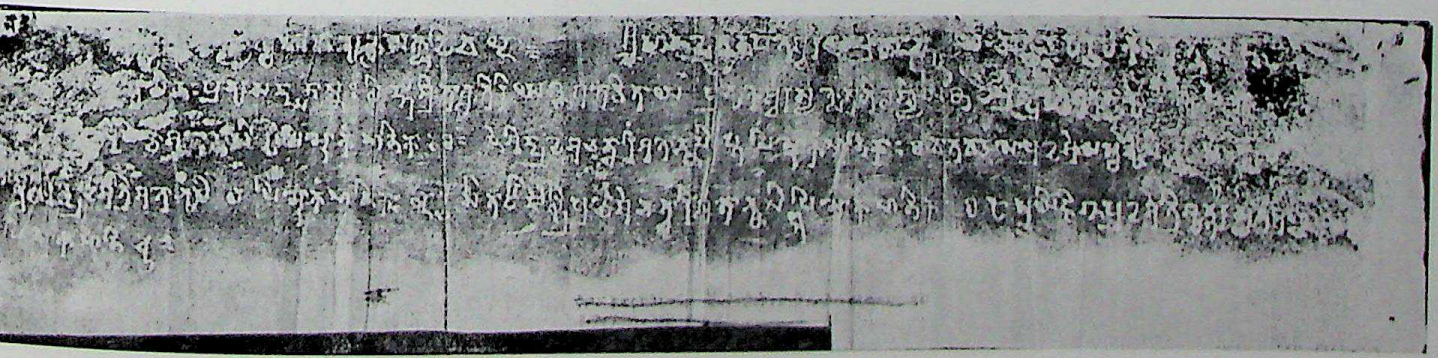

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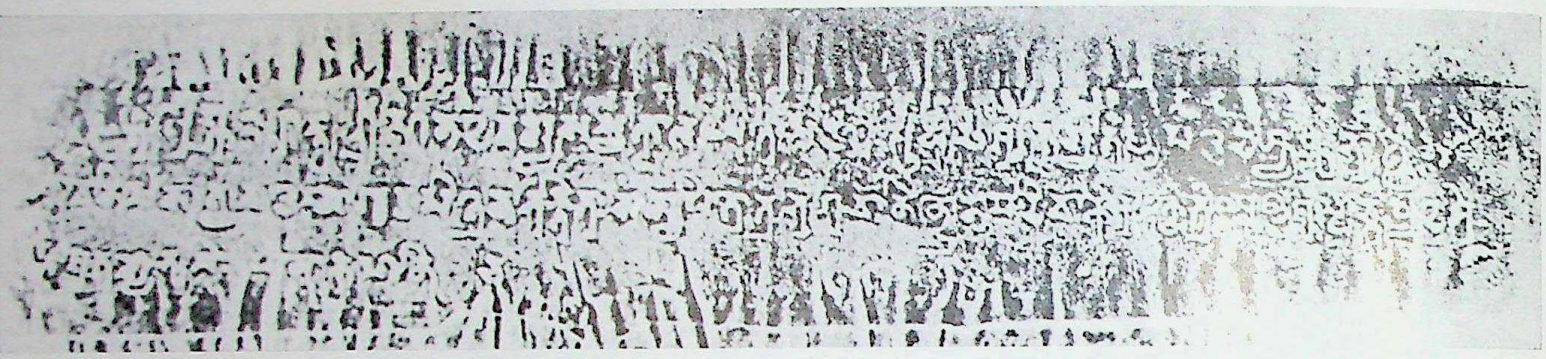

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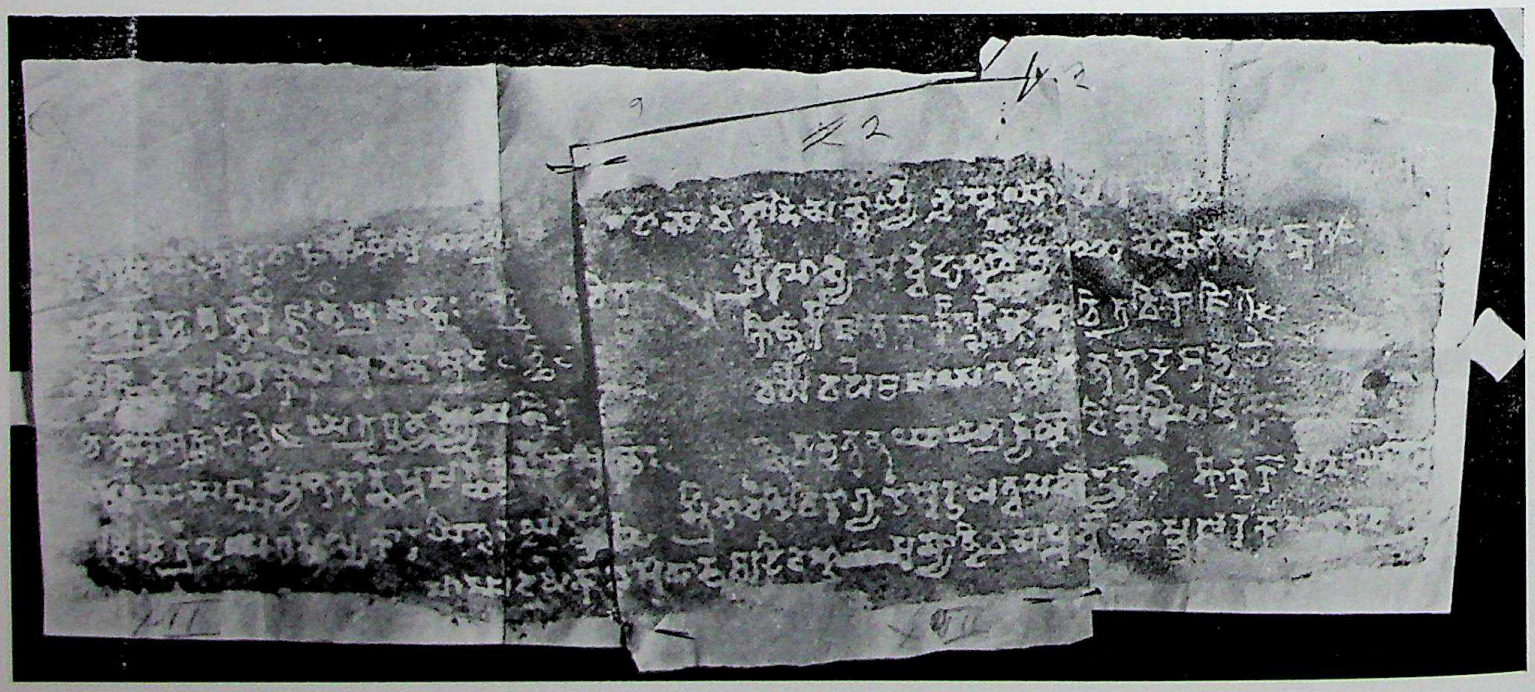

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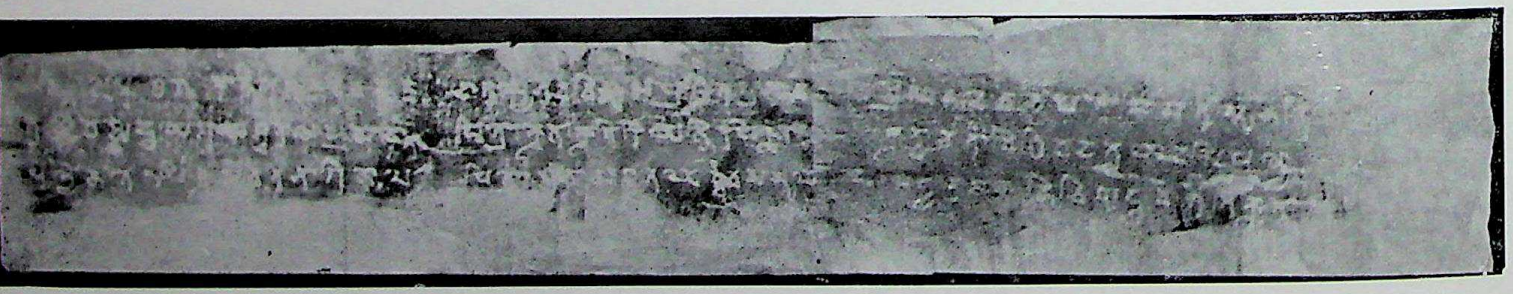
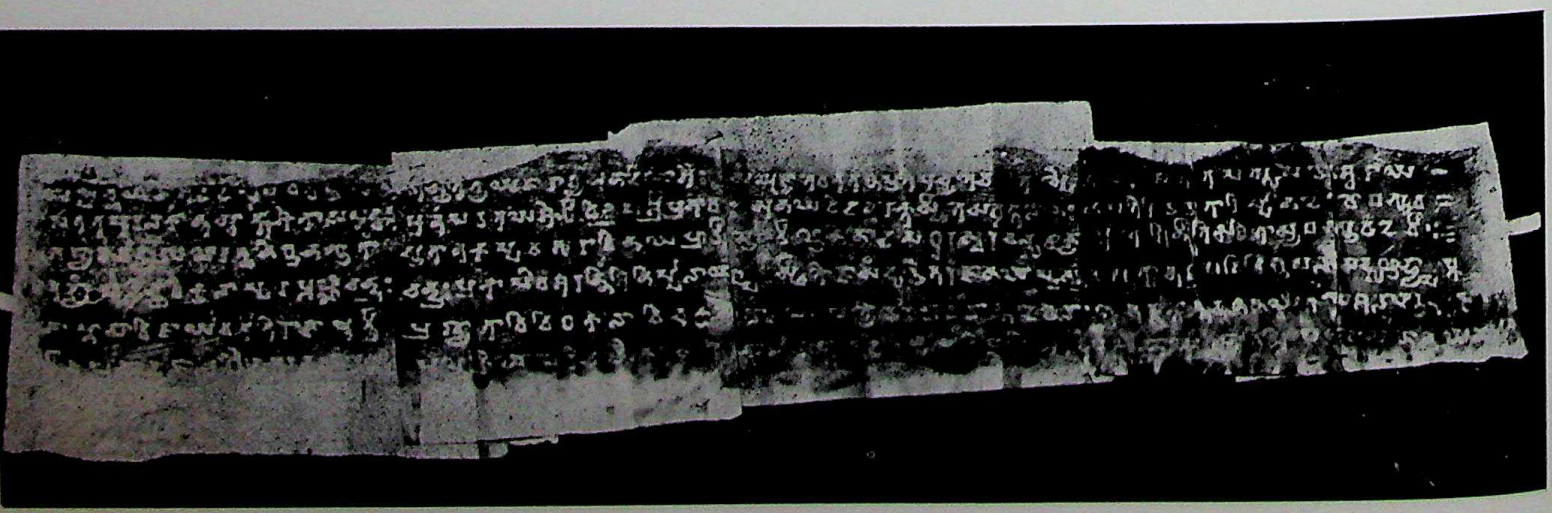
← XVI

XVIII (last one)

XVII ↓





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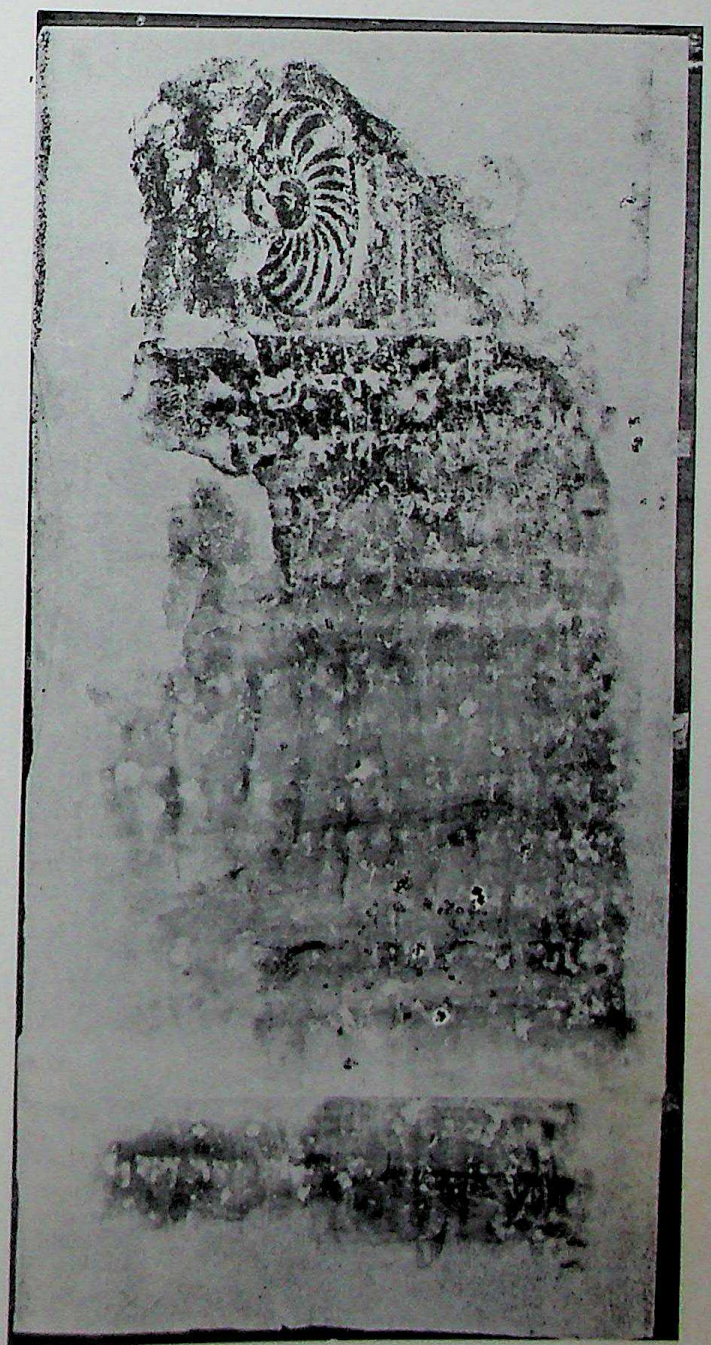

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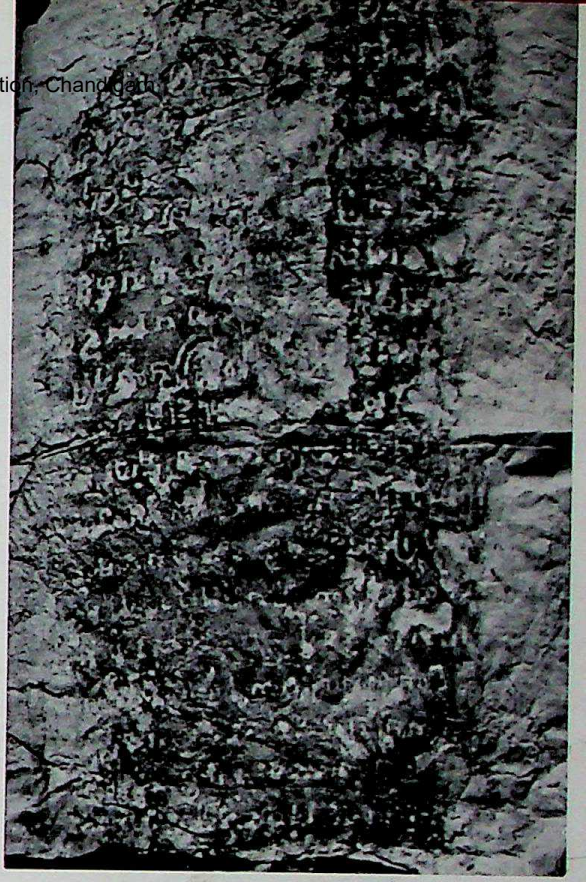

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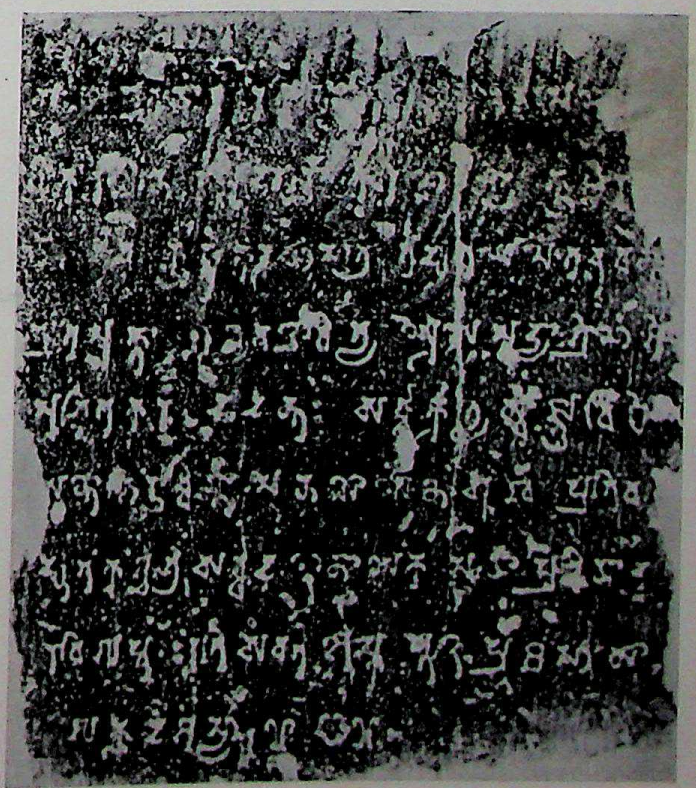

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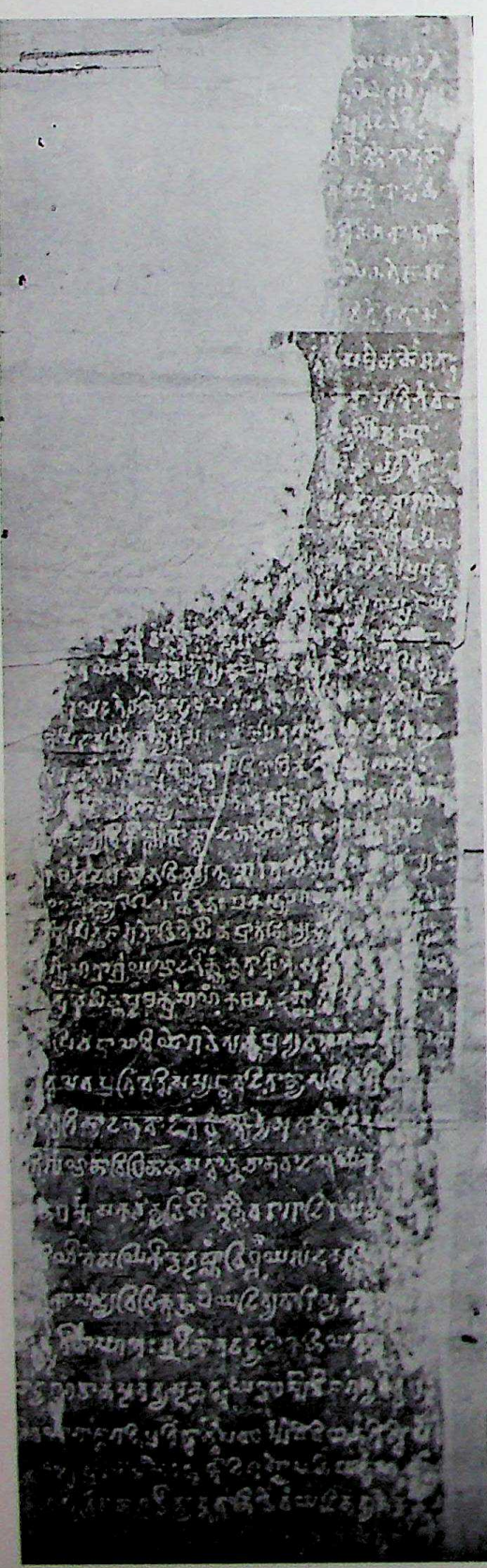

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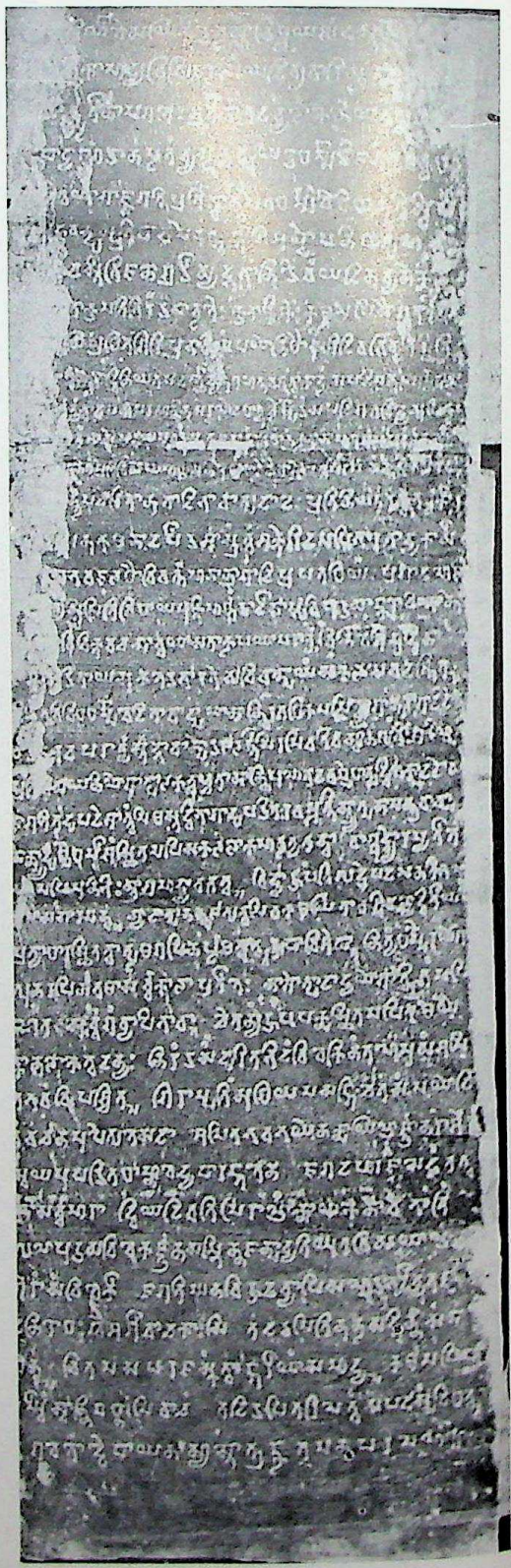

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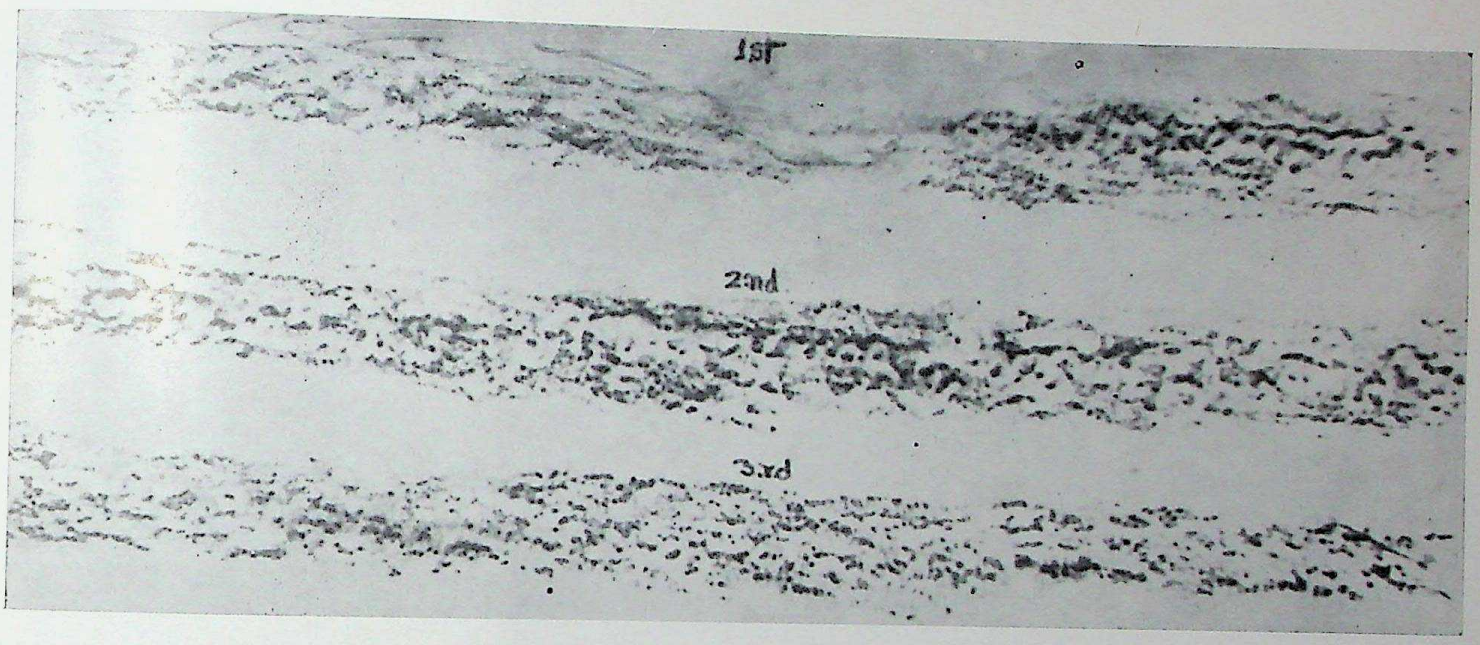

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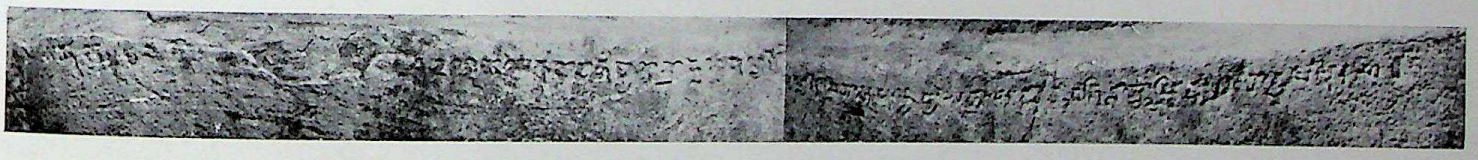

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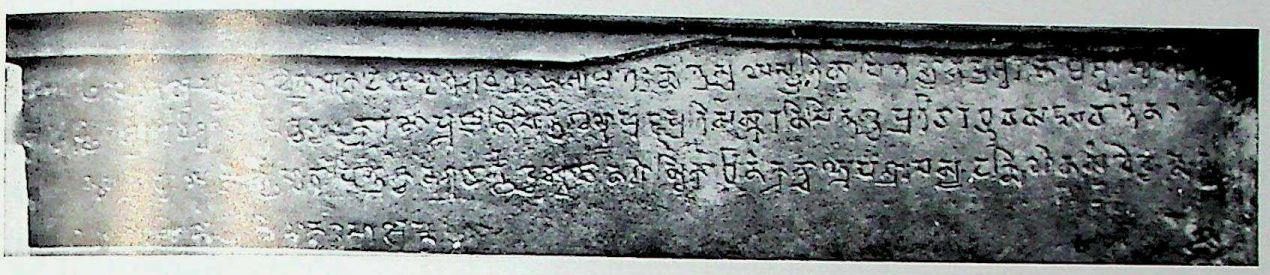

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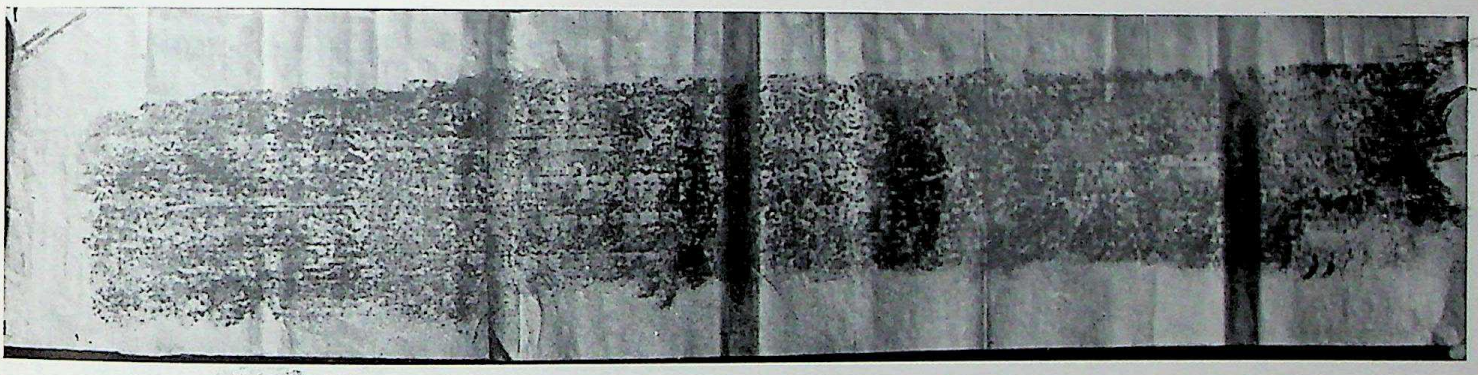

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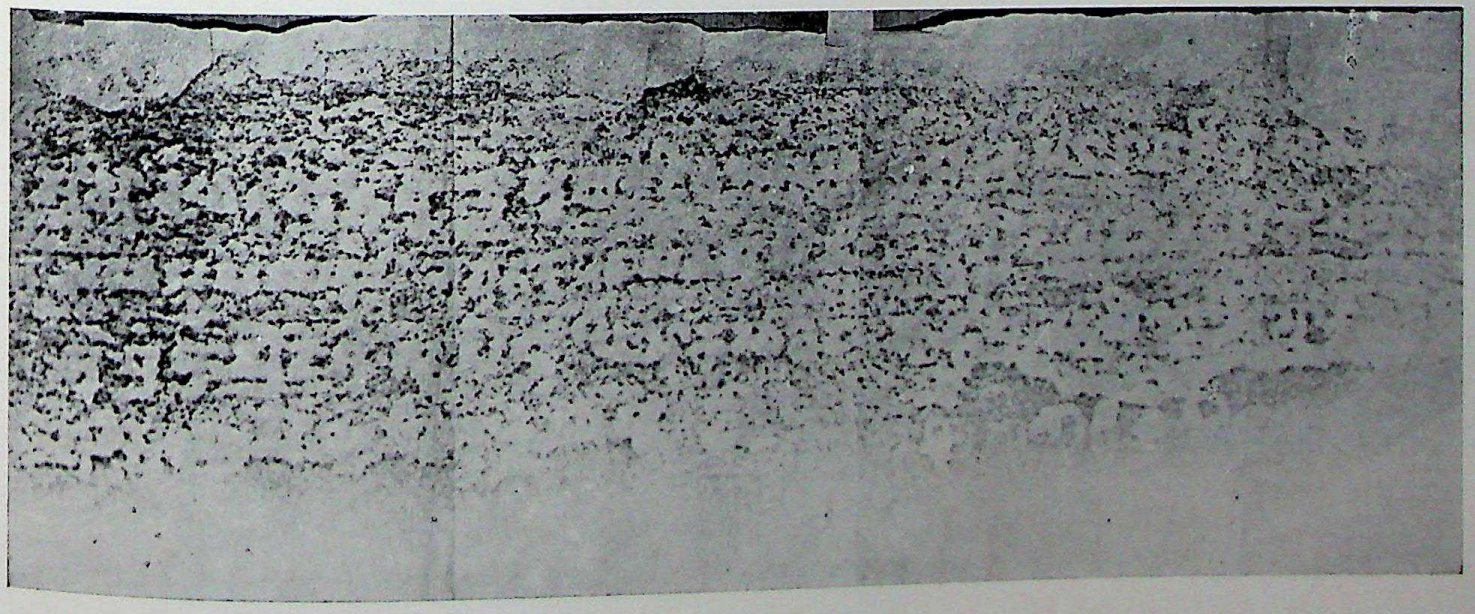

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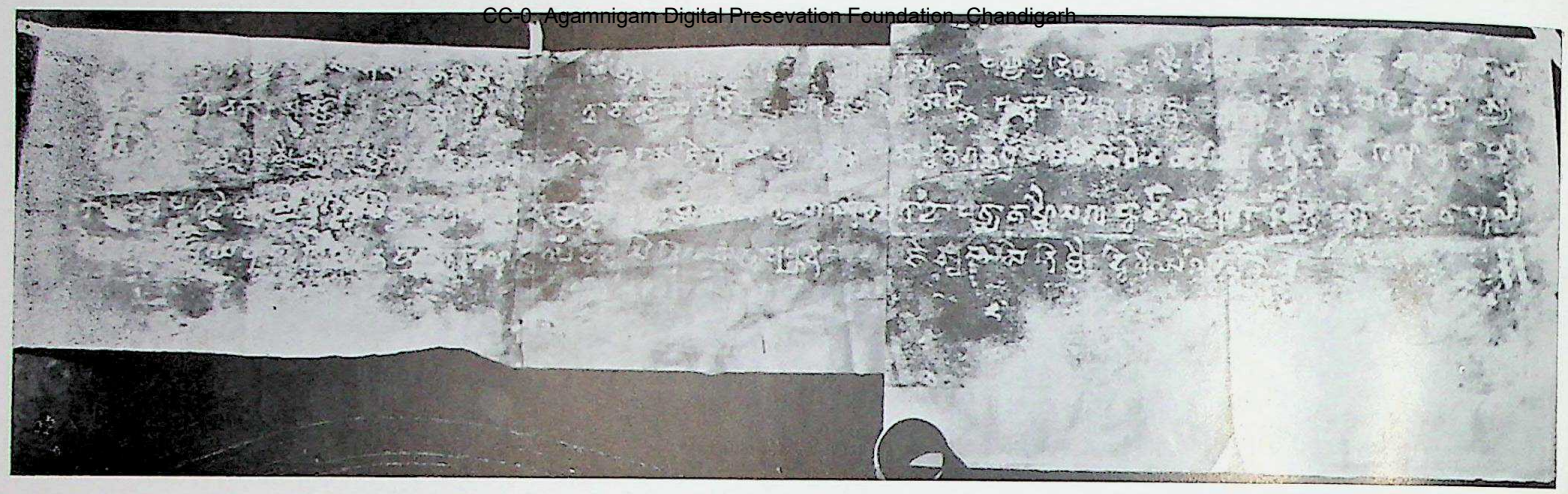

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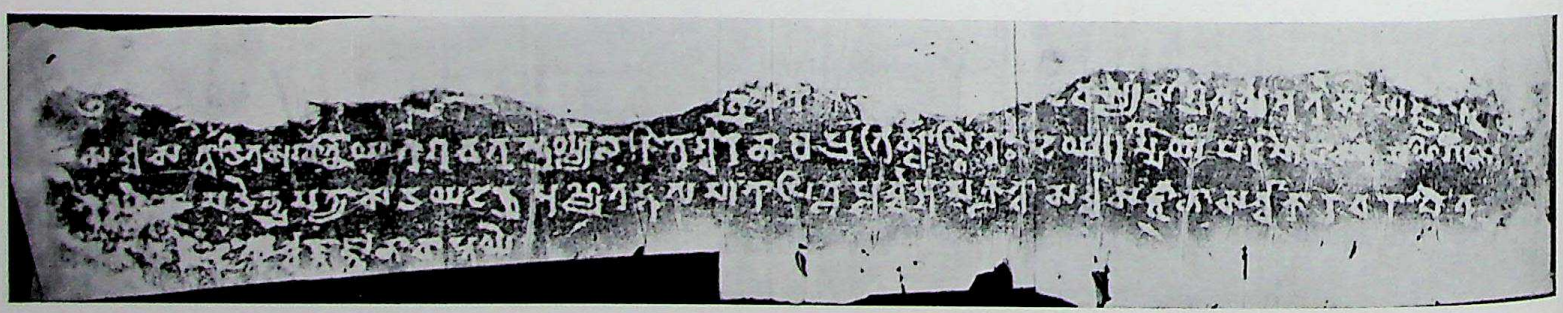

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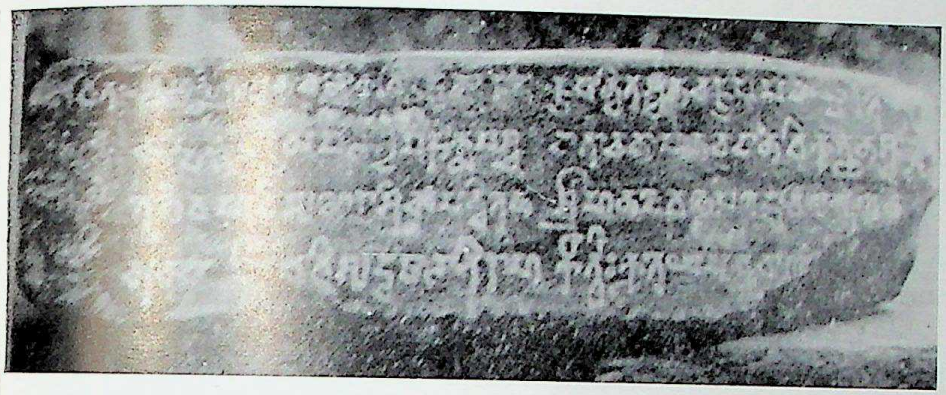

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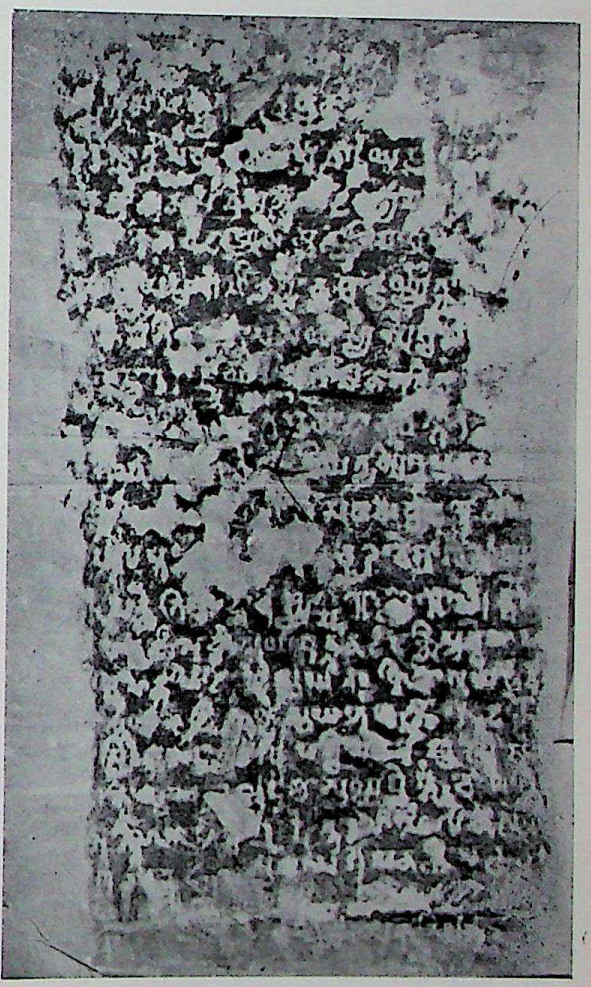

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XXXVIII

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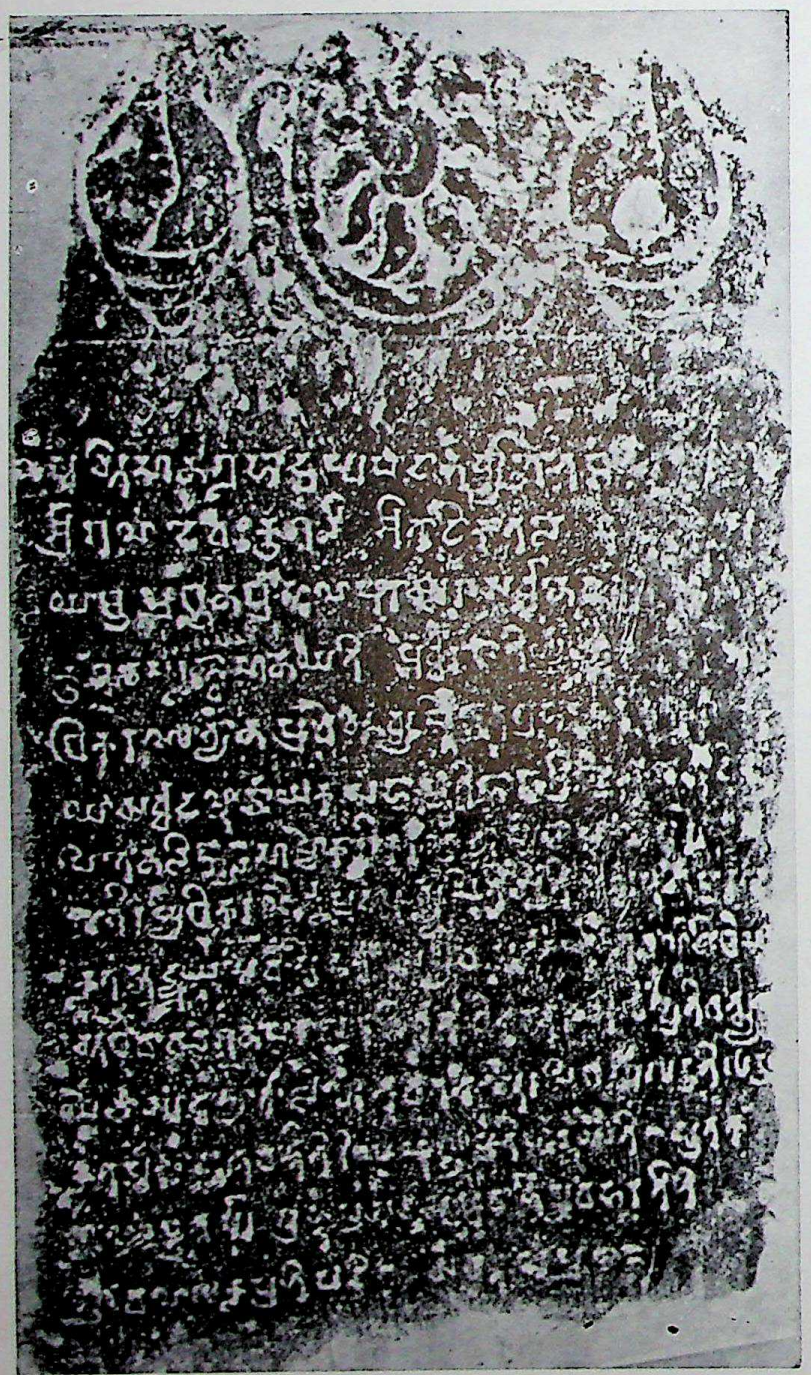

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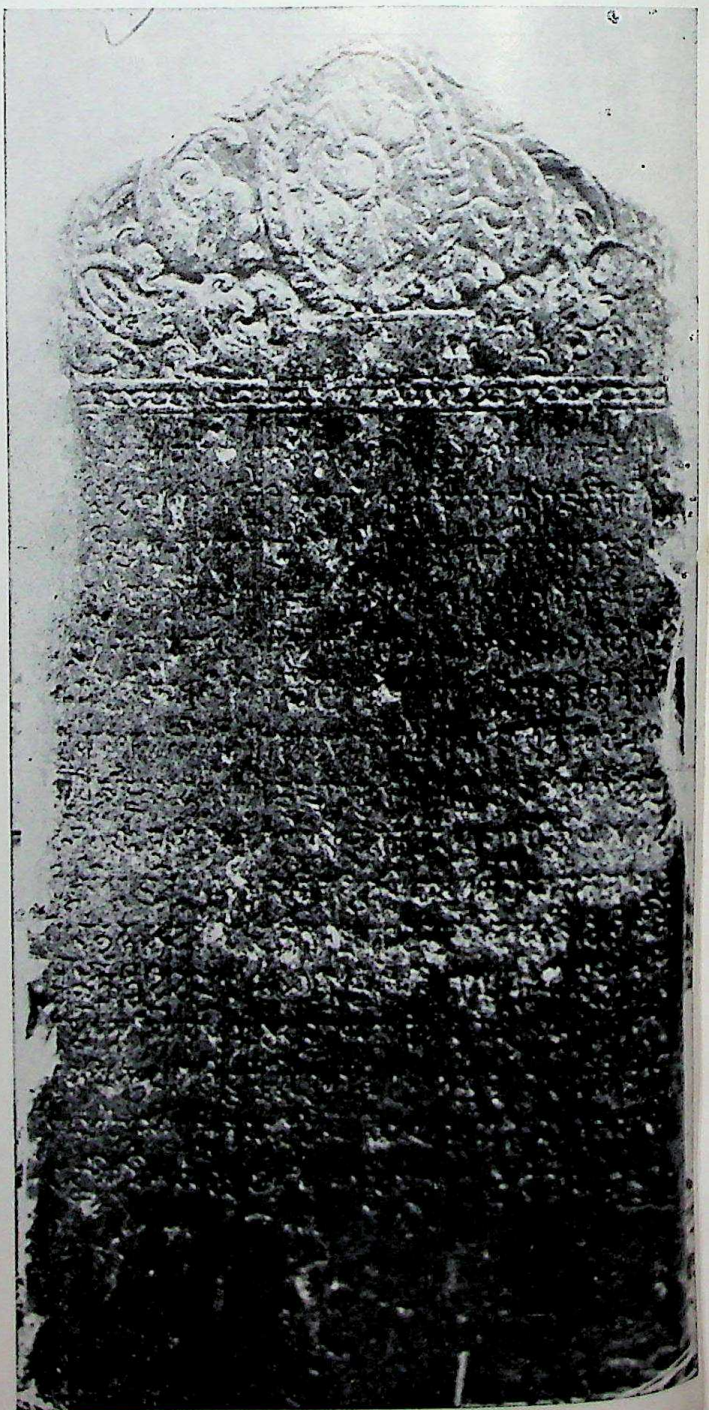

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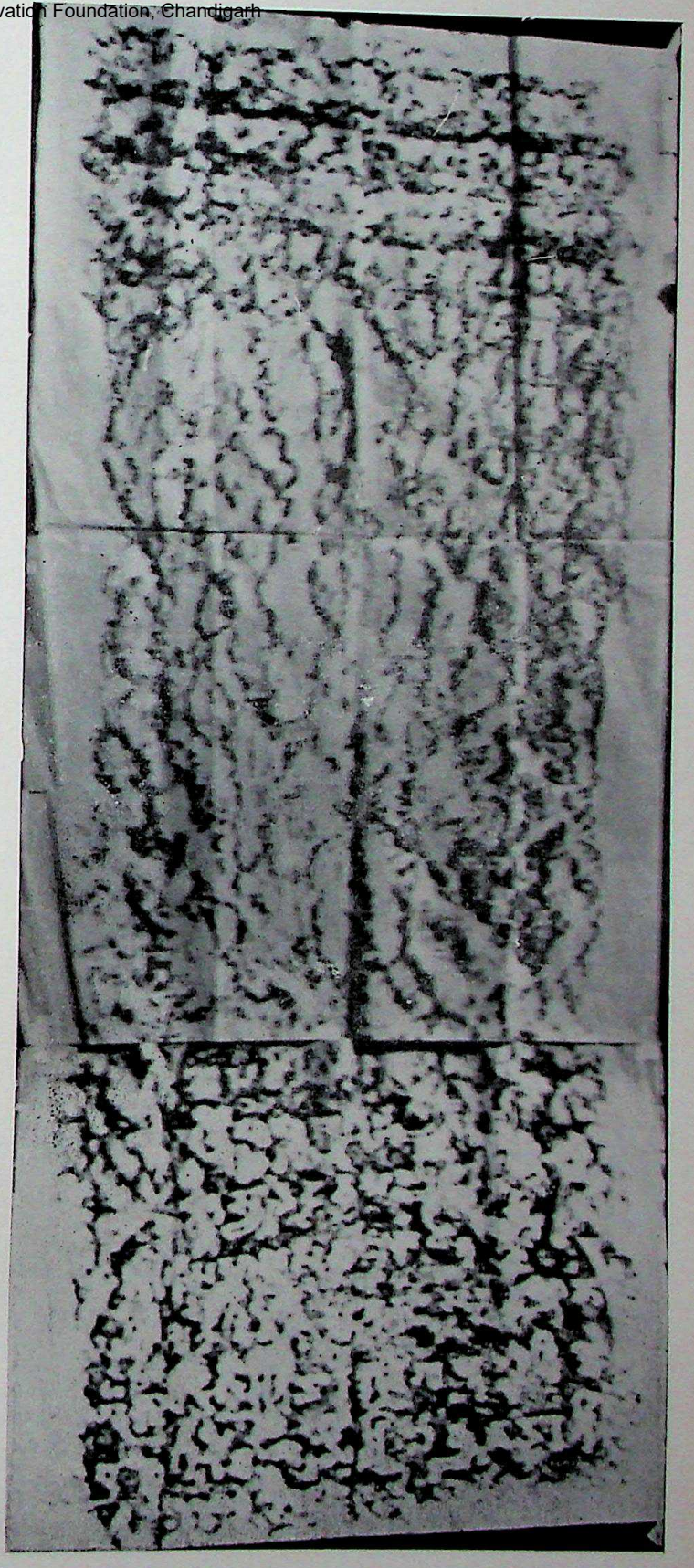

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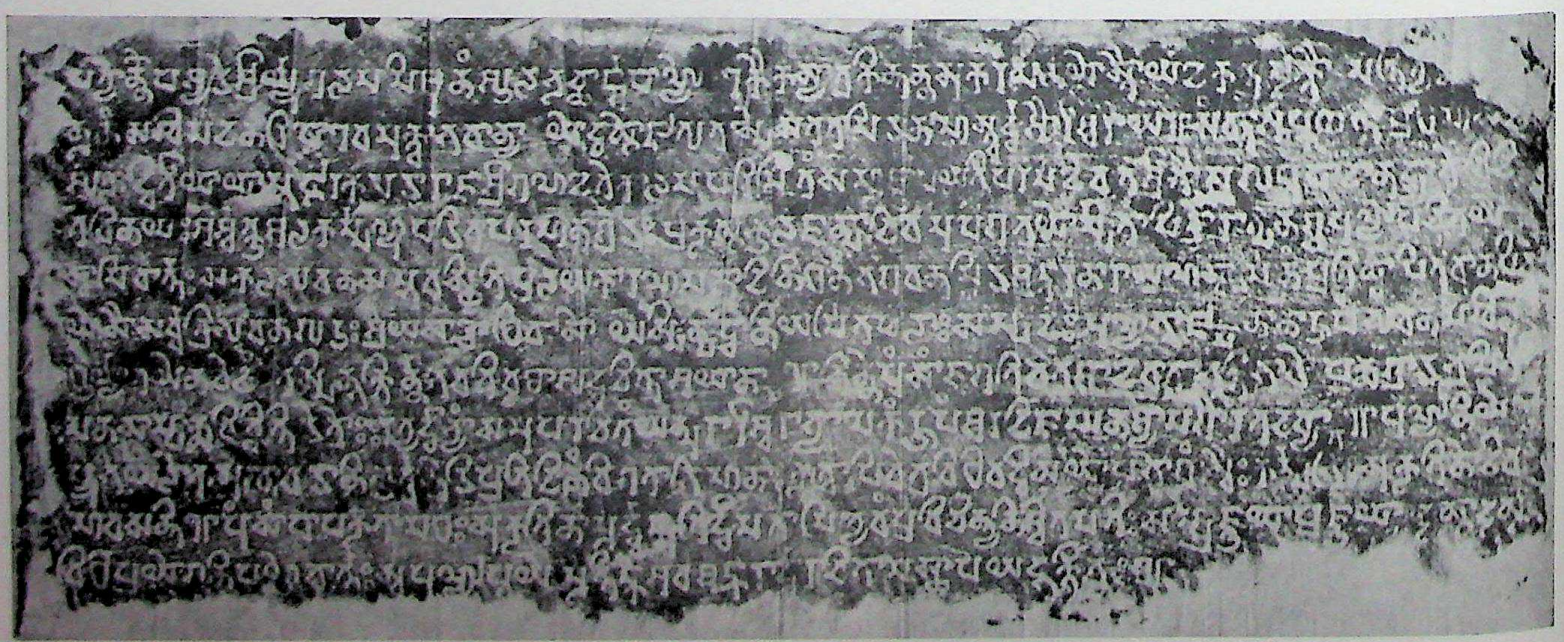

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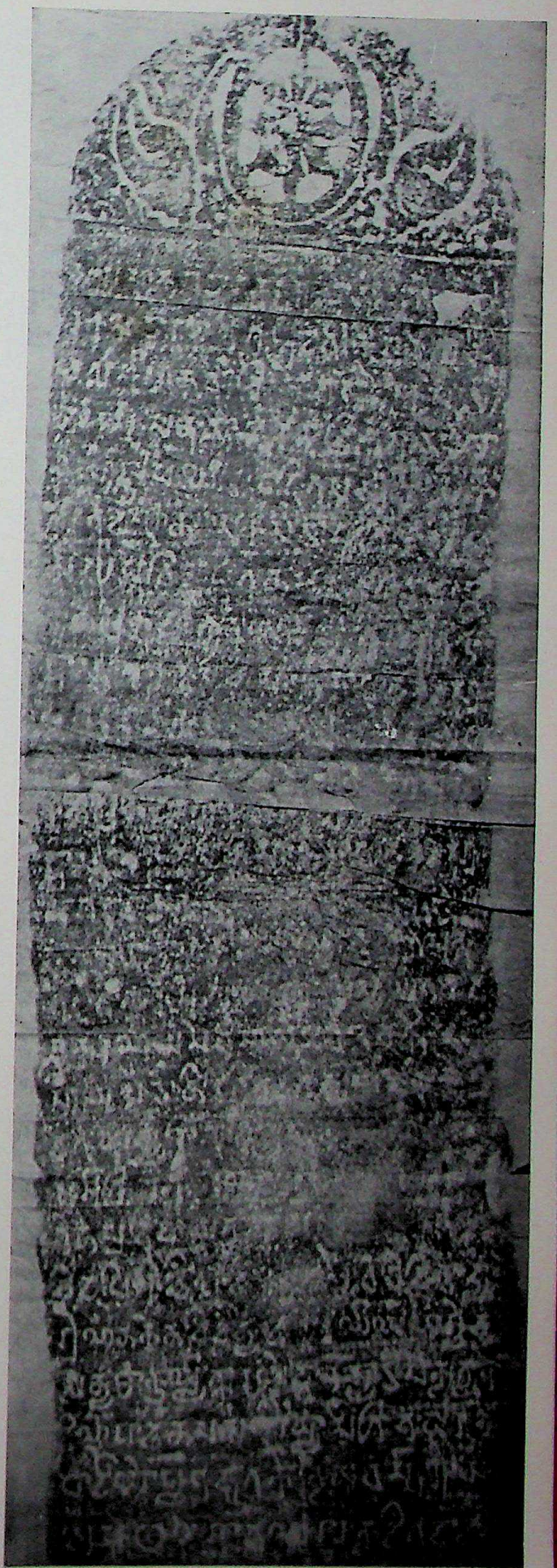

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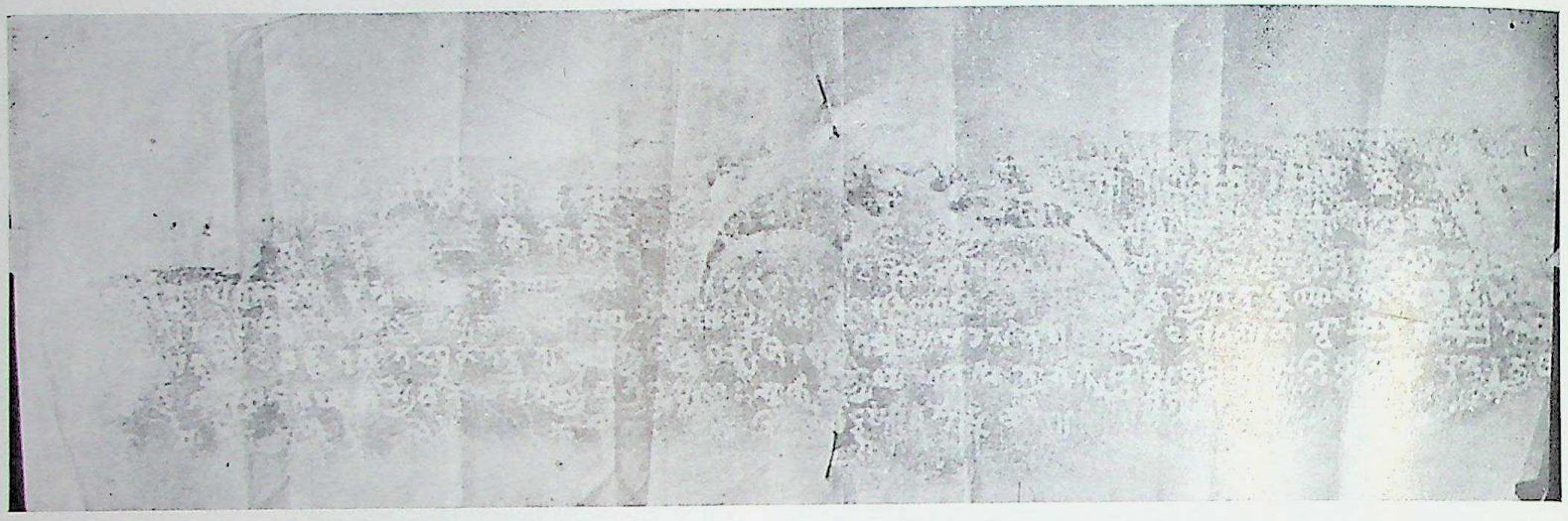

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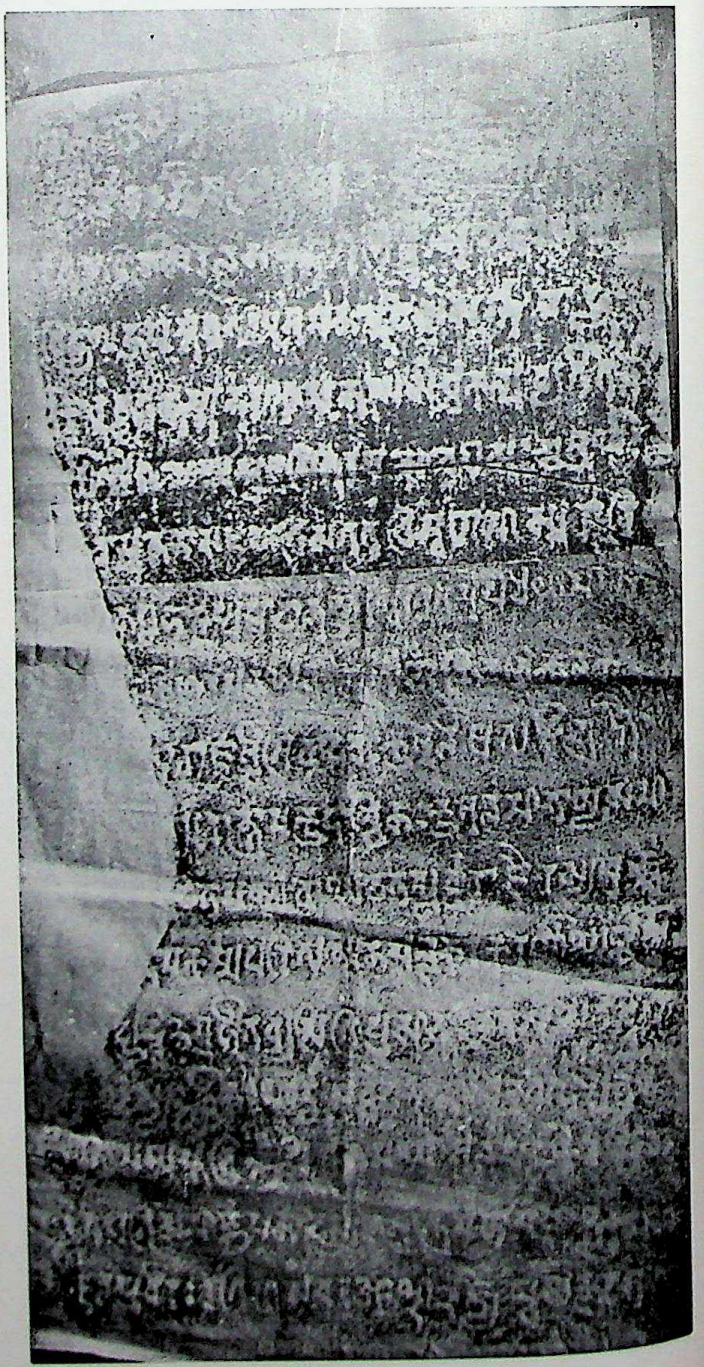

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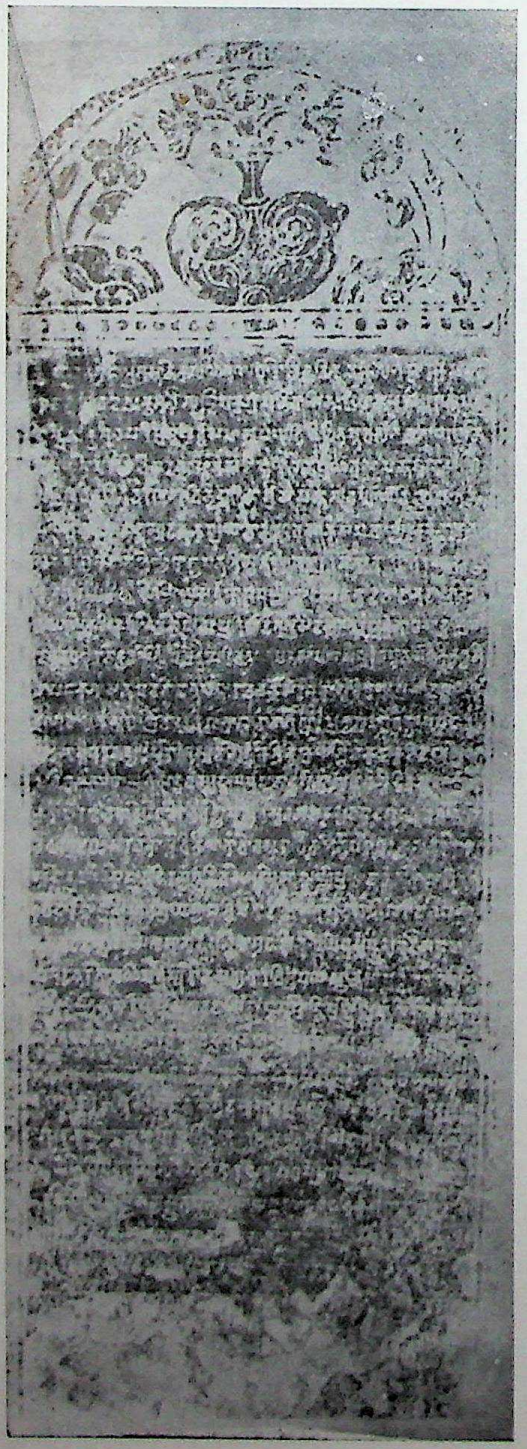

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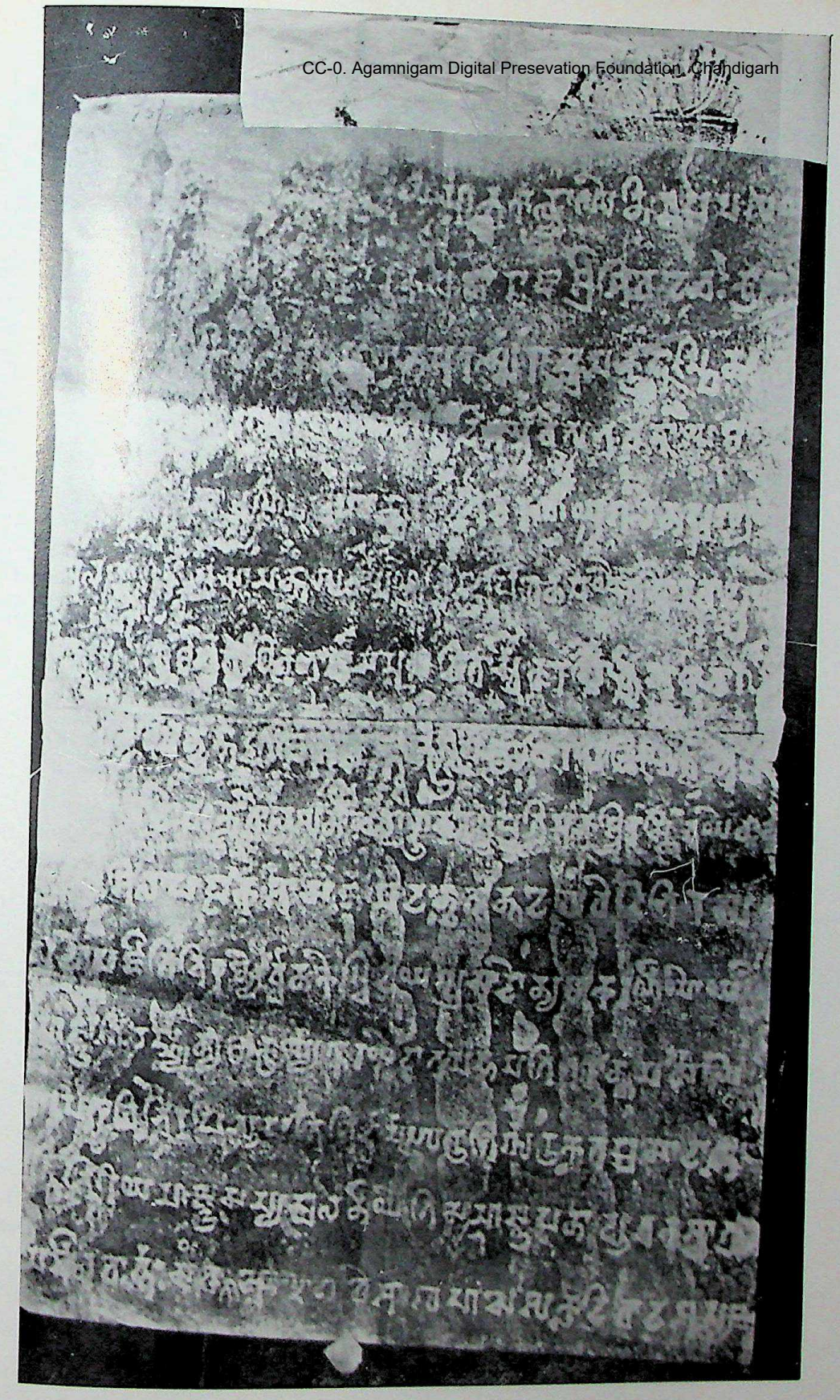

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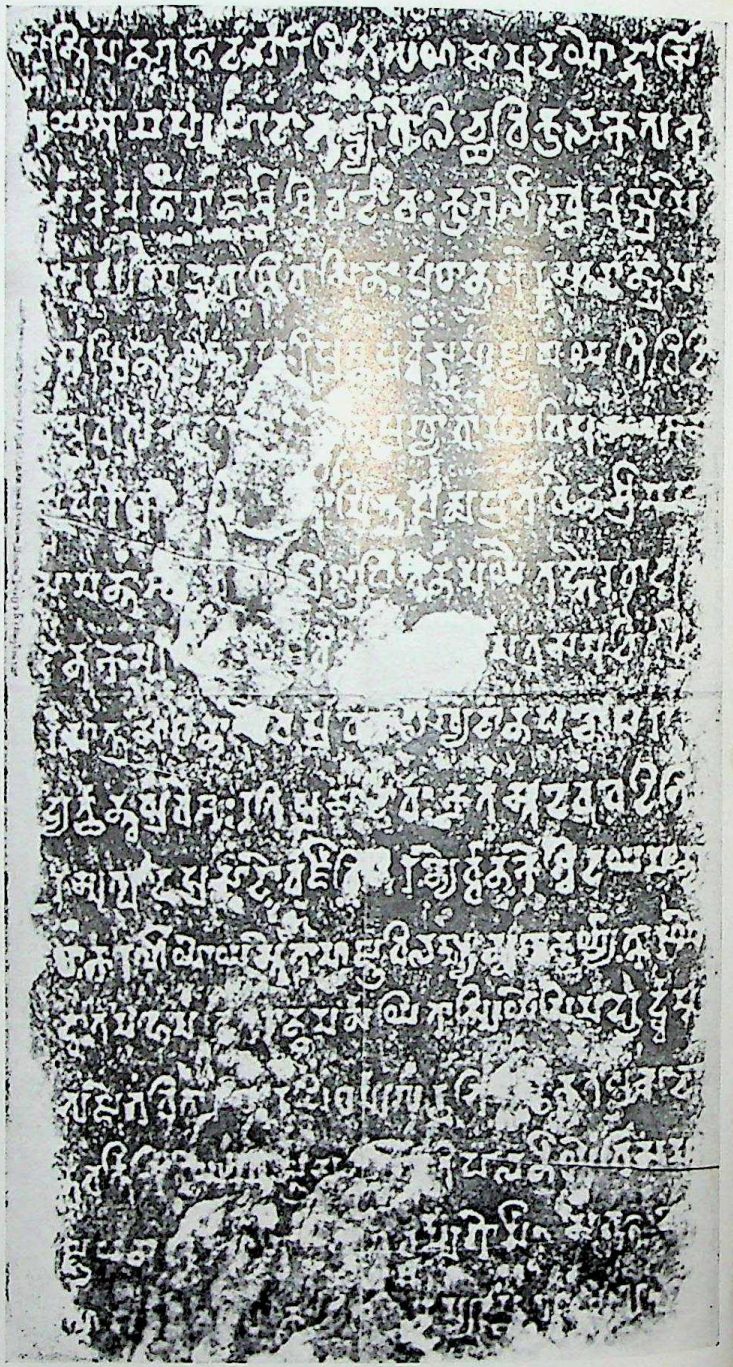

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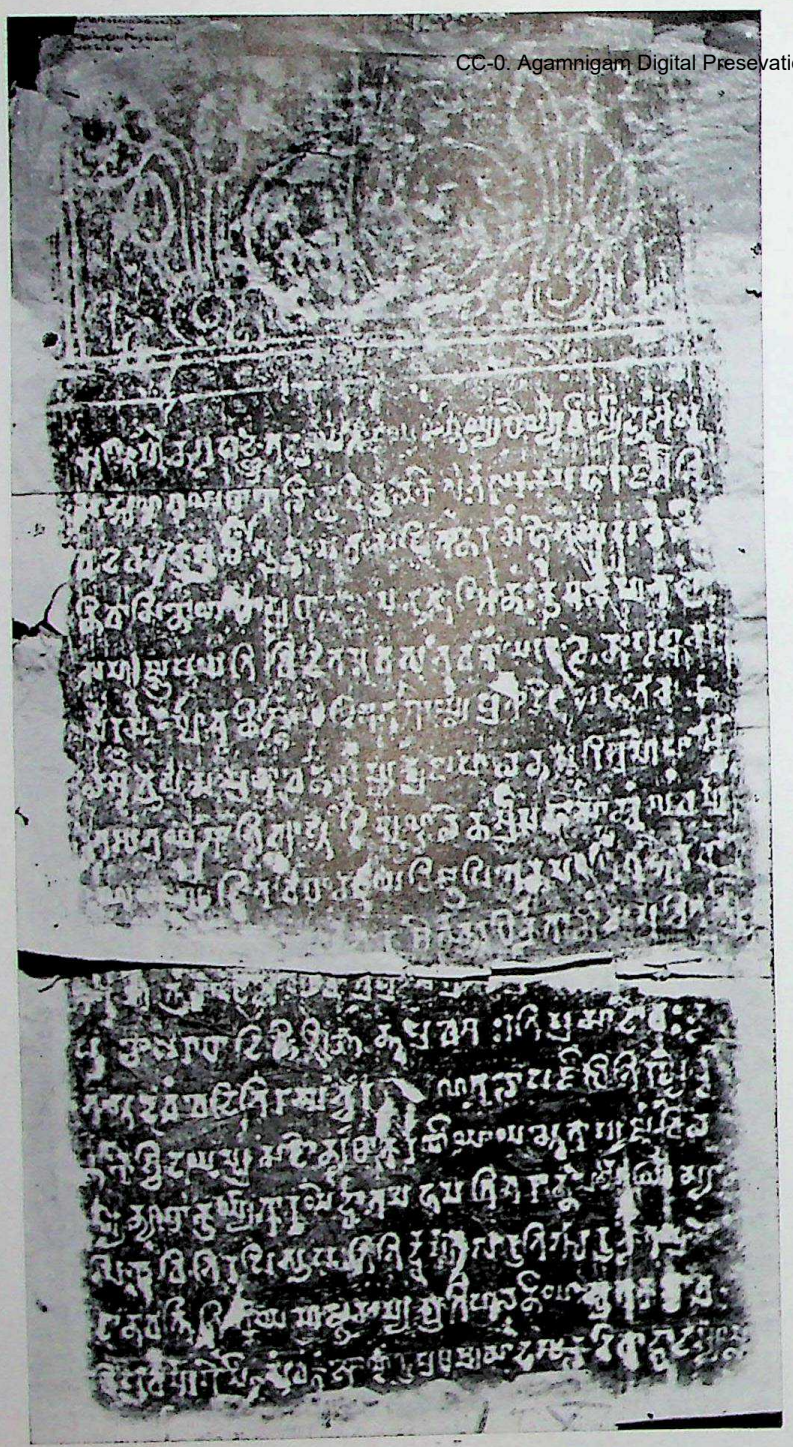

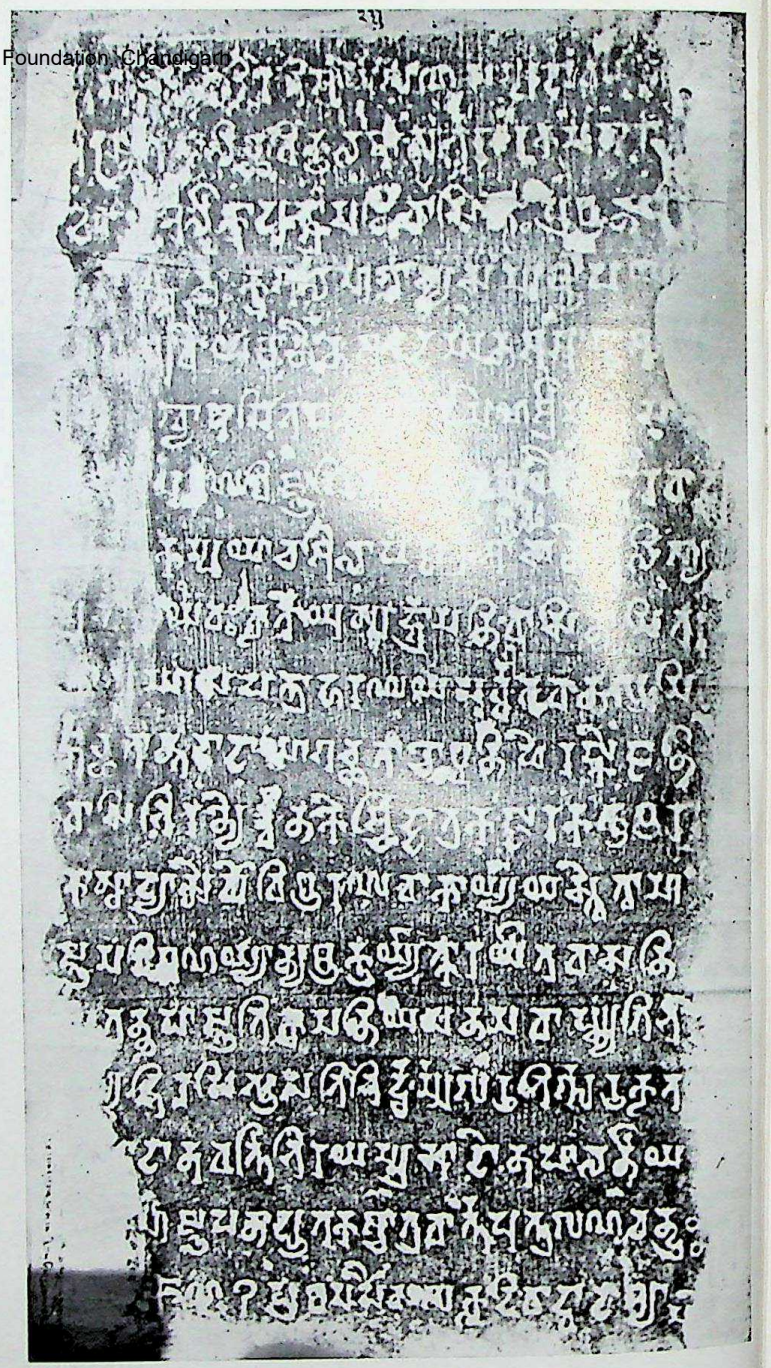

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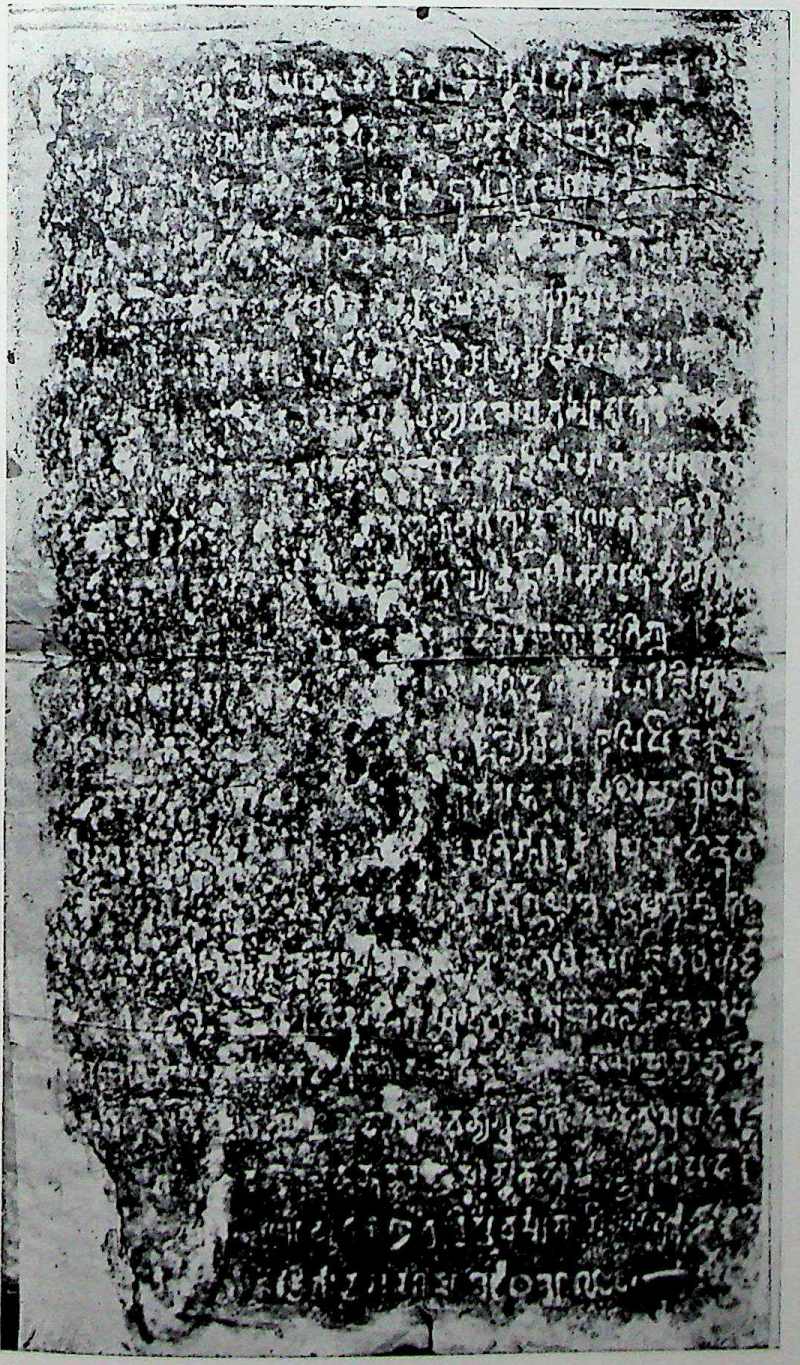

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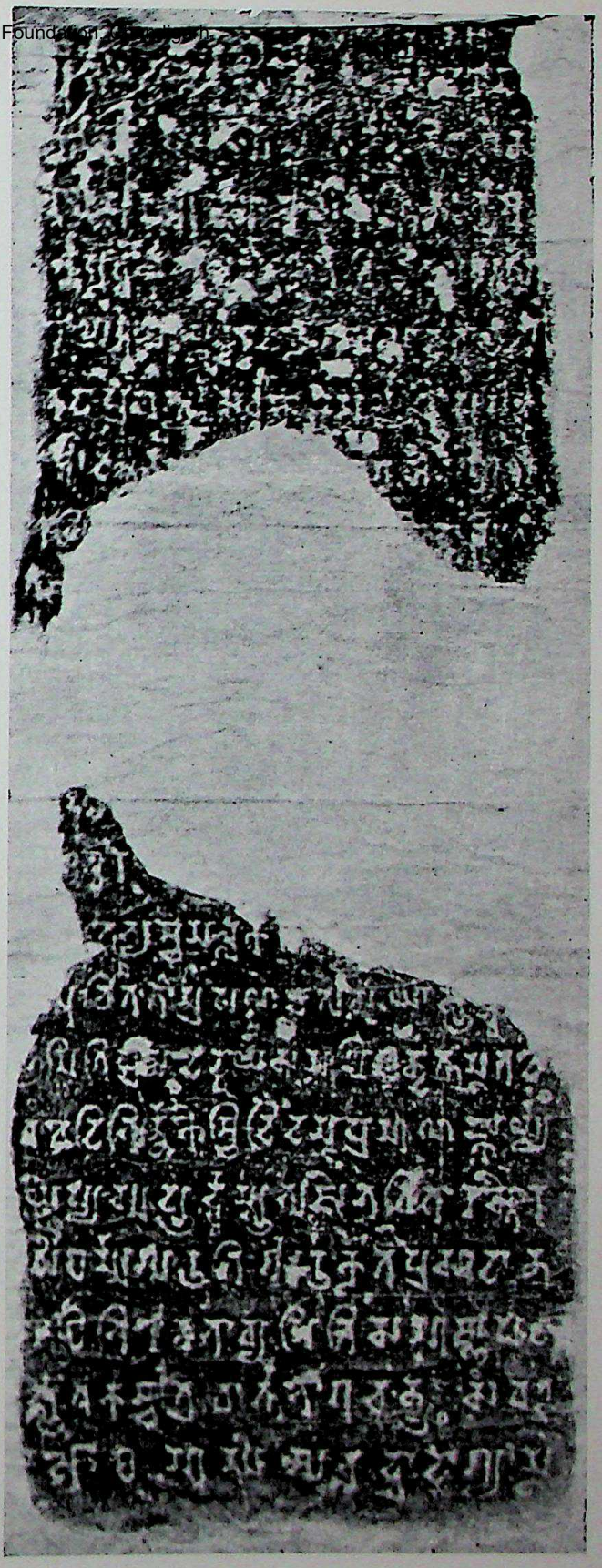

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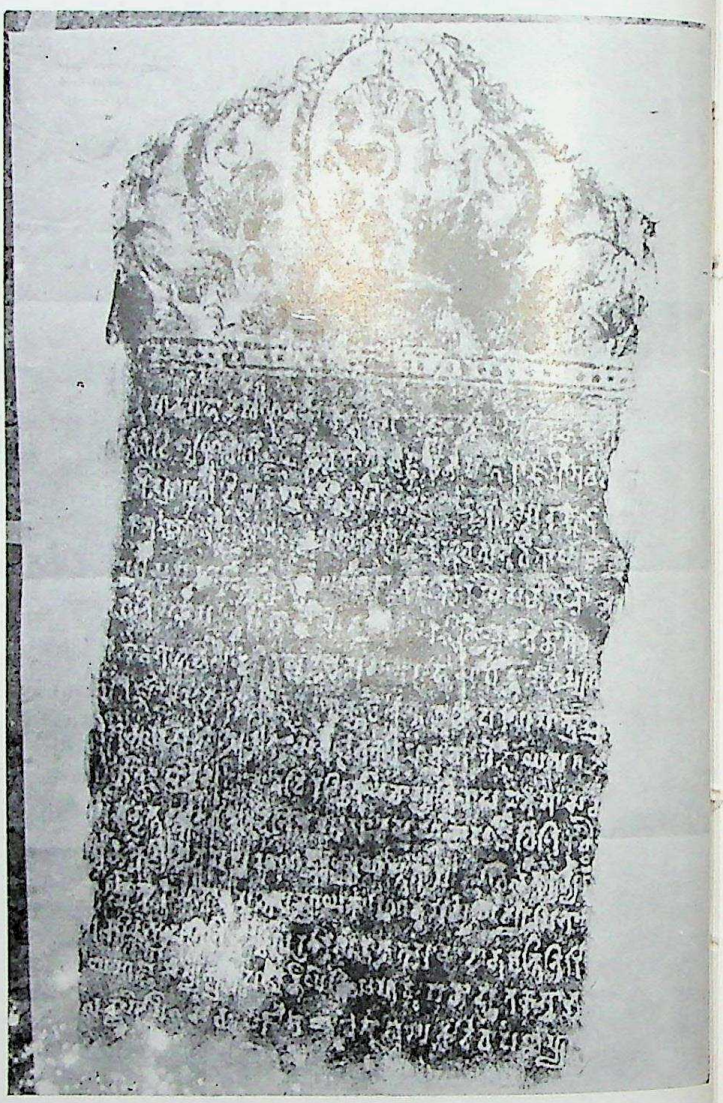

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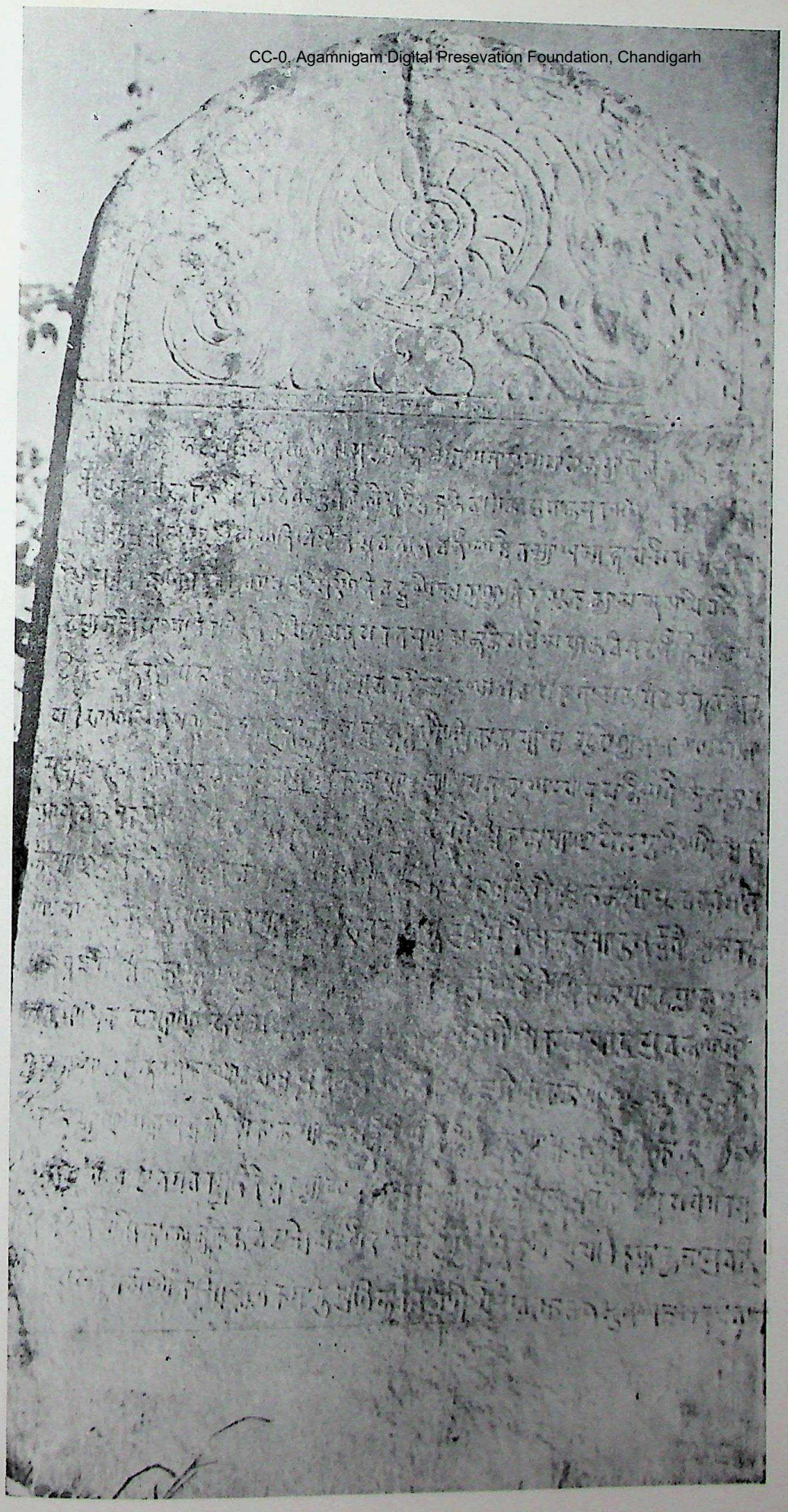

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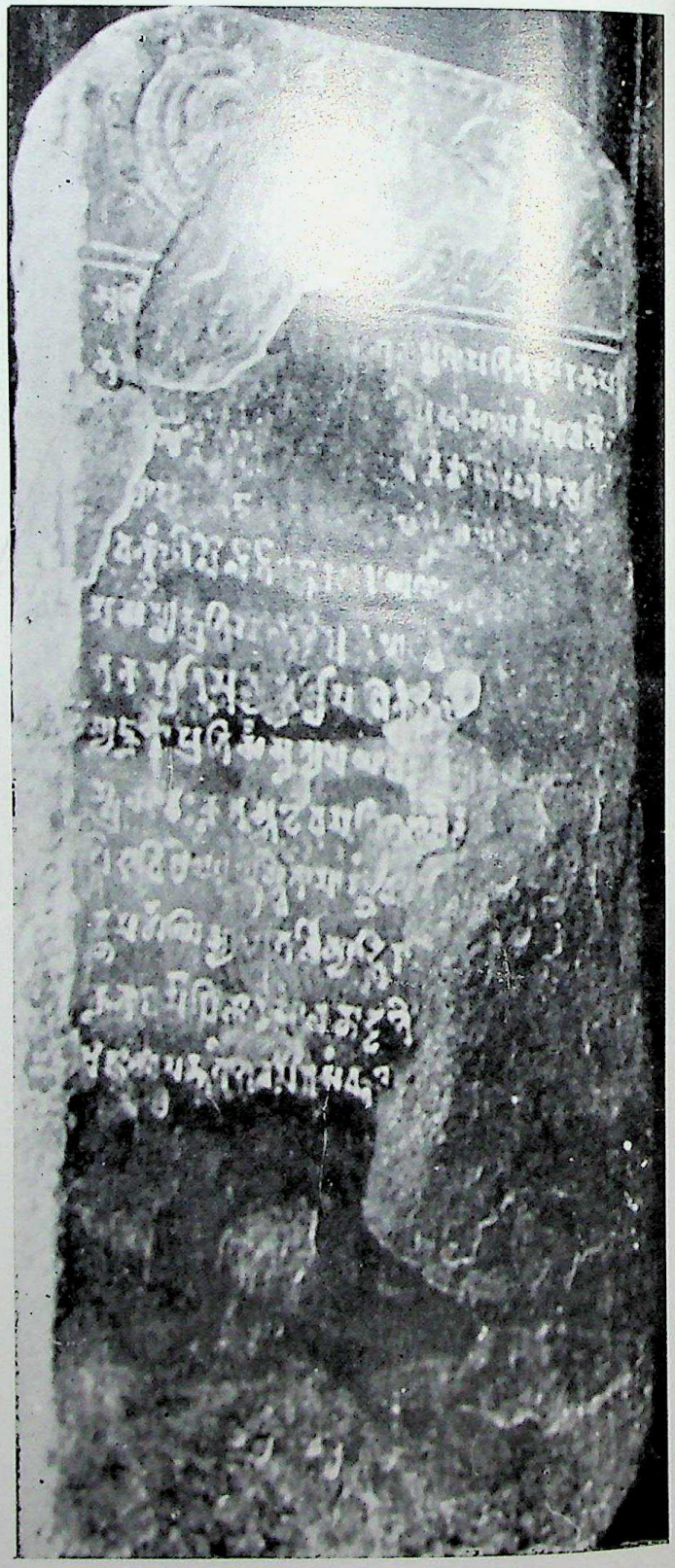

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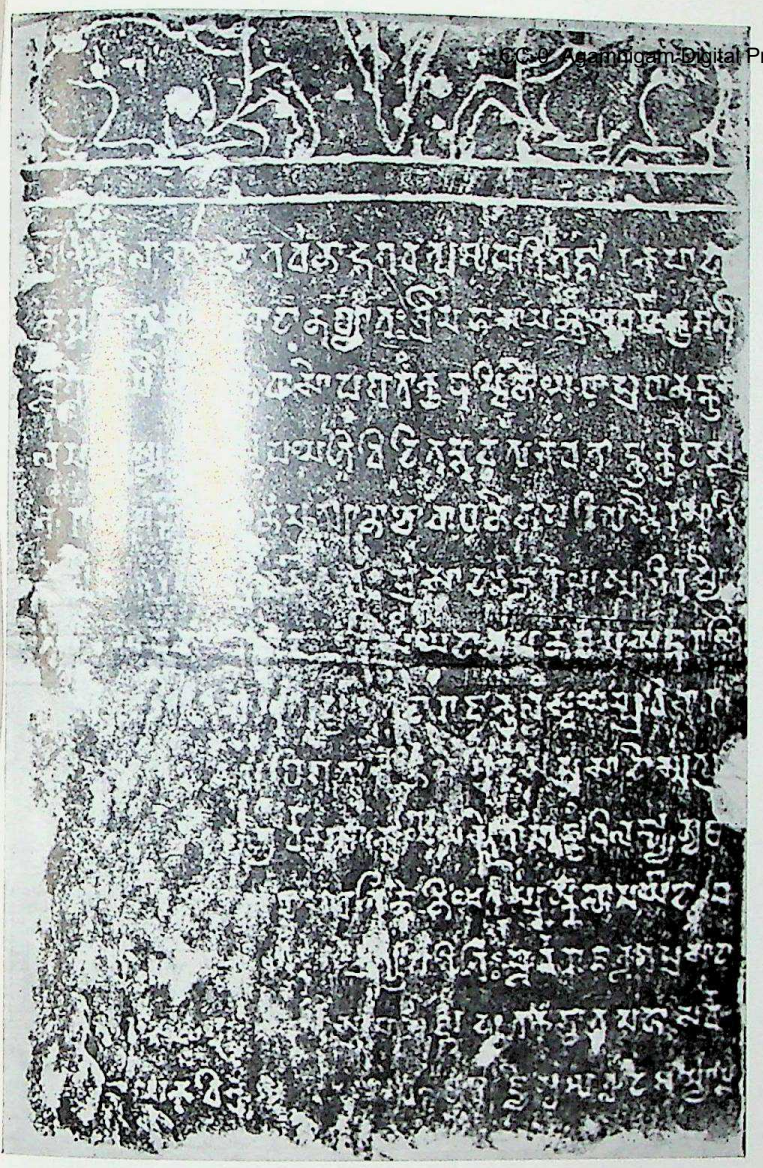

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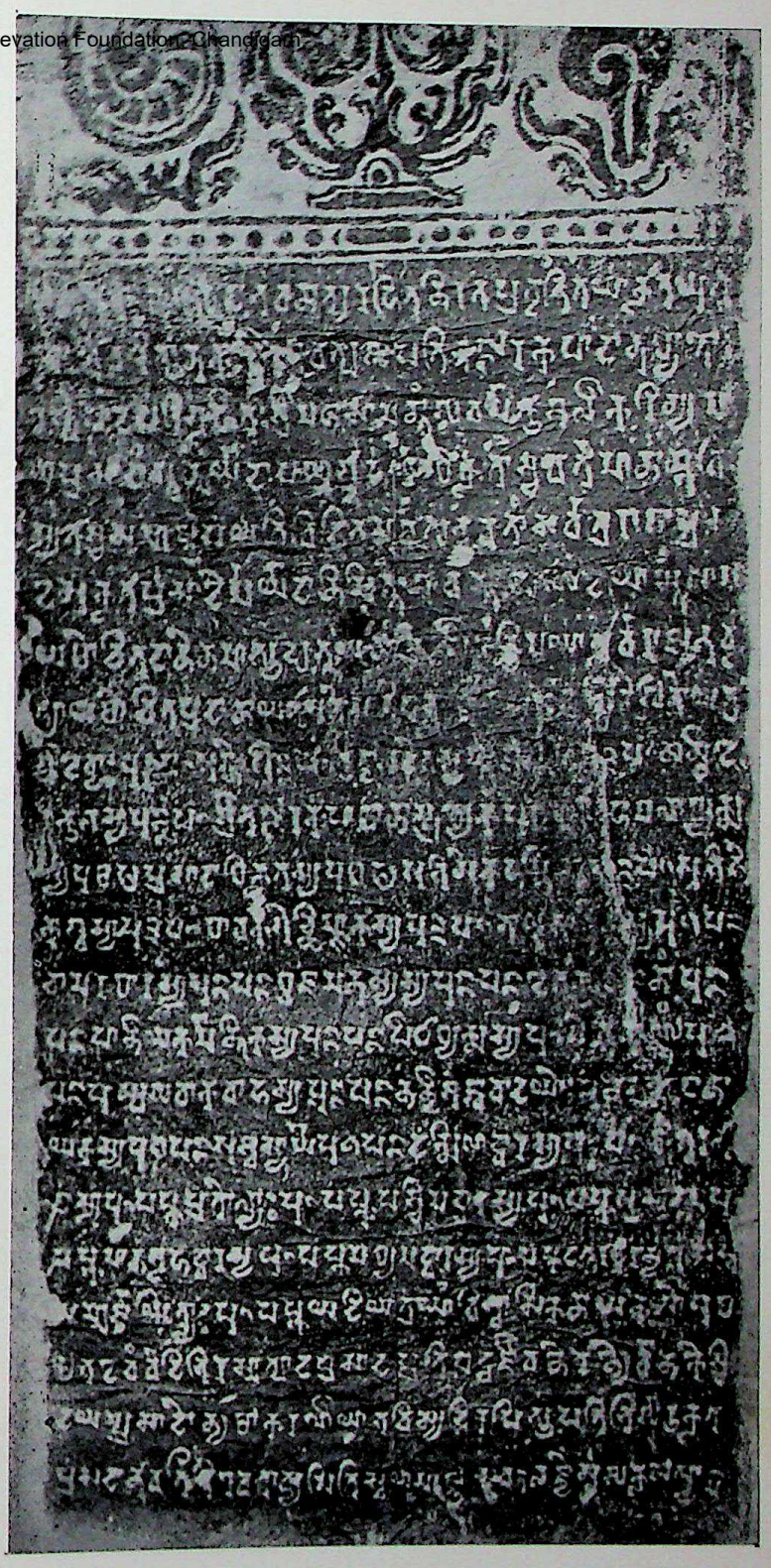

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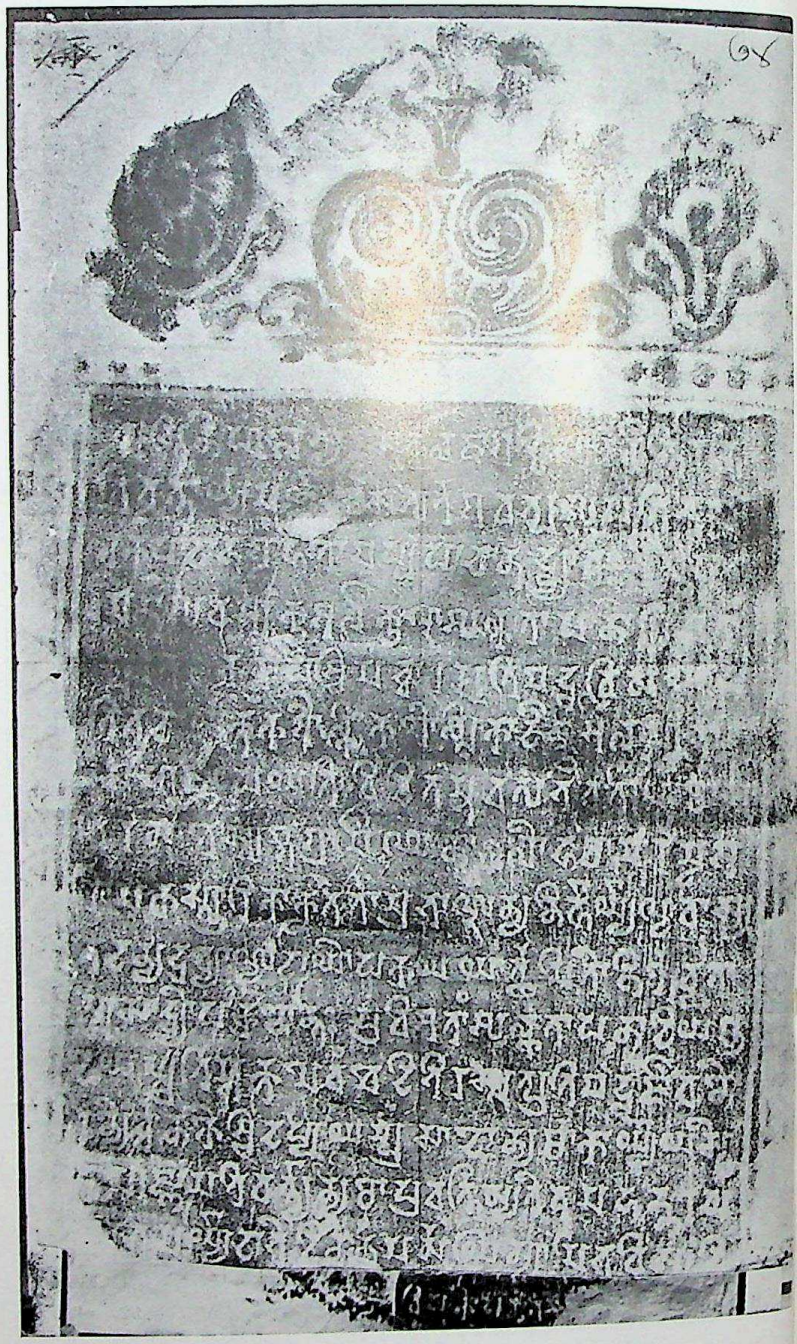
LXX



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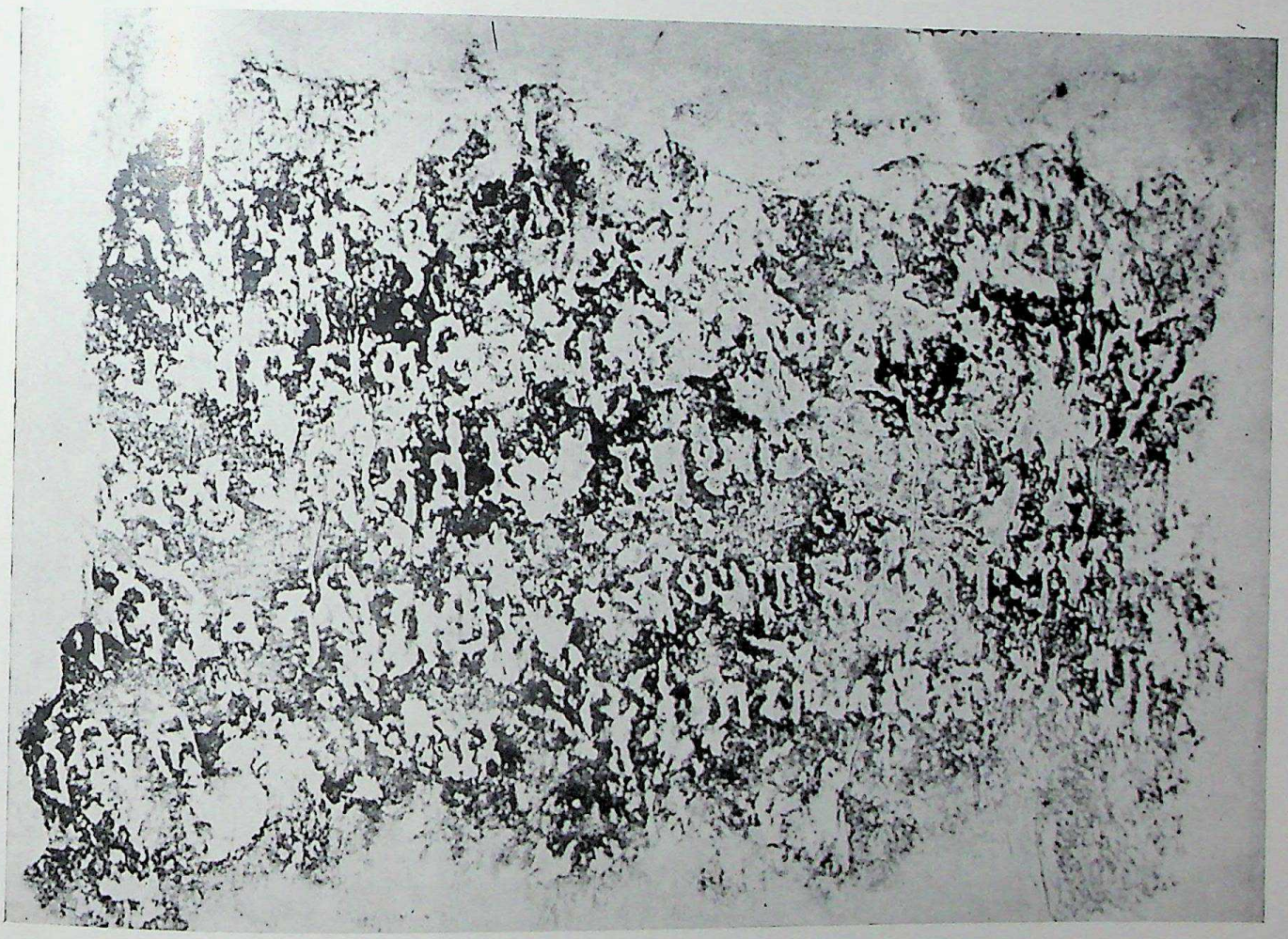
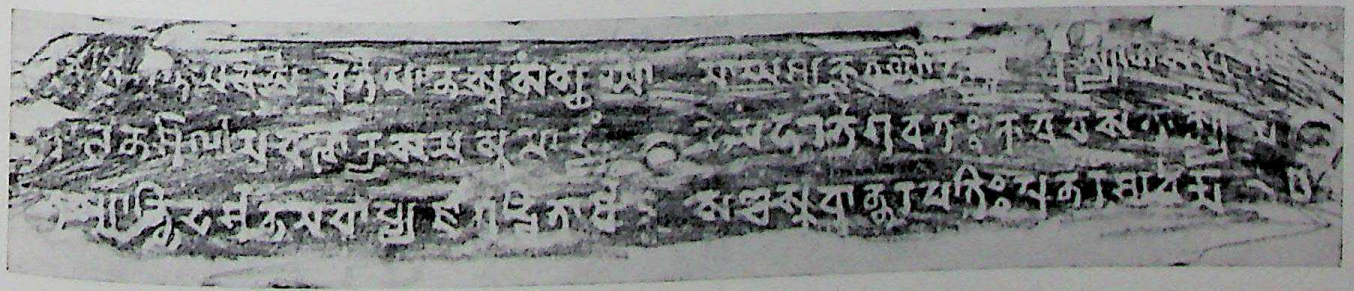


LXXII

LXXIII ↓



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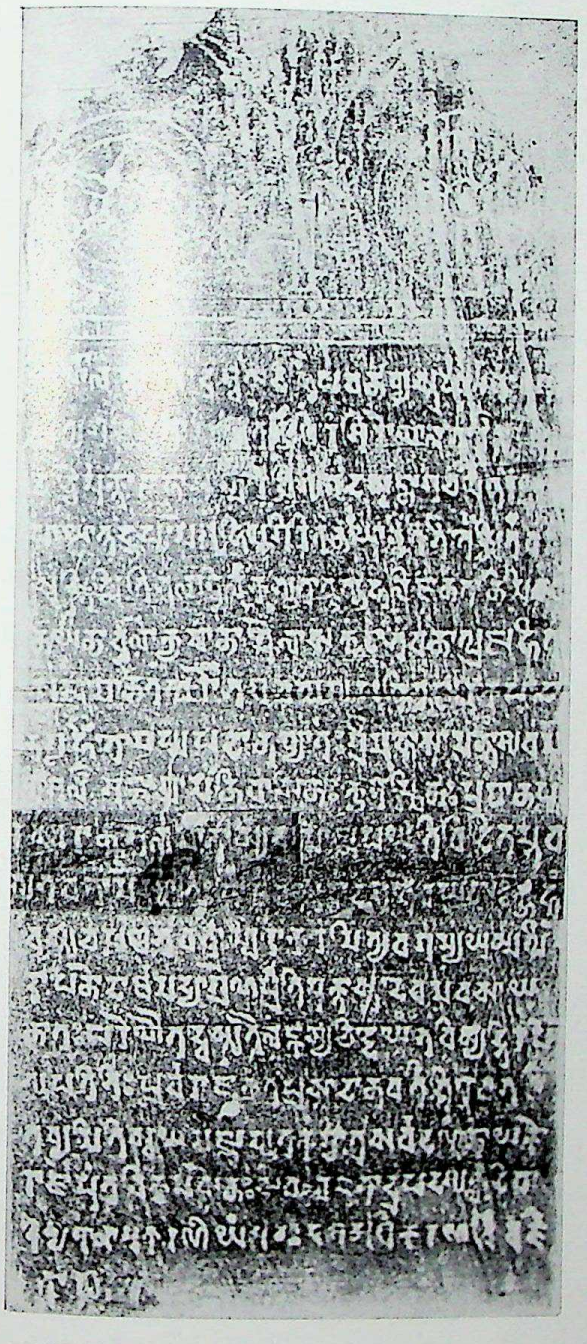
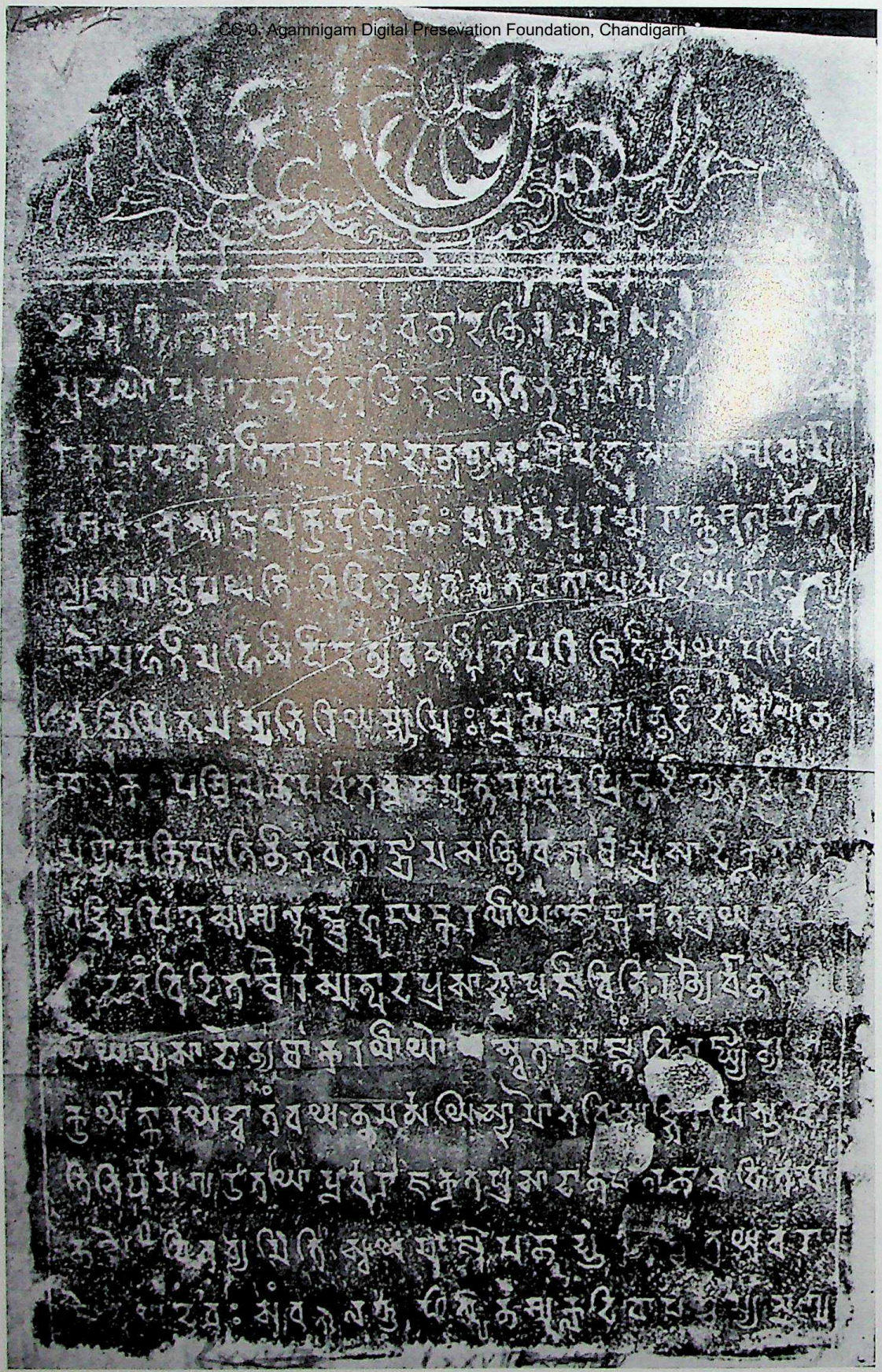


LXXV

LXXVI

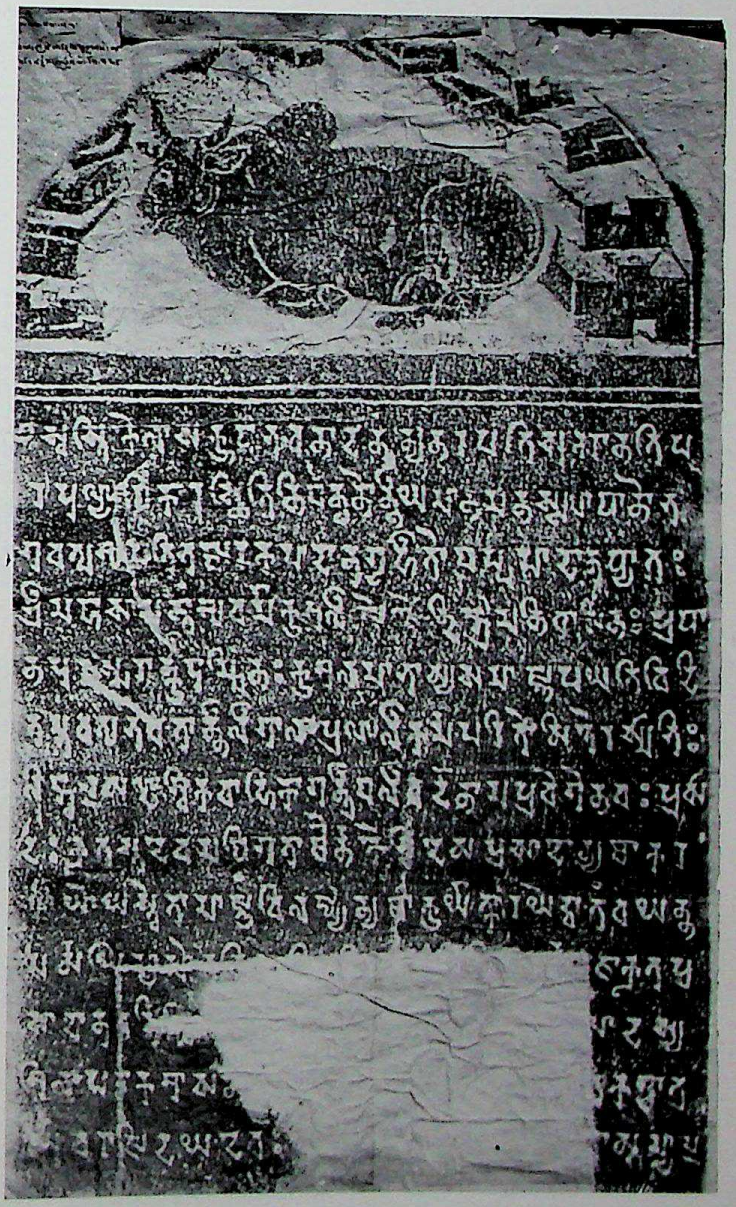
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LXXVIII

LXXIX →



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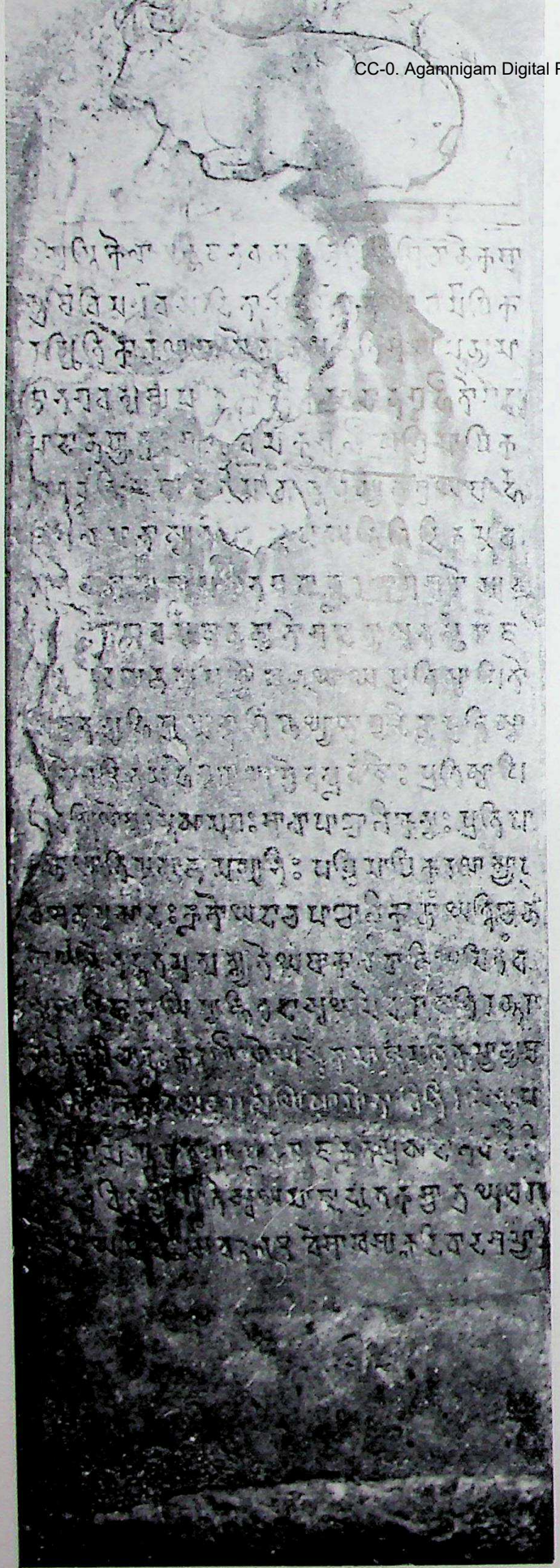
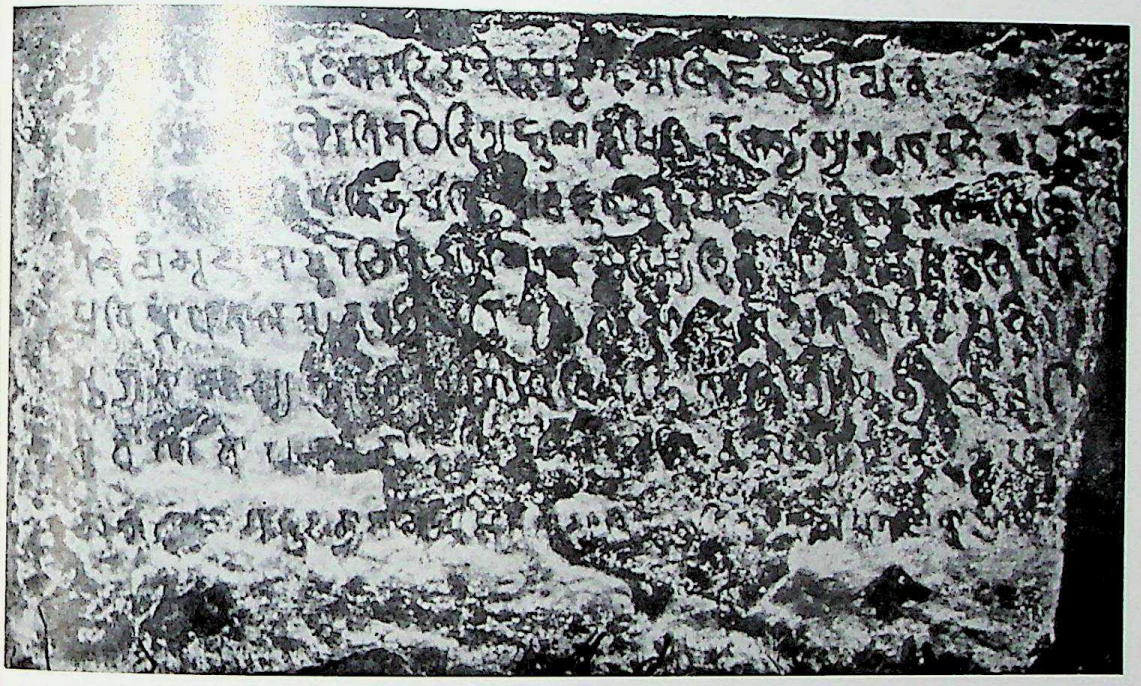


LXXXI

LXXX

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LXXXII ↑



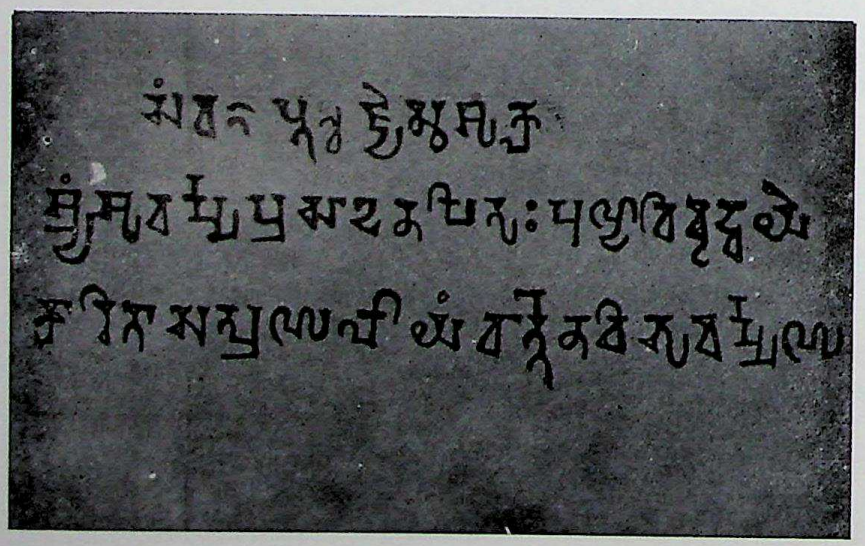
LXXXIII

LXXXIV

LXXXV ↓

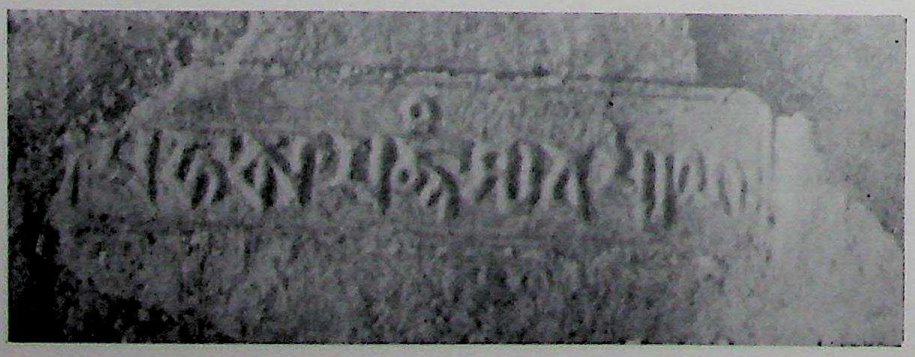
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LXXXVI



LXXXVIII

LXXXIX ↓



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

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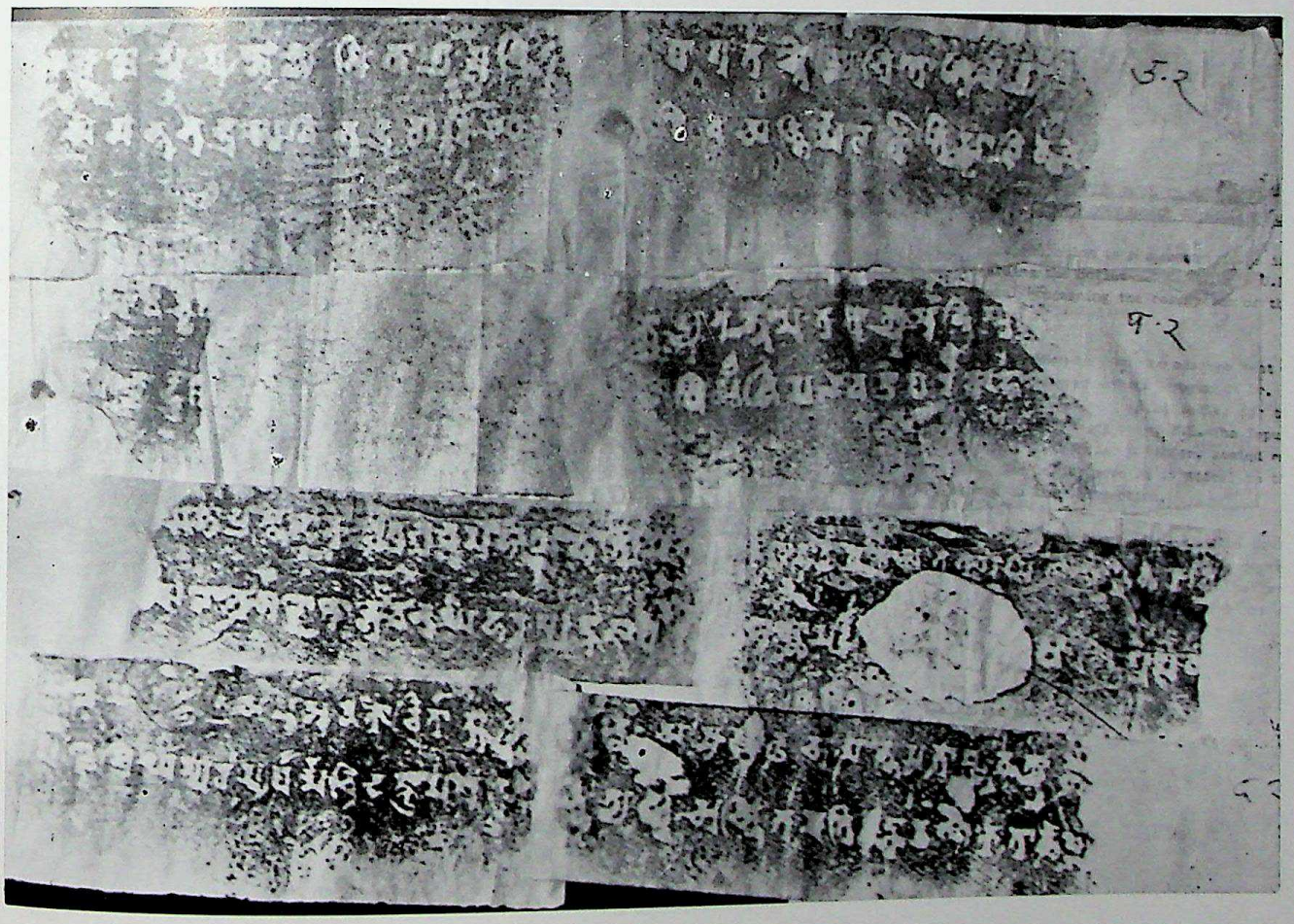
XCI ↓



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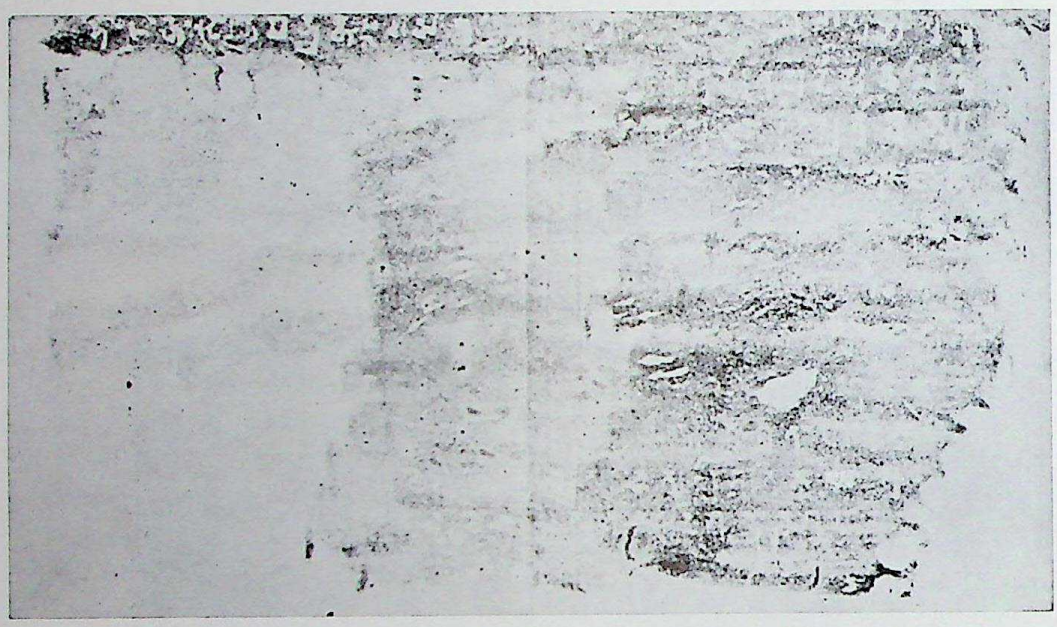

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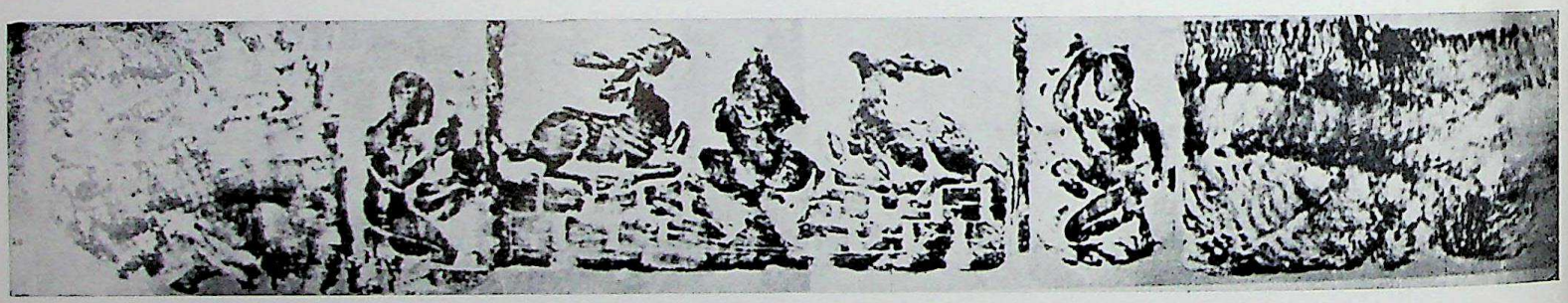

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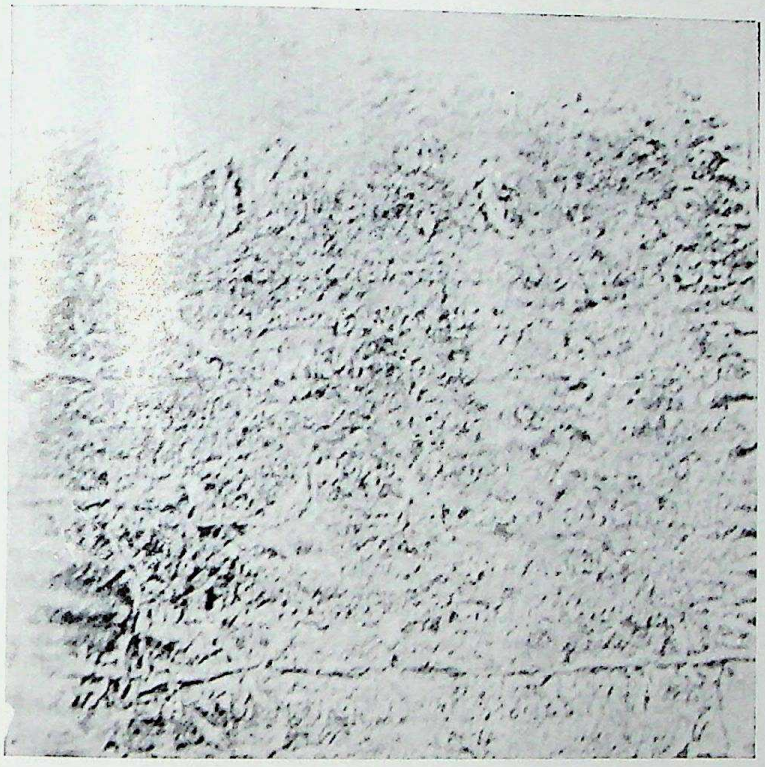

XCIV

↓ XCV

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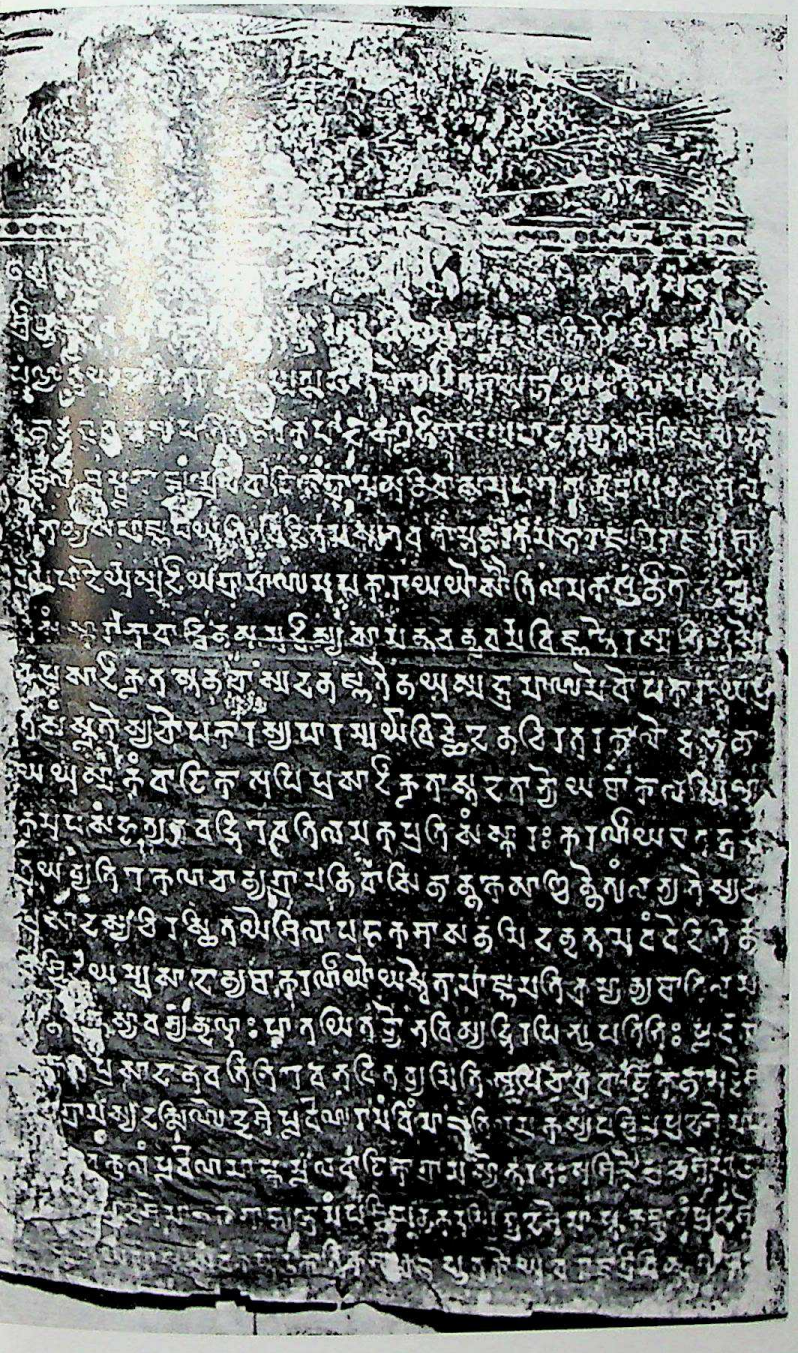

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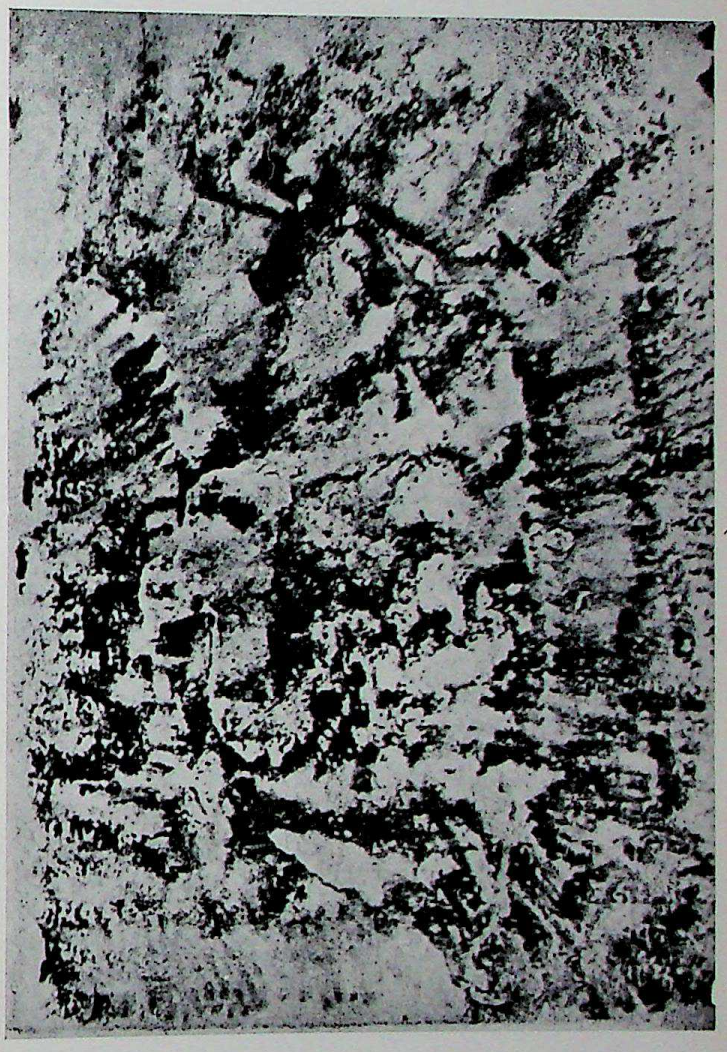

XCVIII

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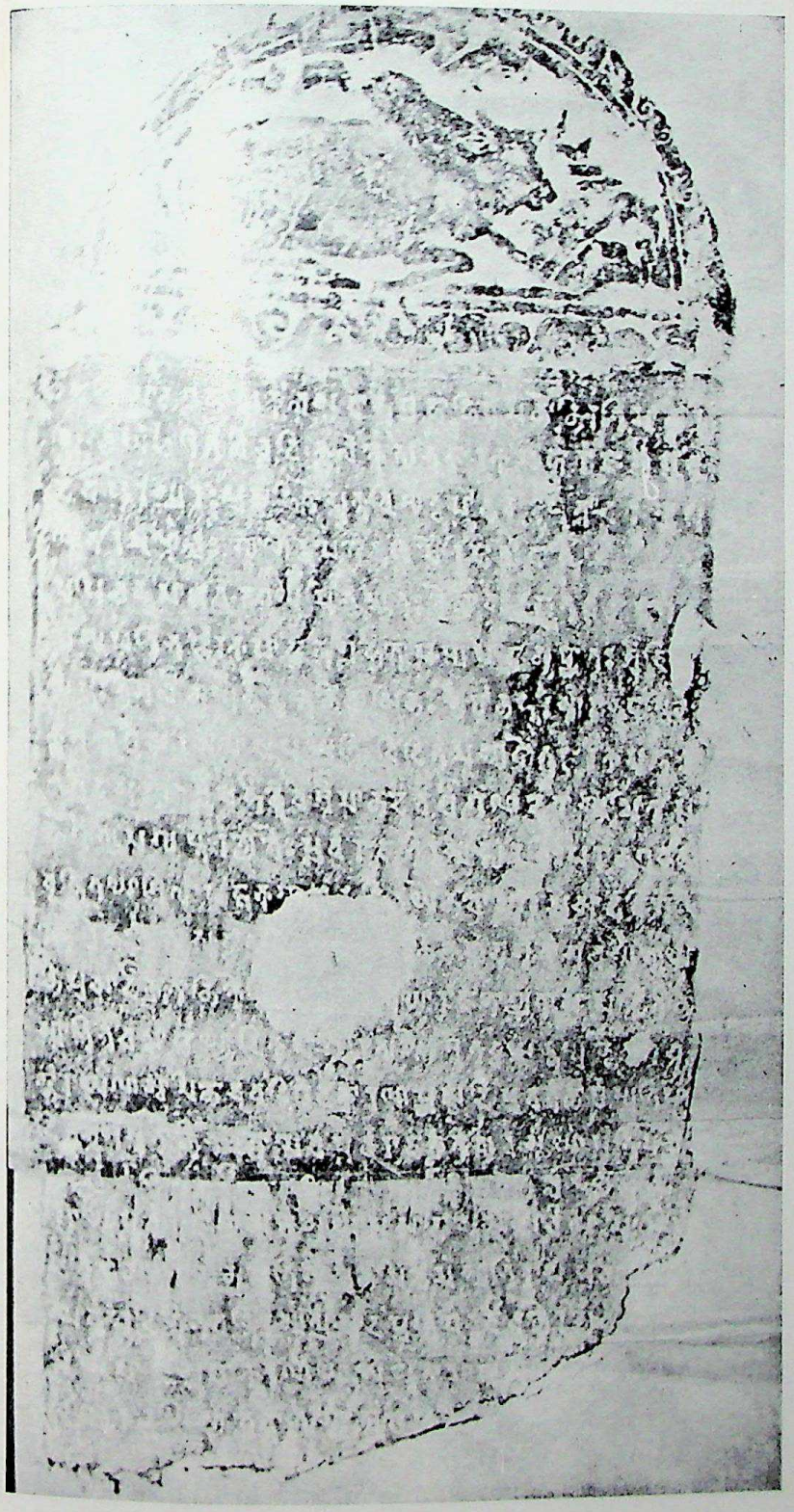
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CI

CII

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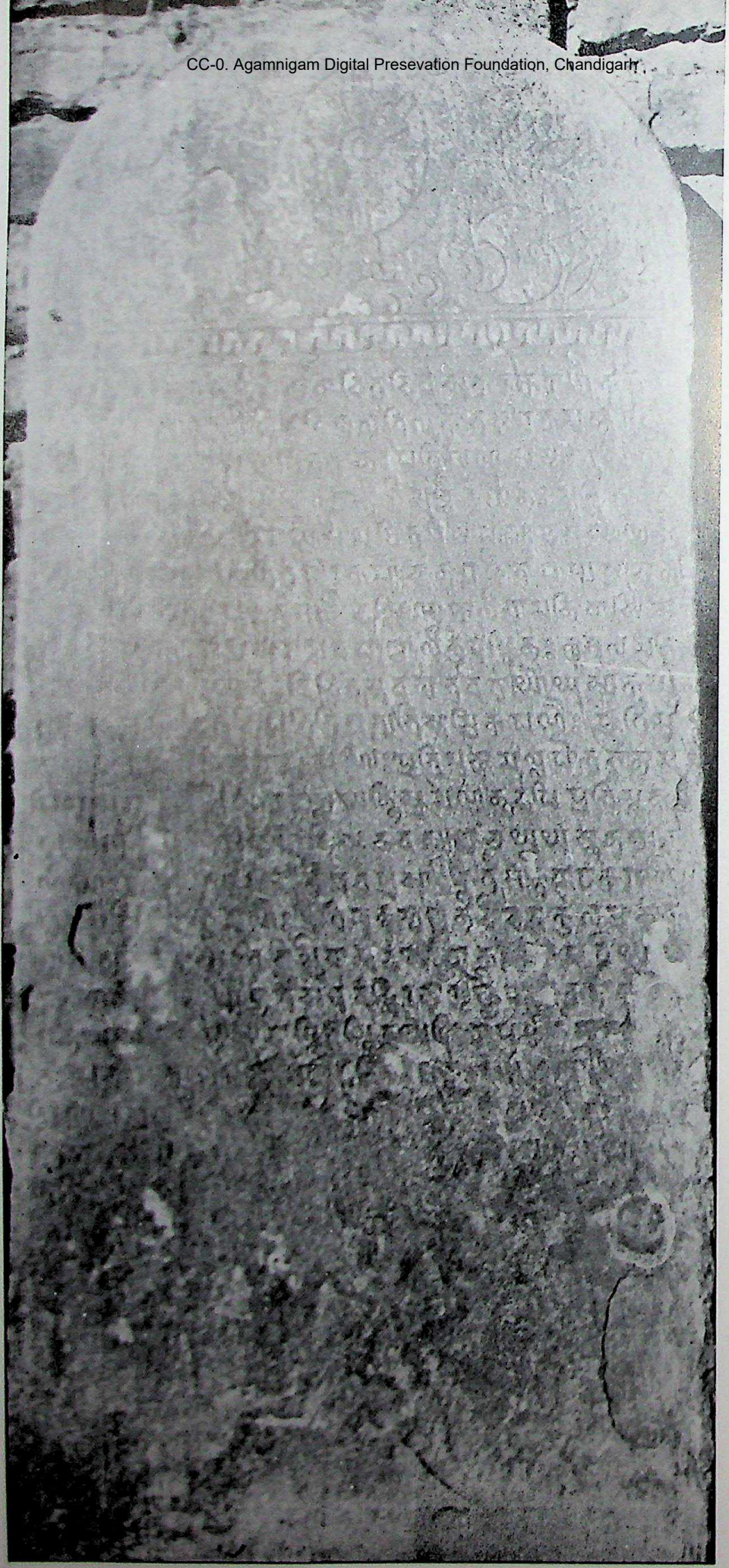

CIII

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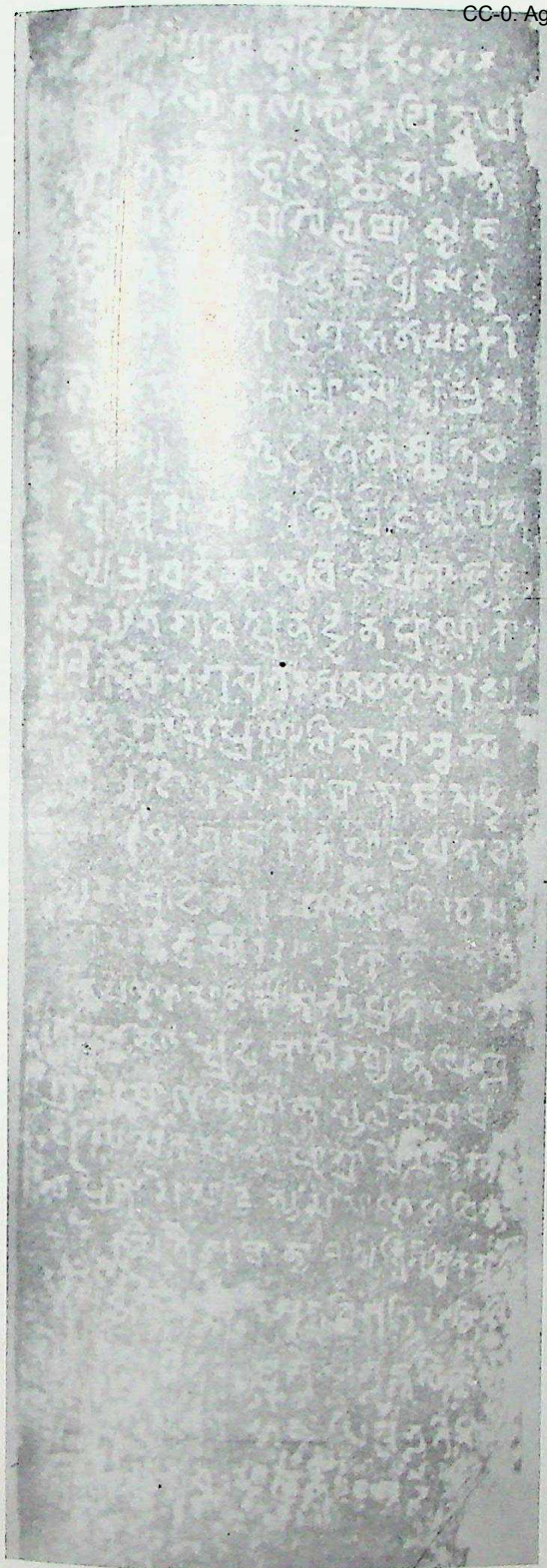
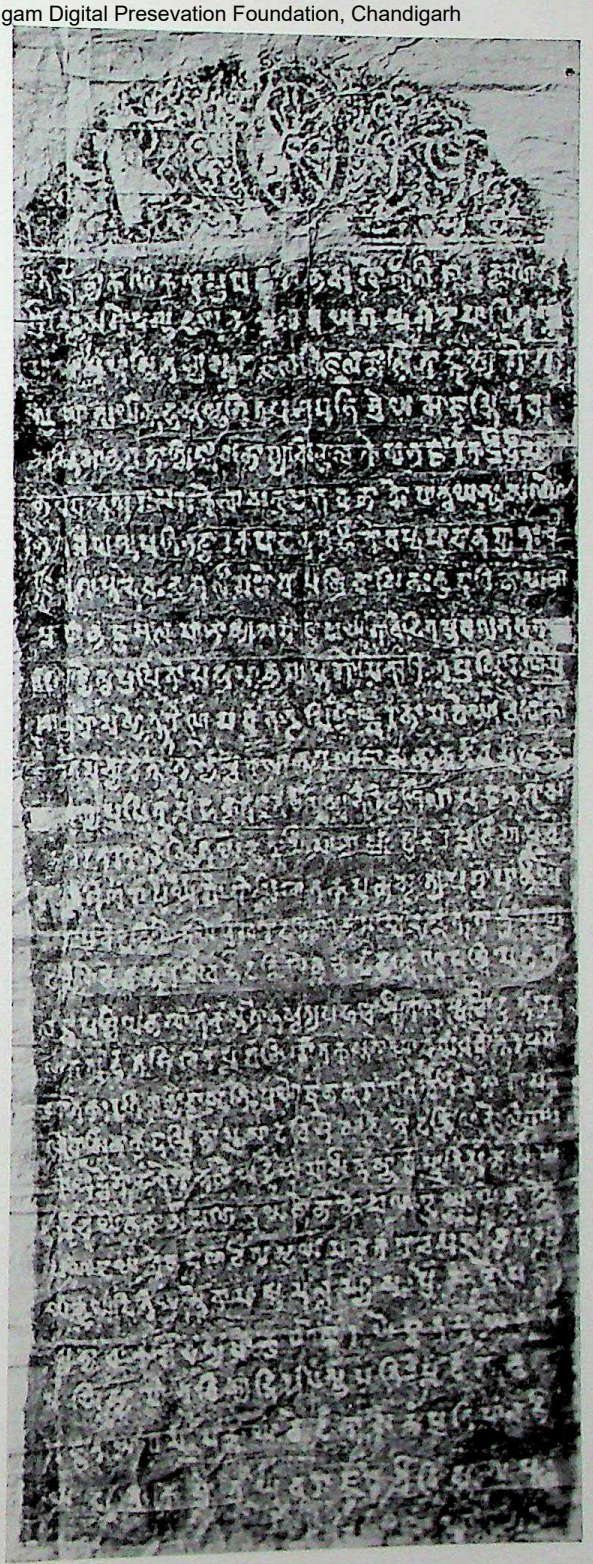
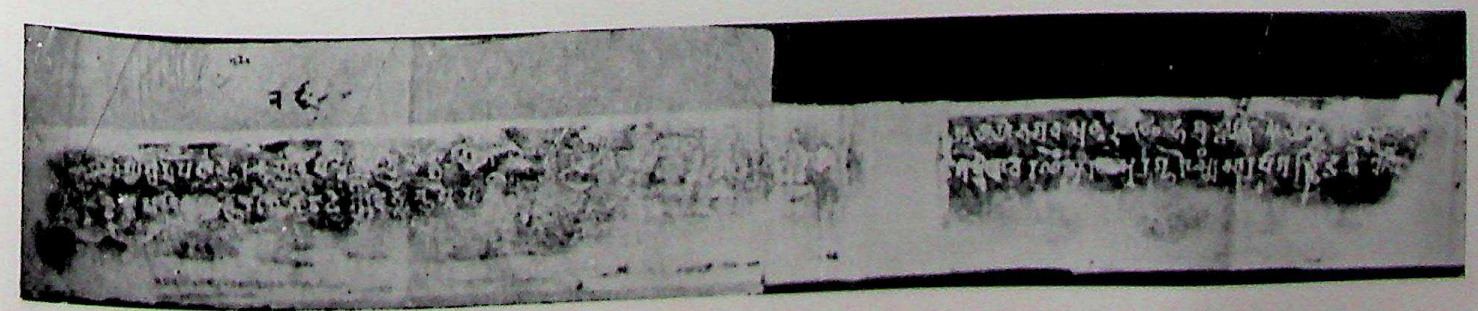




CIV (left)

CVI

↓ CV



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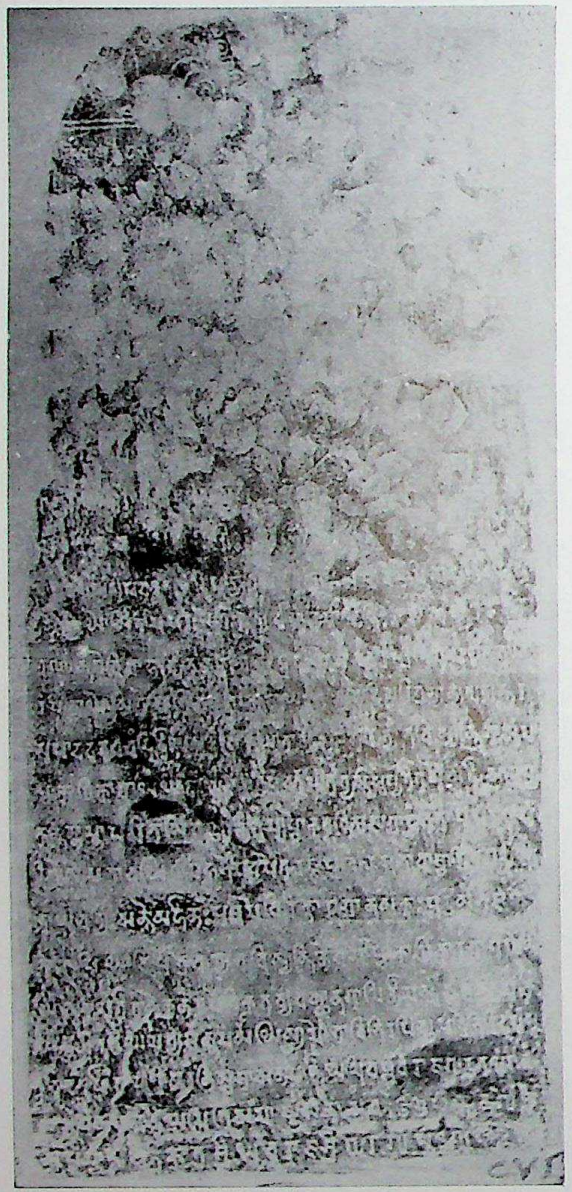
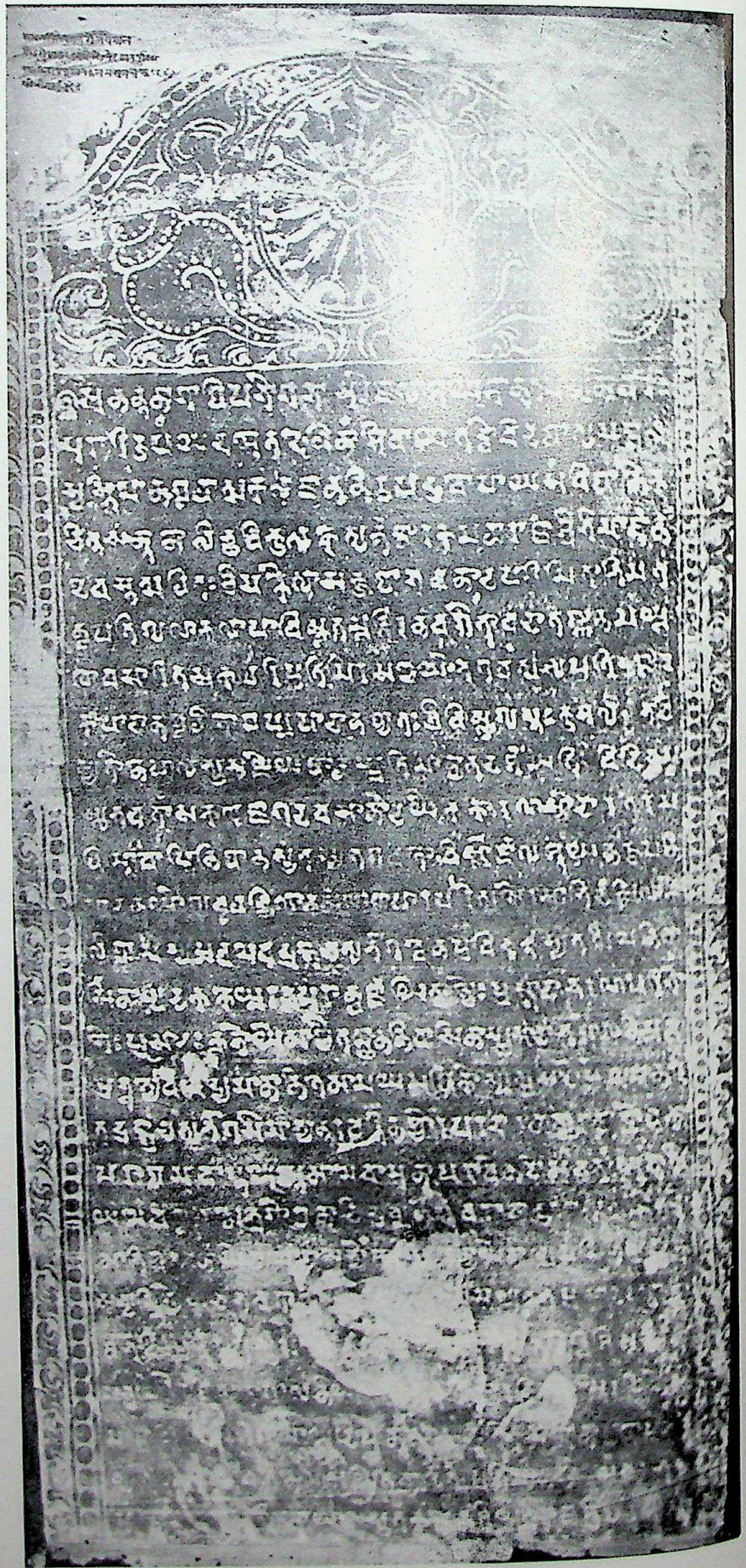


CVII



CVIII

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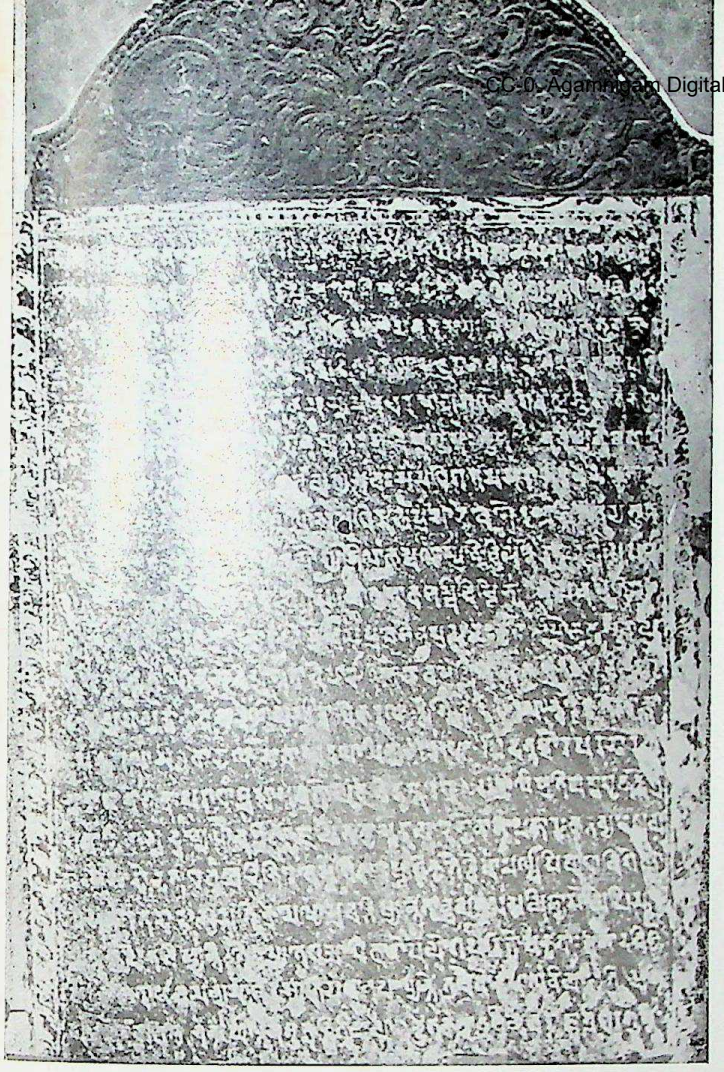
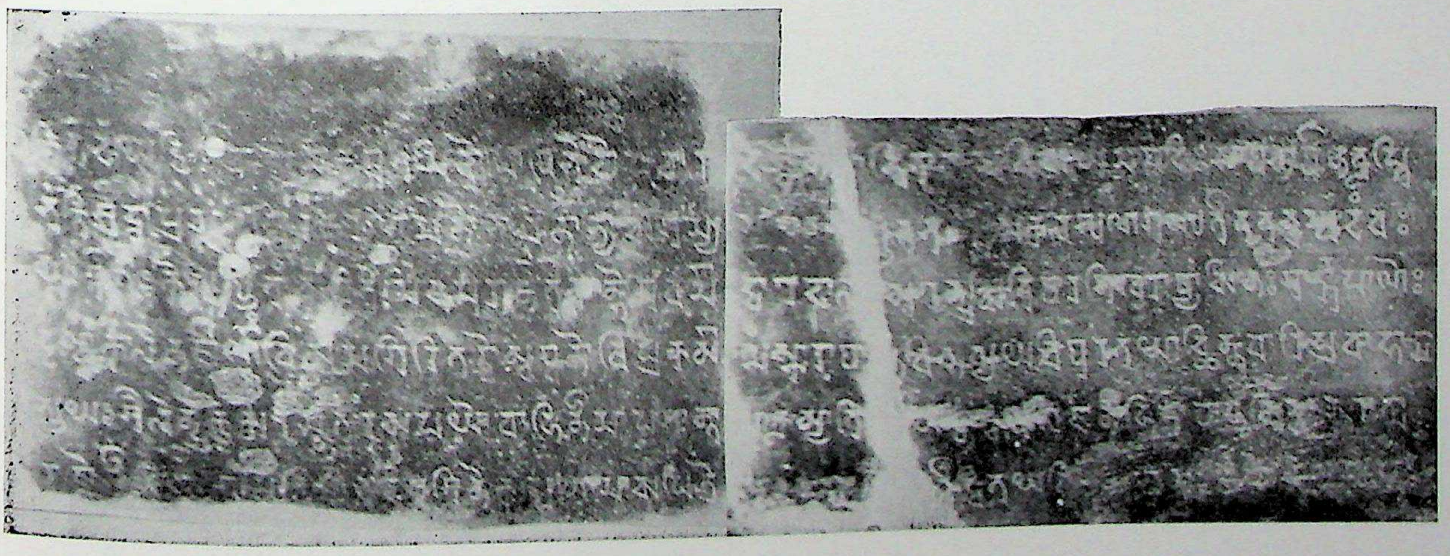
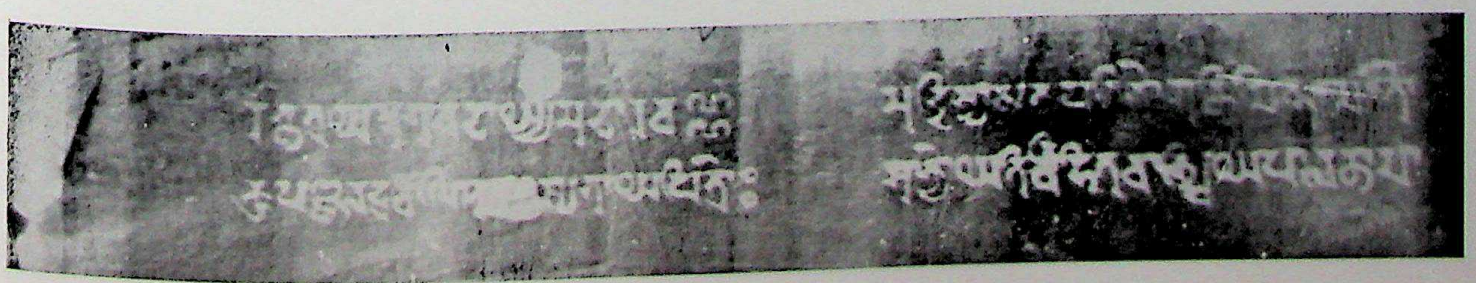


← CIX

CXI (bottom)

CX ↓





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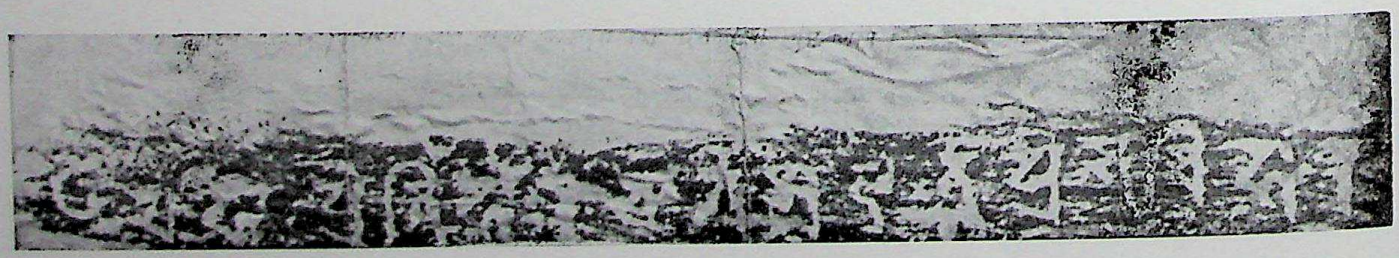
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CXIV

↓ CXV



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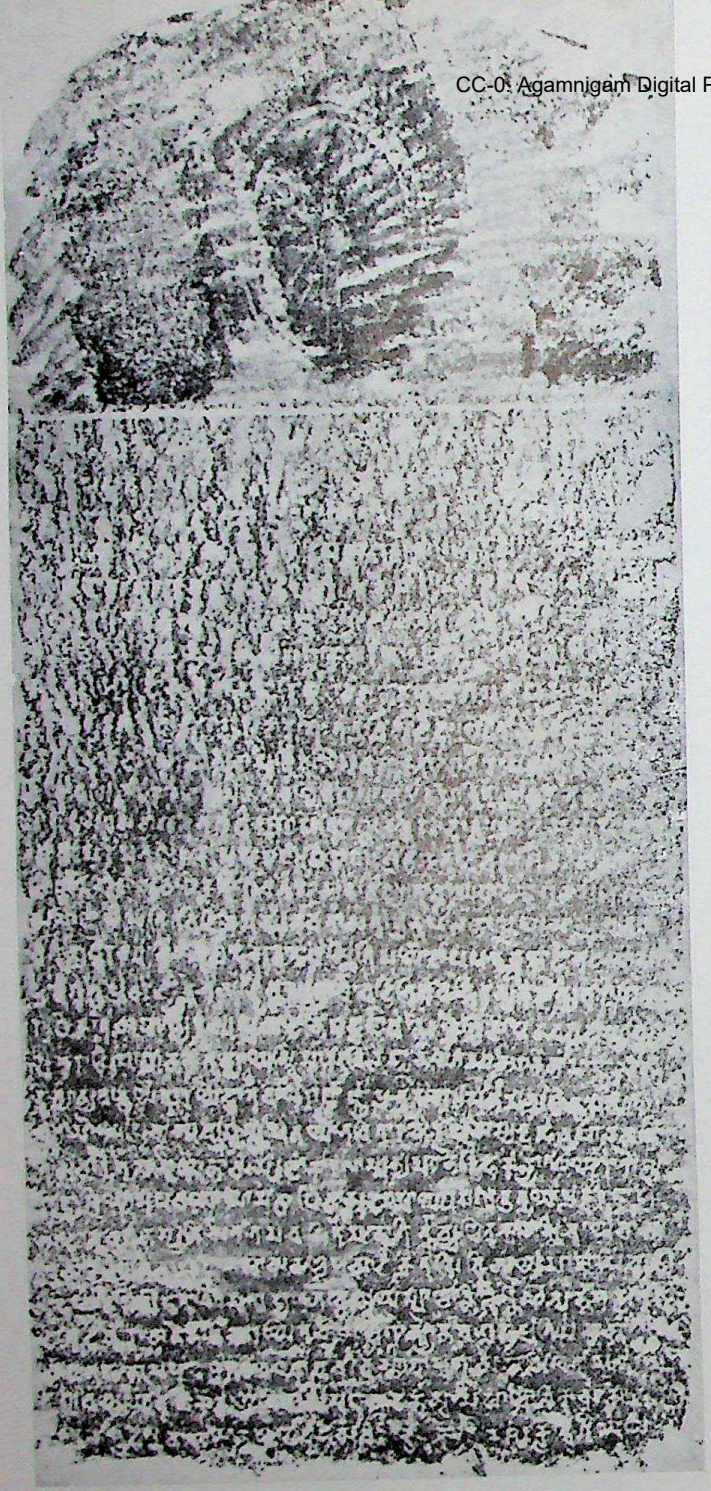
CXVI

CXVII

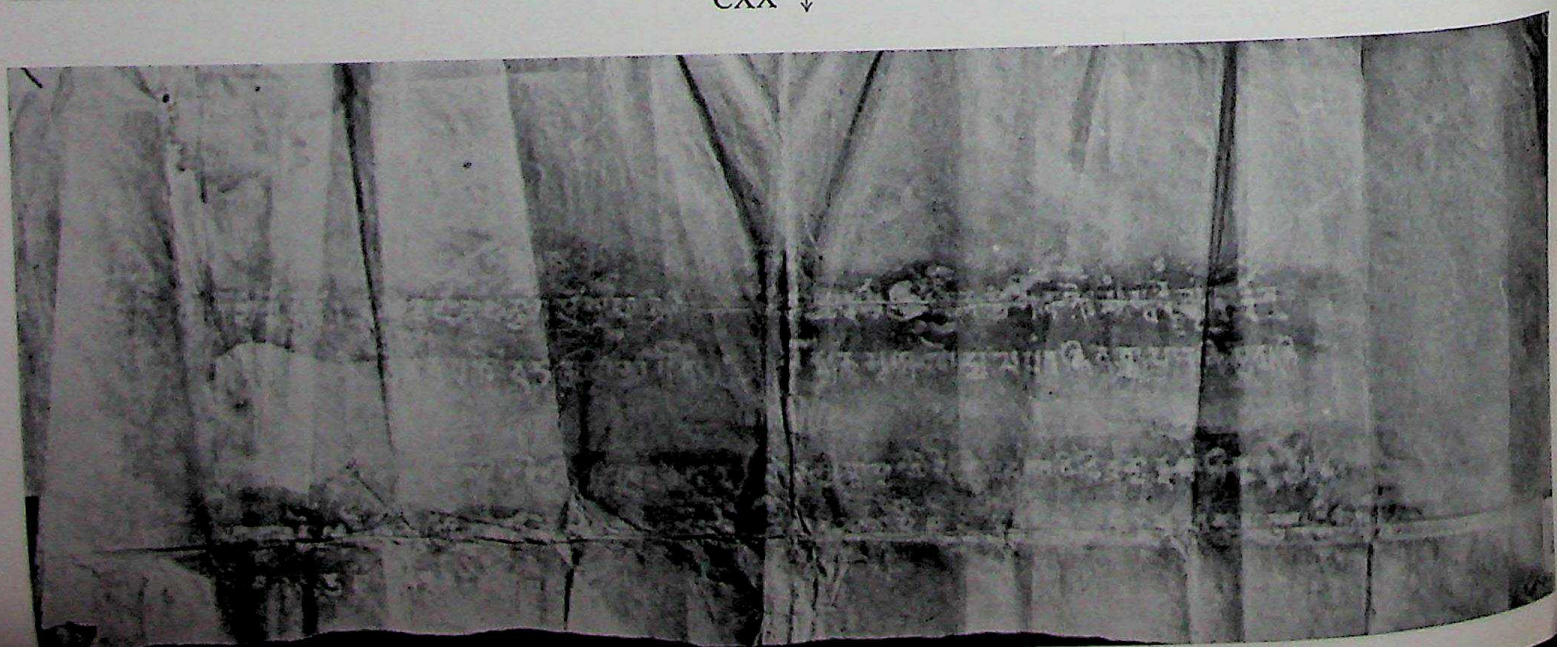
CXVIII ↓

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CXIX

CXX ↓



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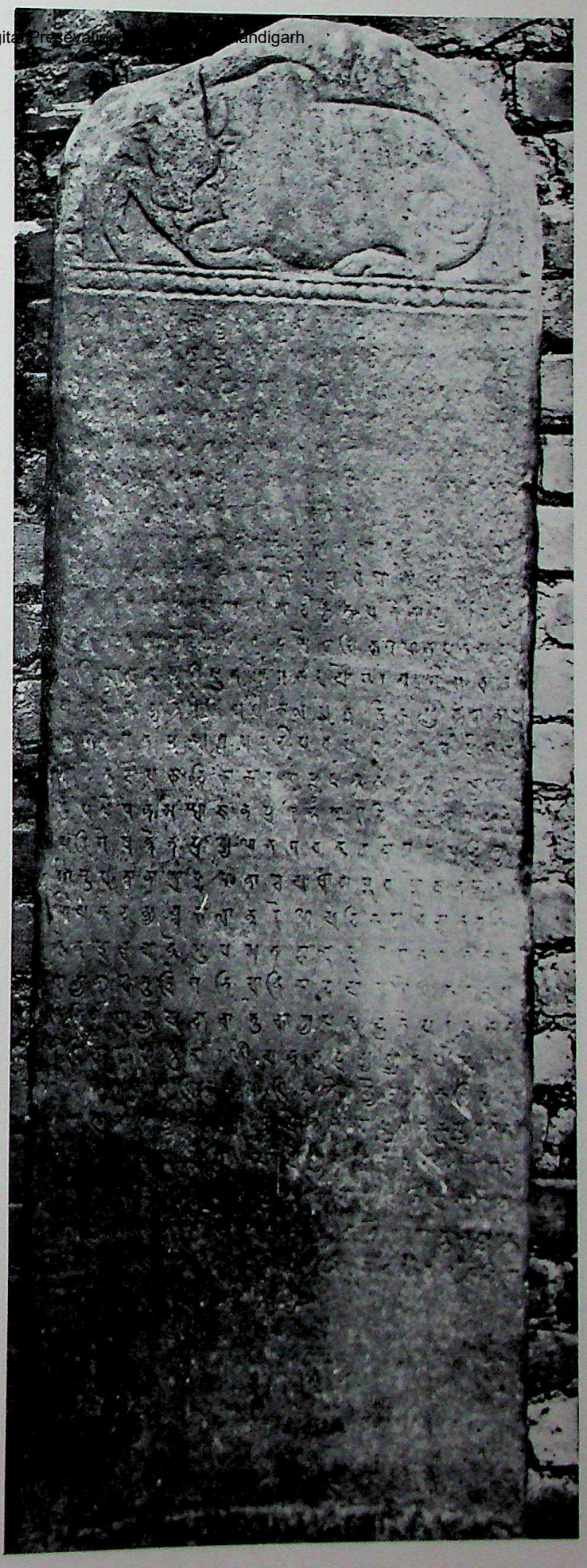

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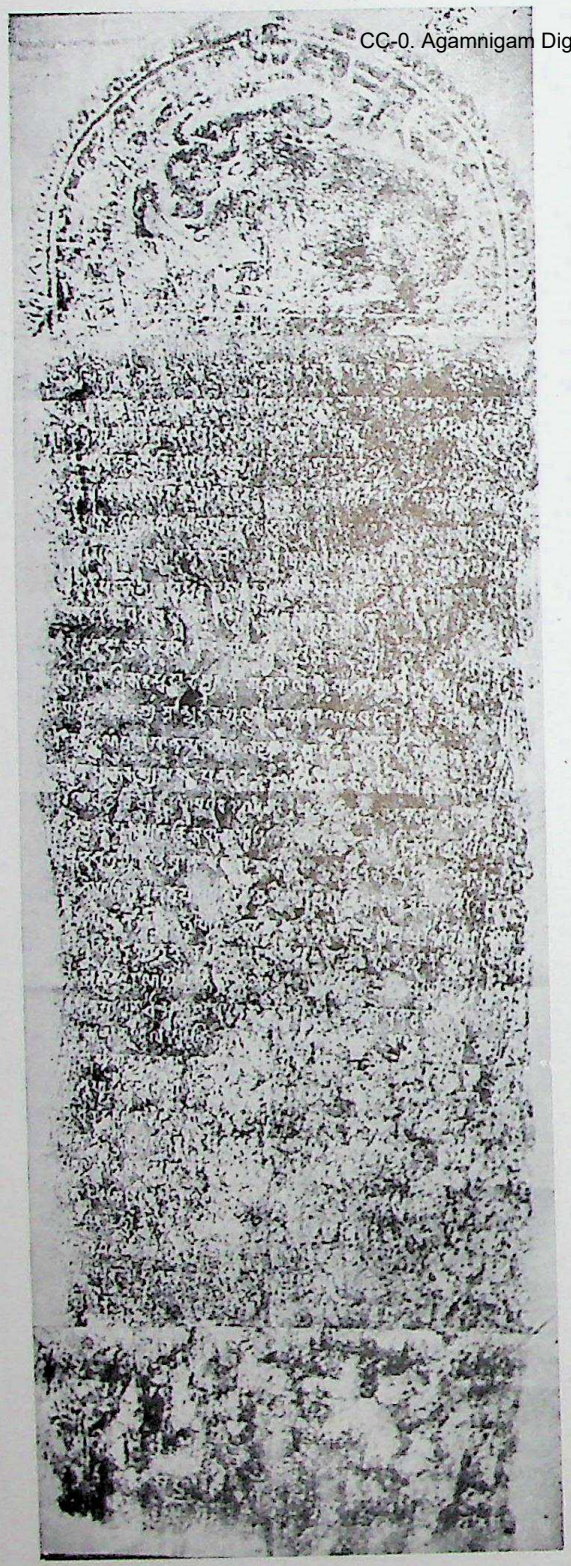

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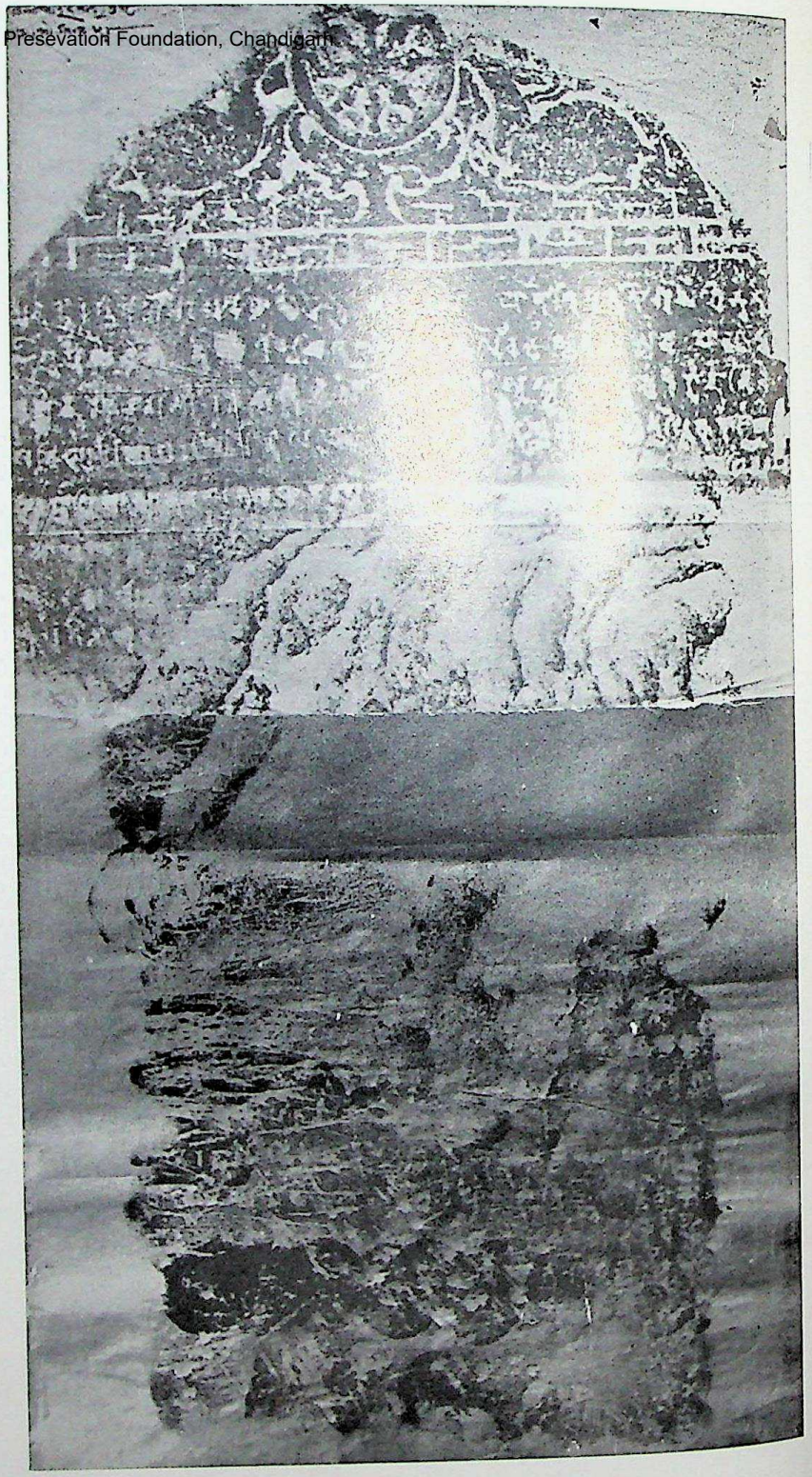
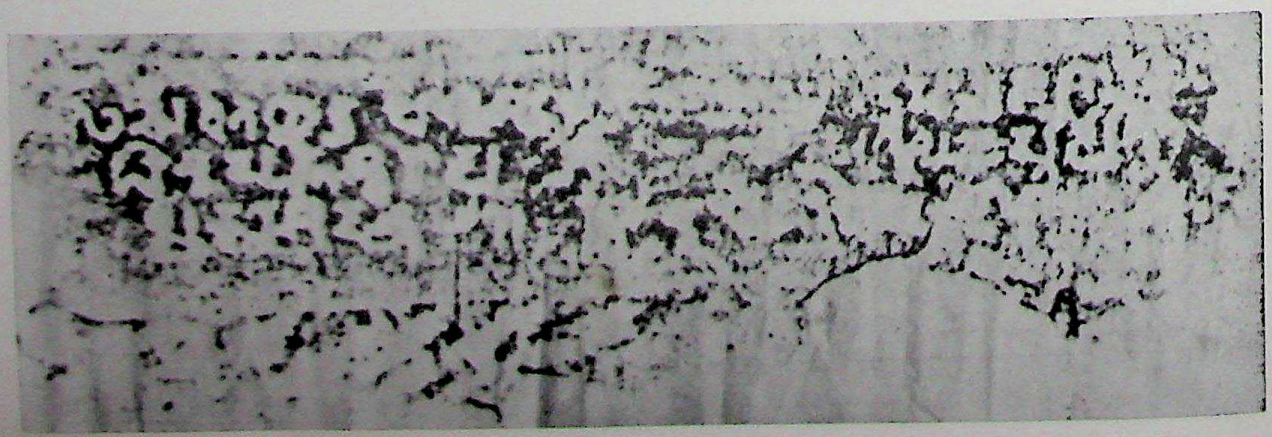


CXXIV

CXXIII ↓



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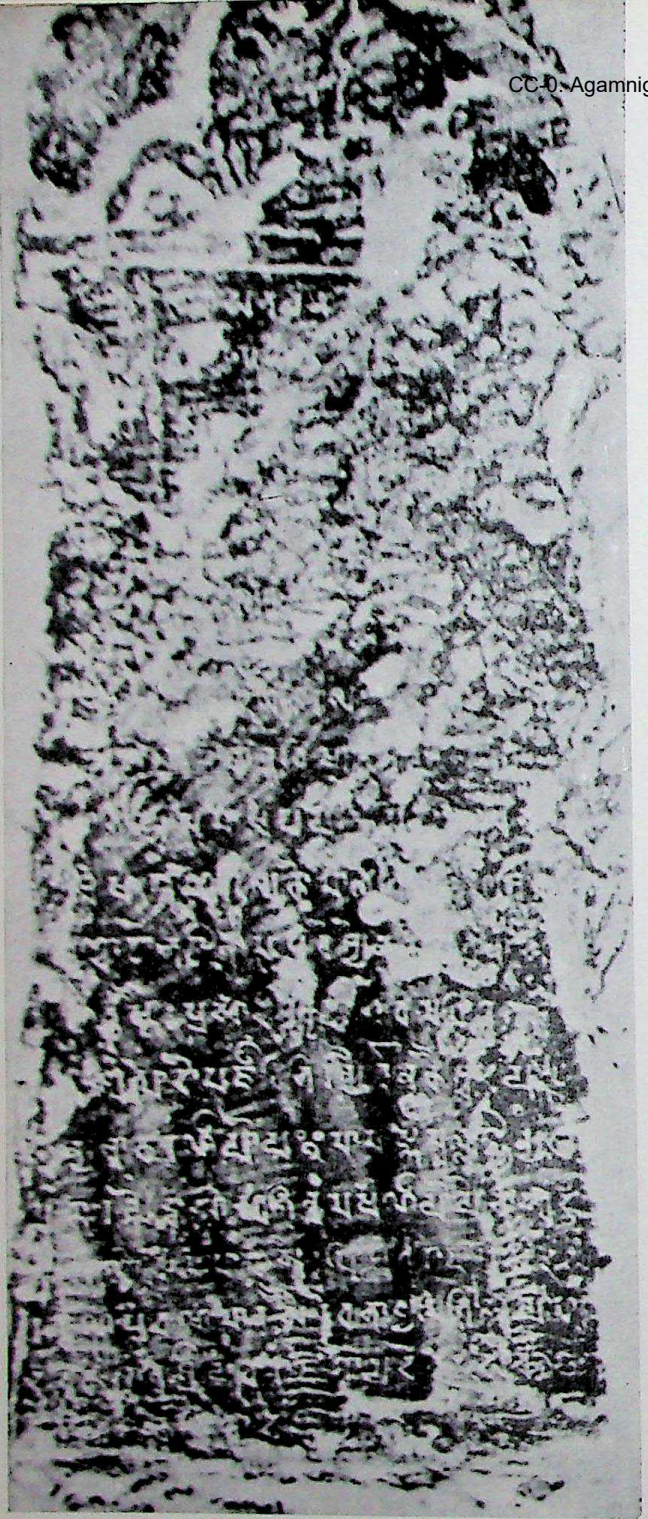
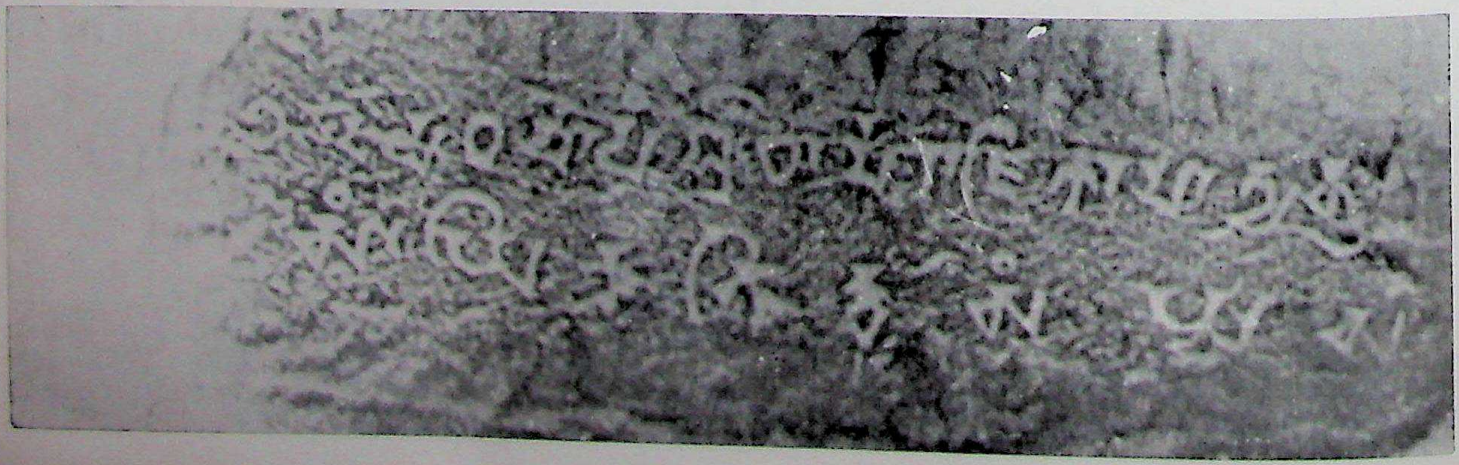


CXXVII

← CXXVI

CXXIX



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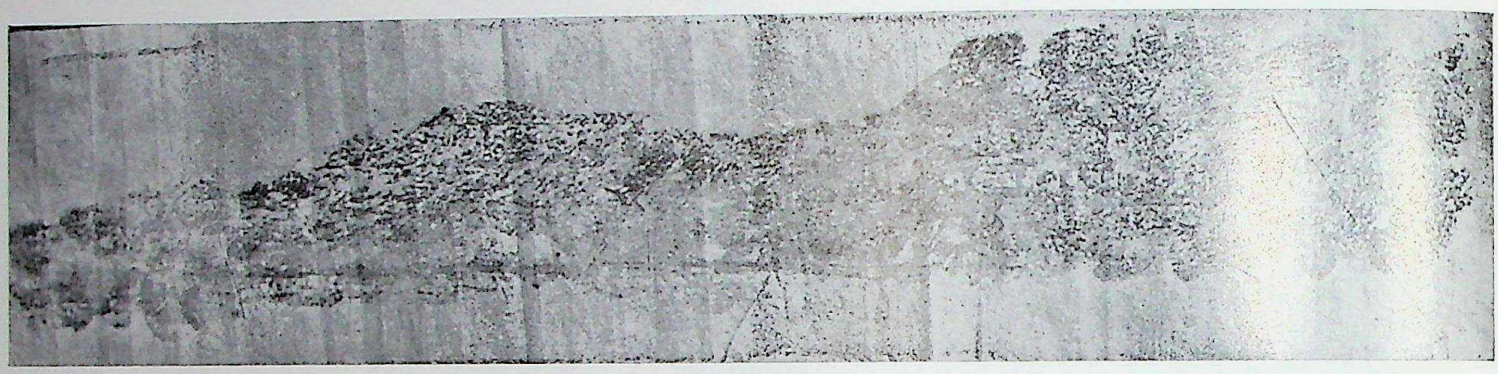
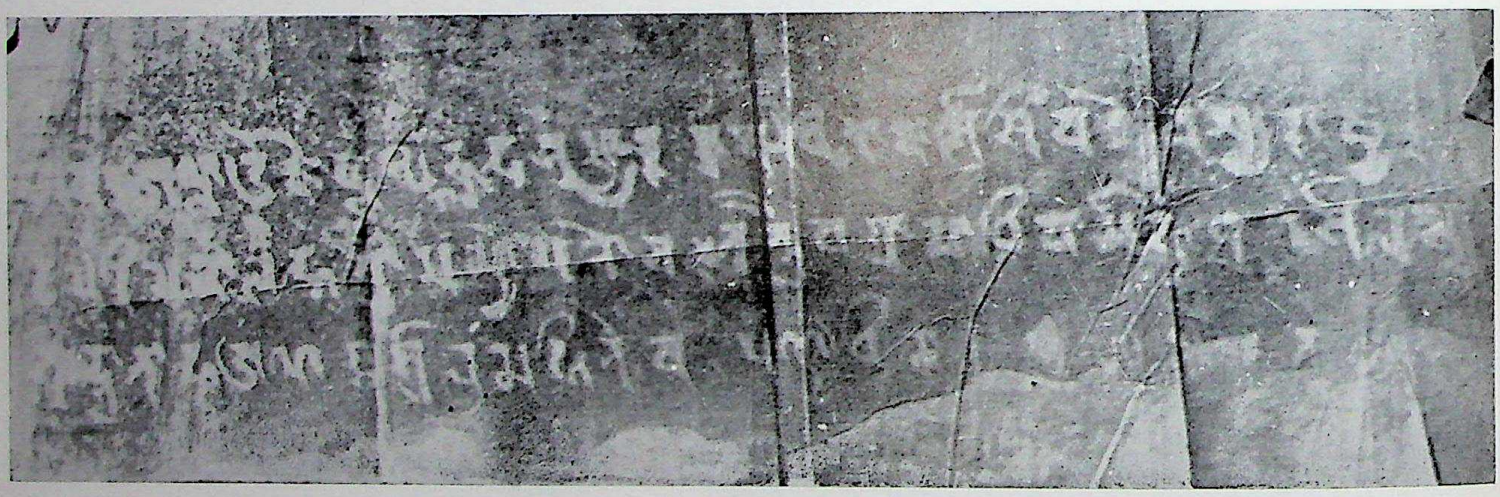


CXXX

CXXXI ↓



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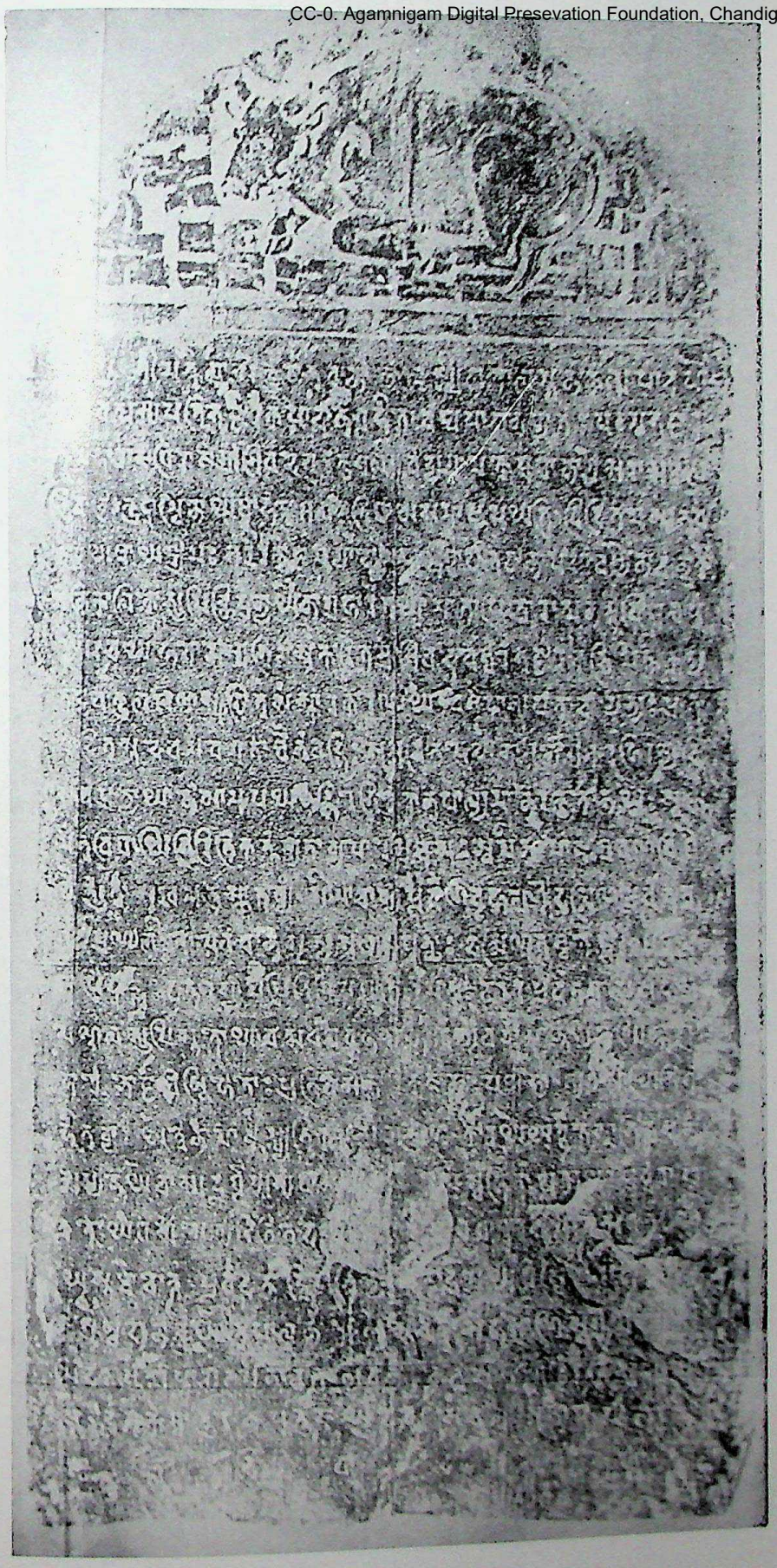

CXXXII

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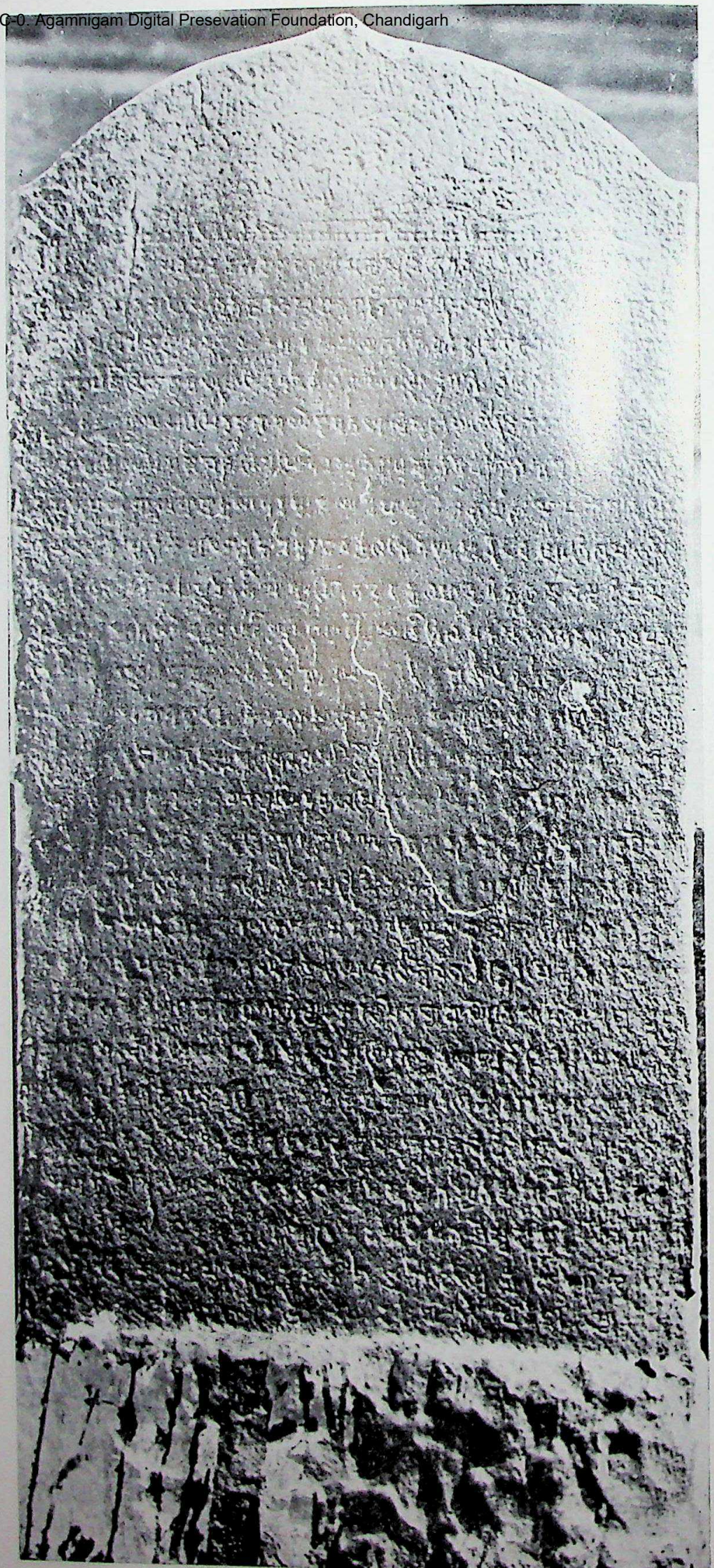

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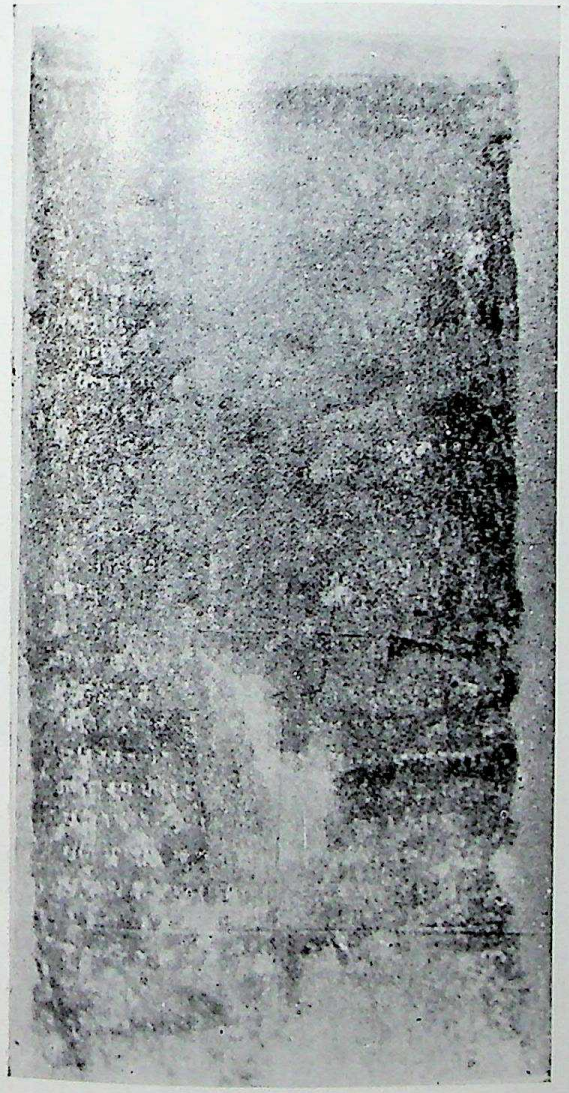

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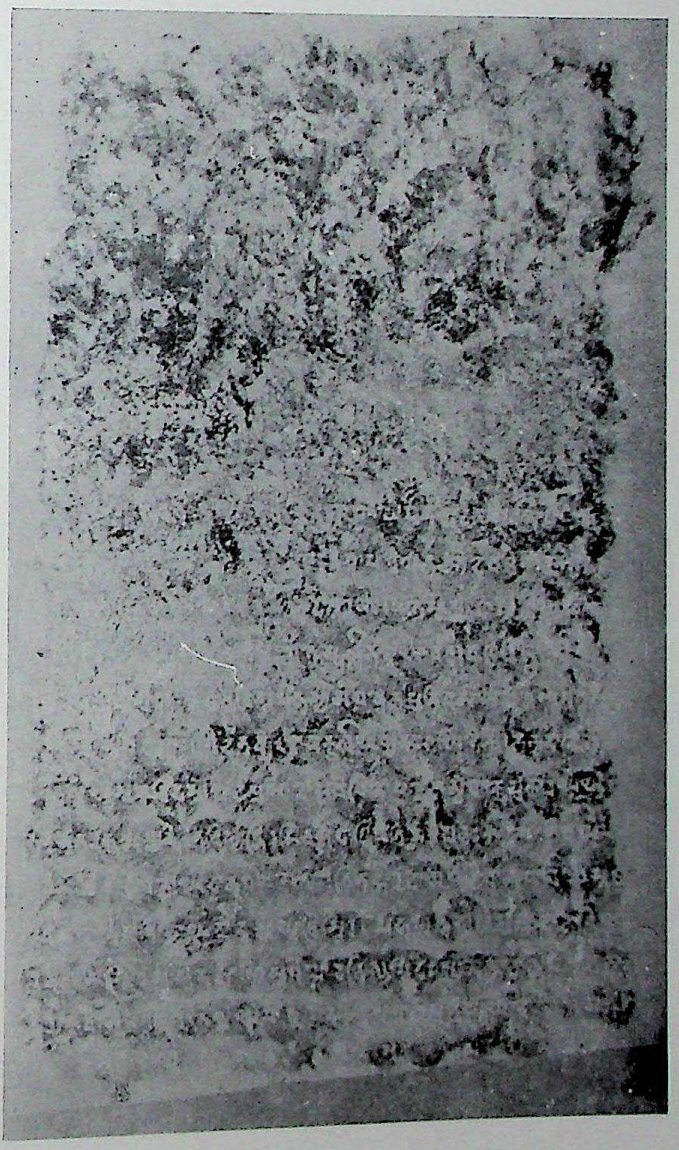

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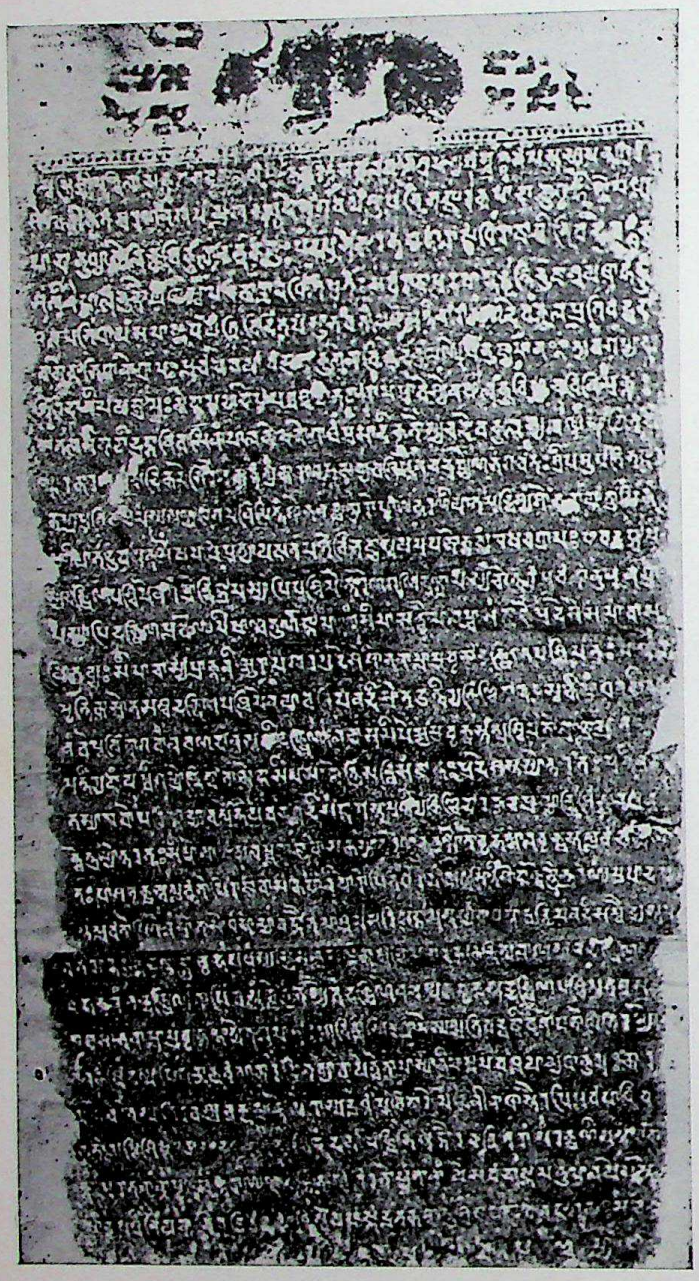
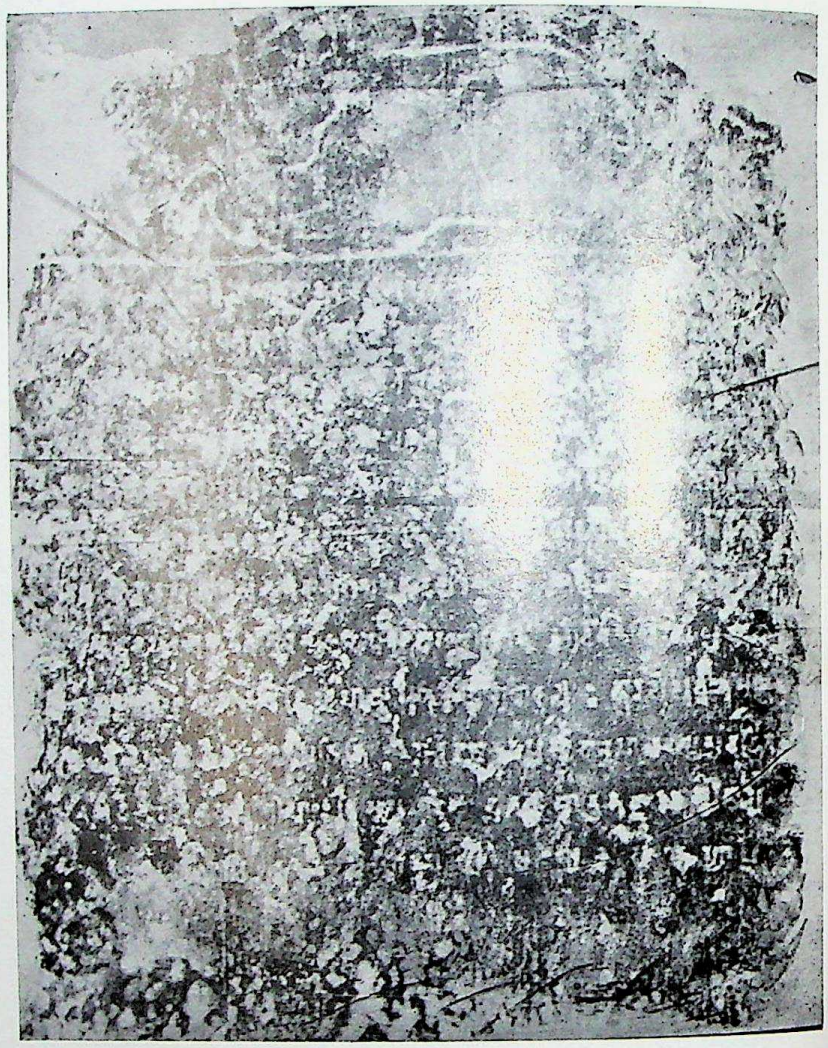
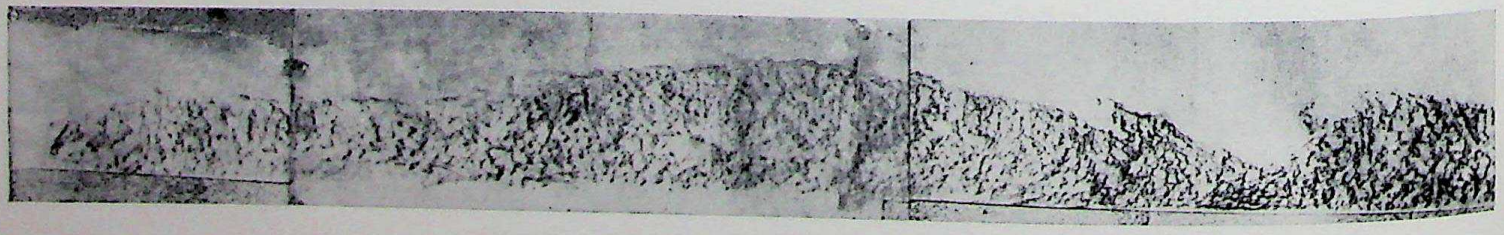




CXXXVII

← CXXXVI

CXXXVIII ↓



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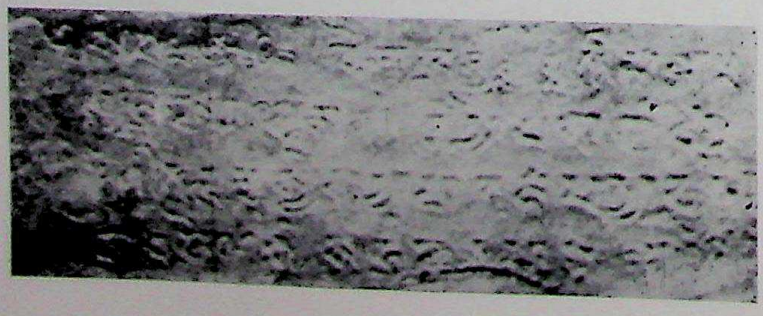
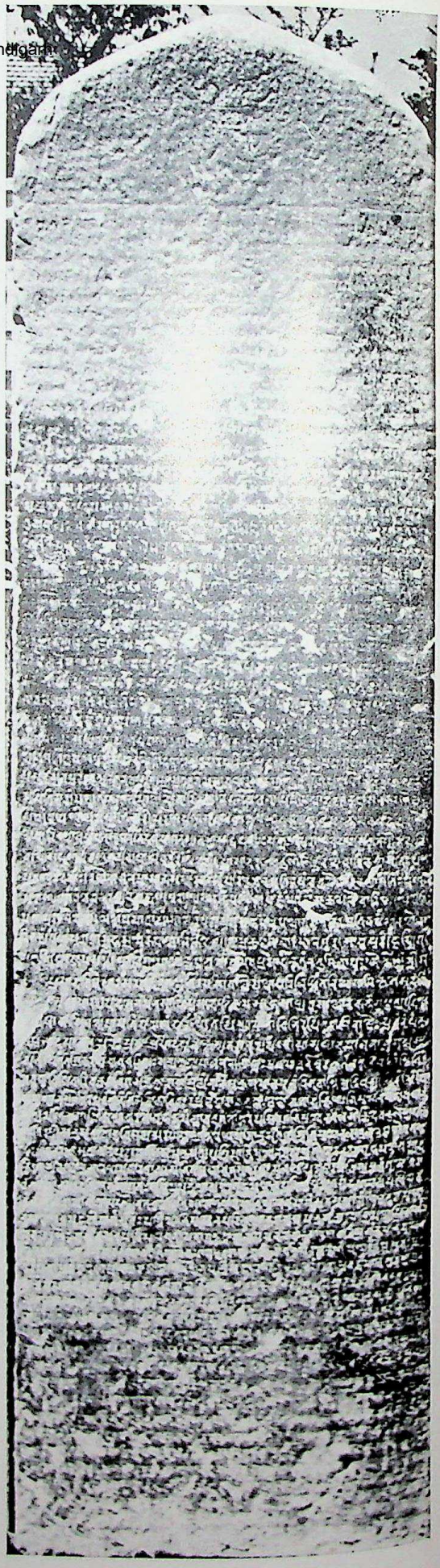
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

CXL

CXLI



CXLIII →



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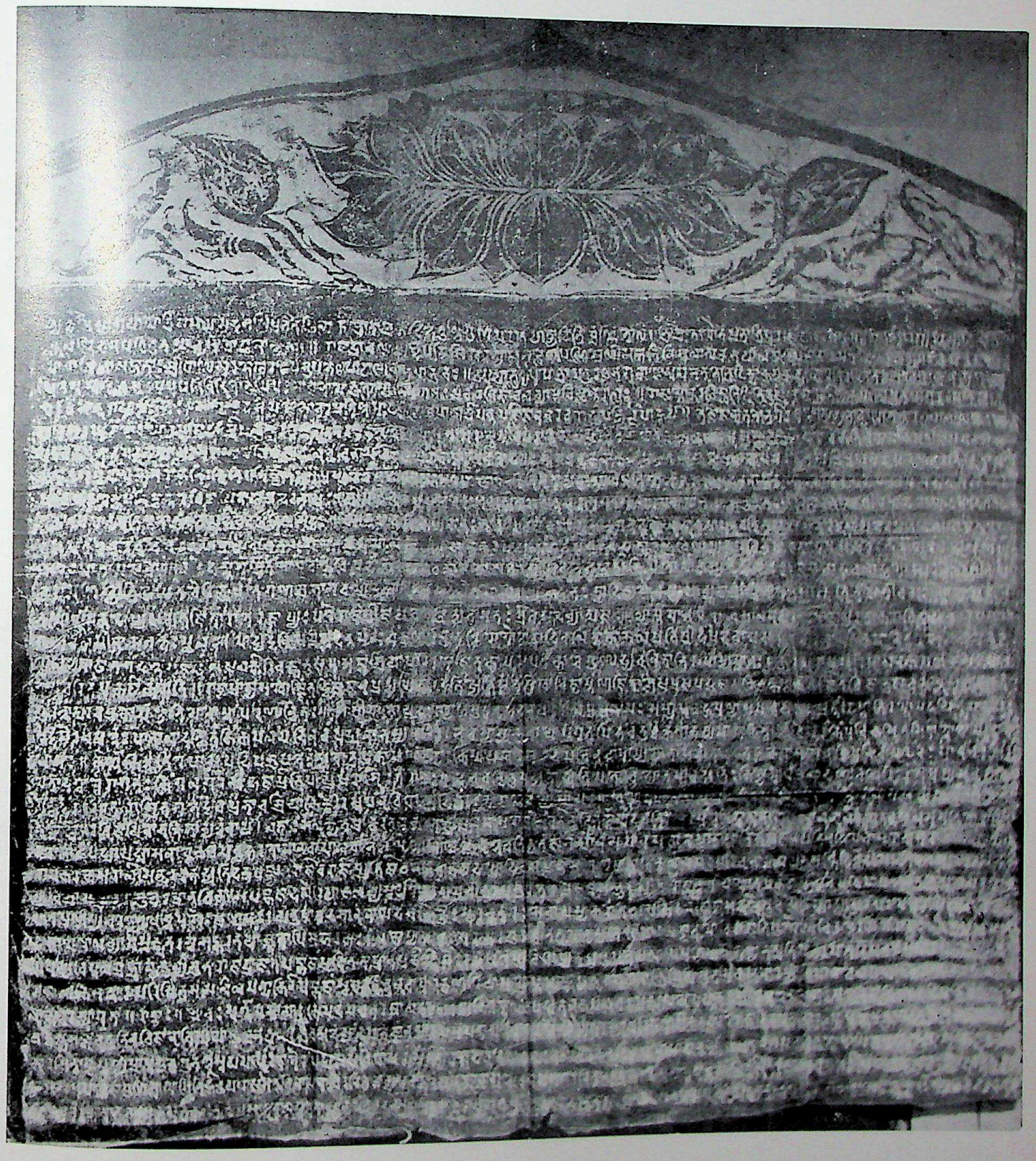
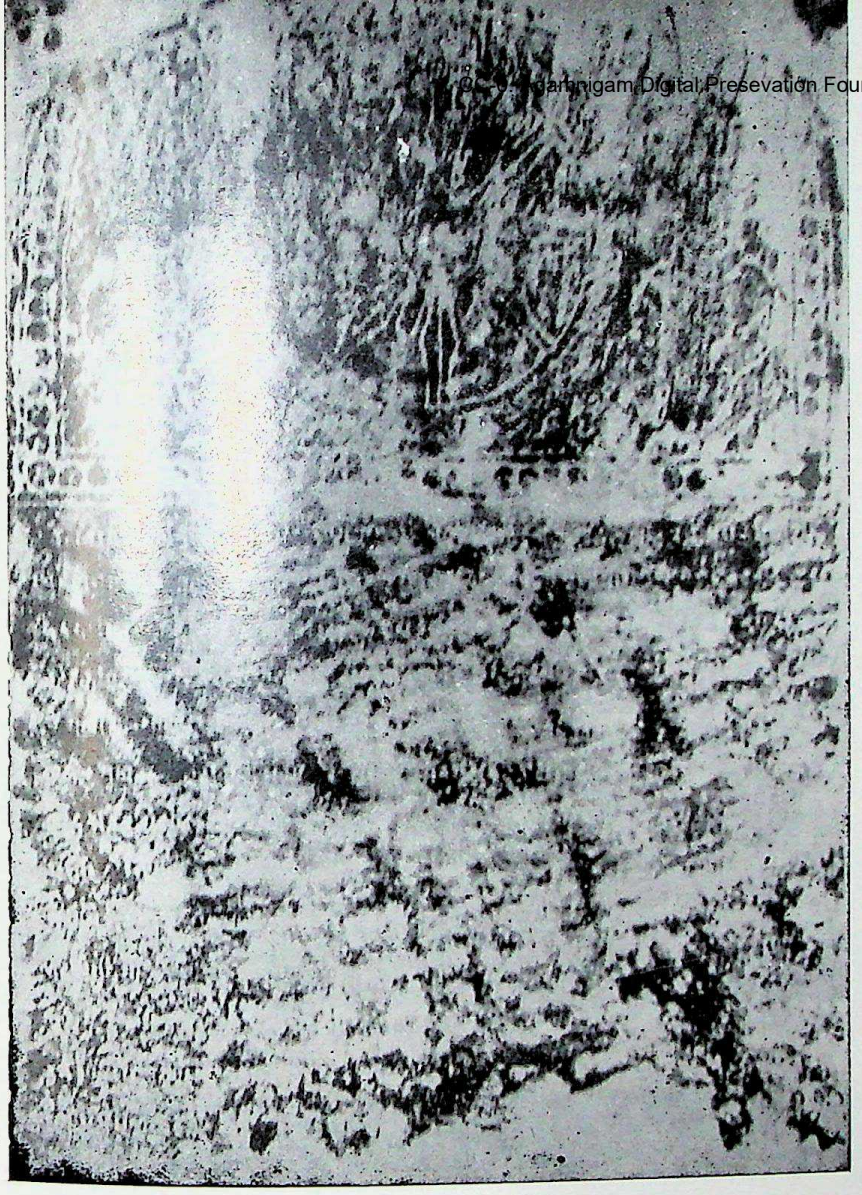


CXLII

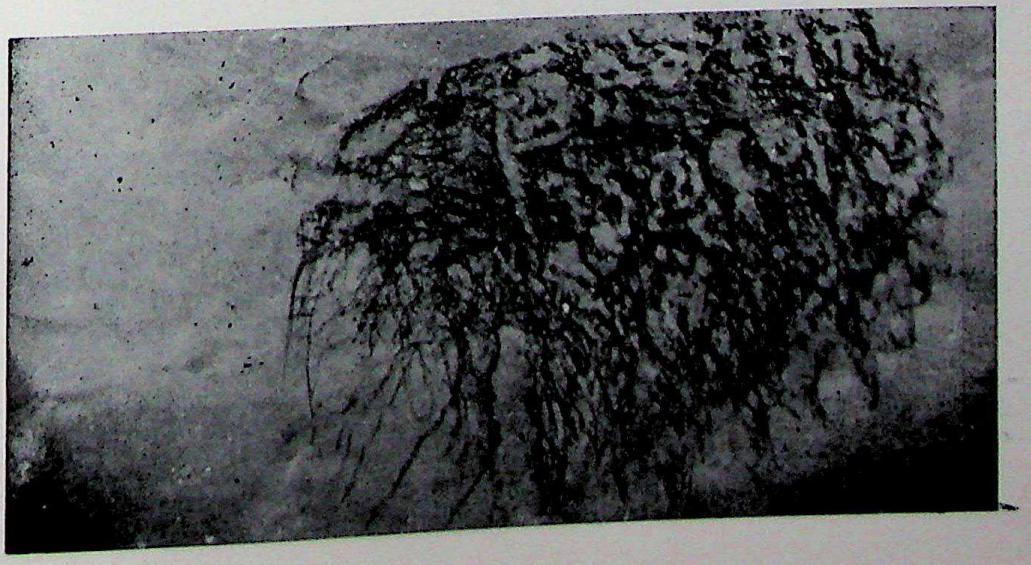
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Jangamwadi Math Collection. Digitized by eGangotri
CC-0. Kadarnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CXLV

CXLVI



CXLVII

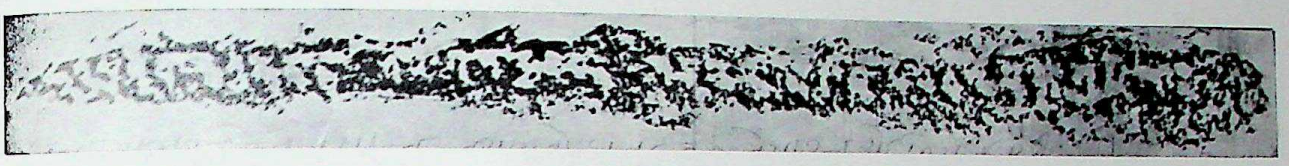
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CXLVIII

CXLIX

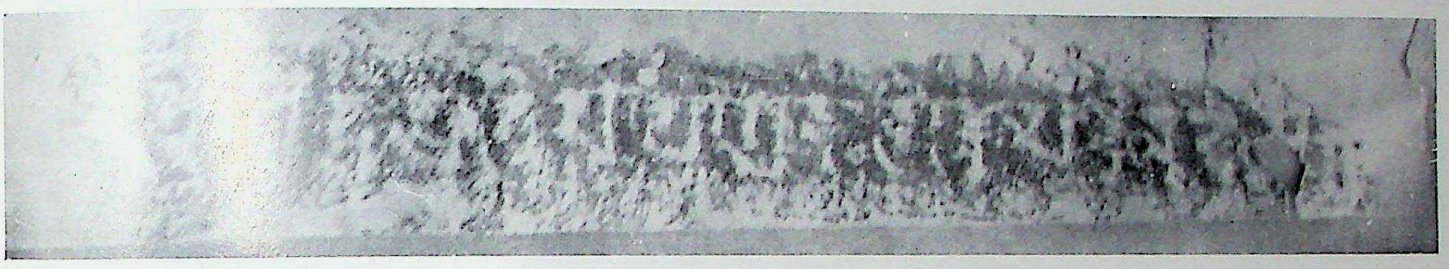
CL

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



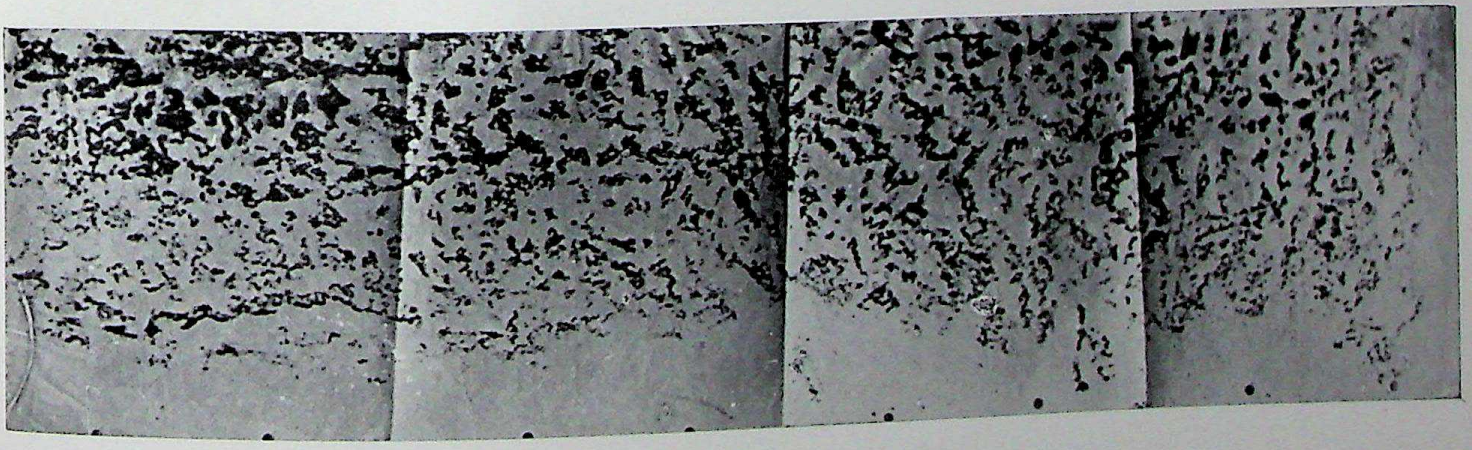
CLI

CLII ↓



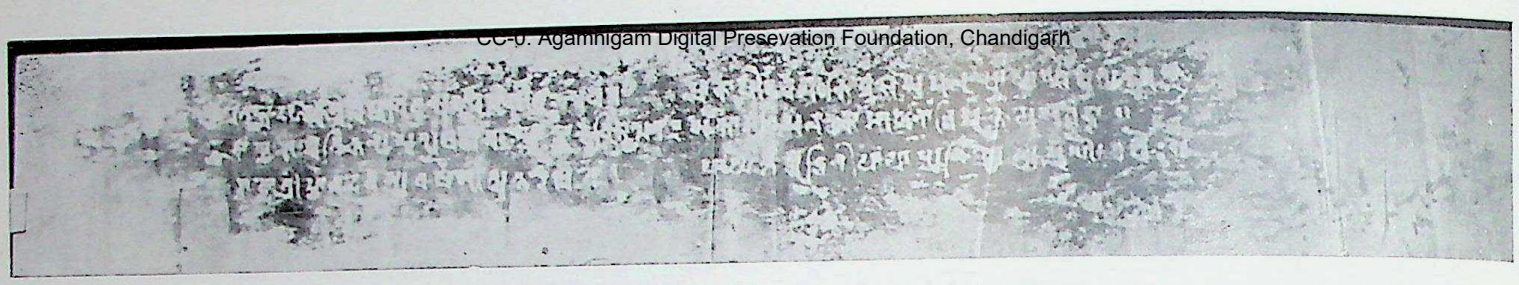
CLIII

CLIV ↓

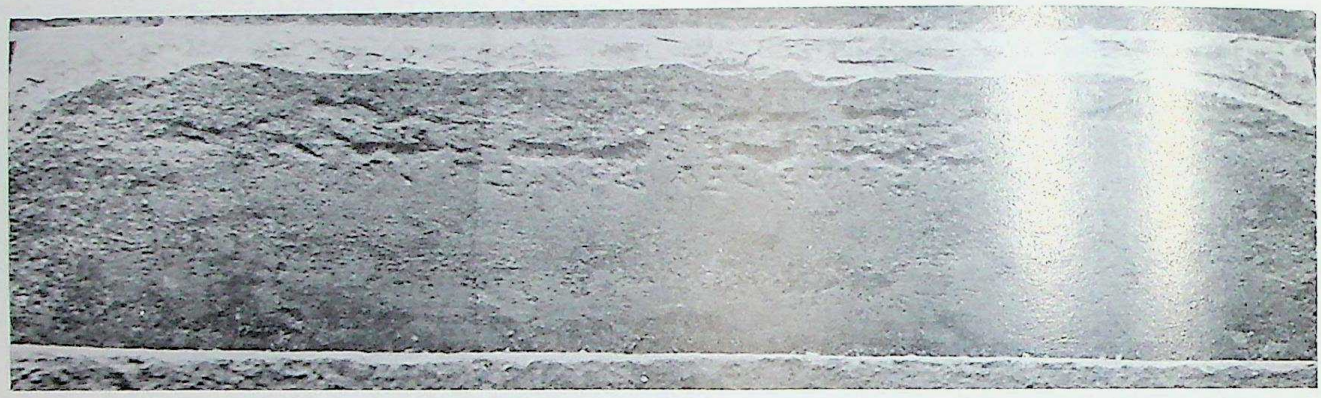


CLV

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

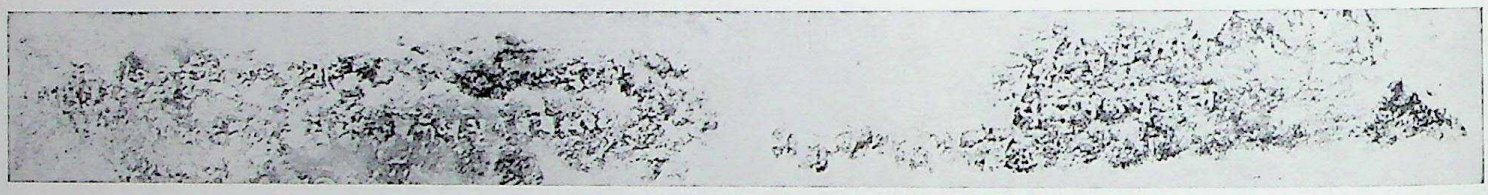


CLVI



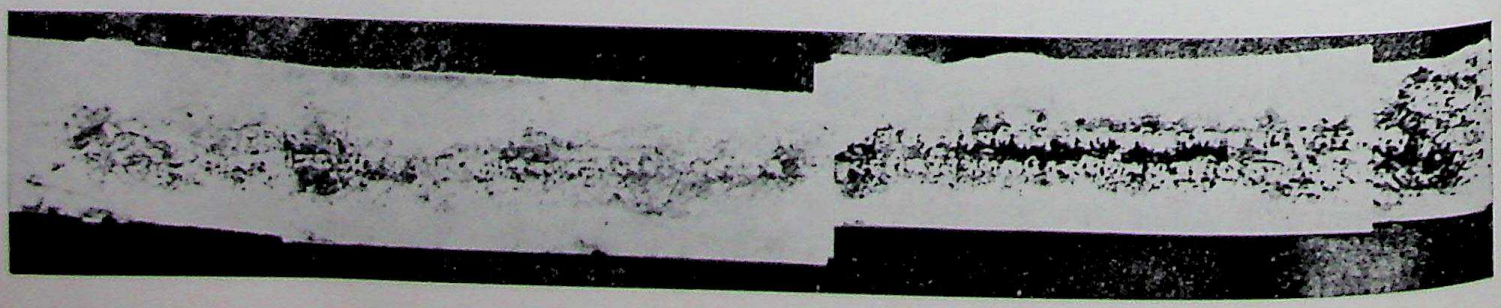
CLVII

CLVIII



CLIX

CLX ↓



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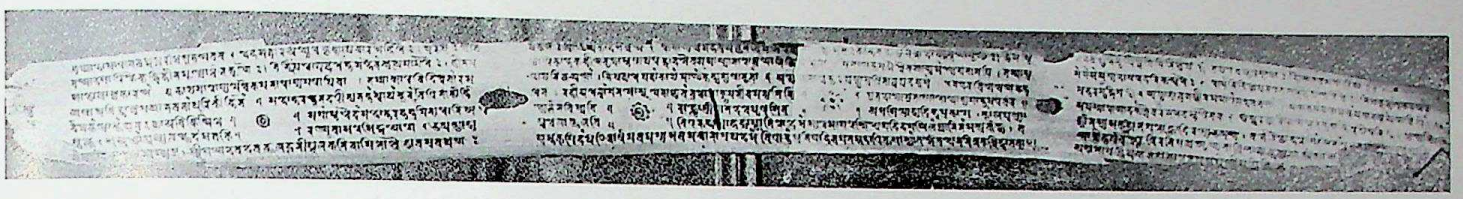

CLXI

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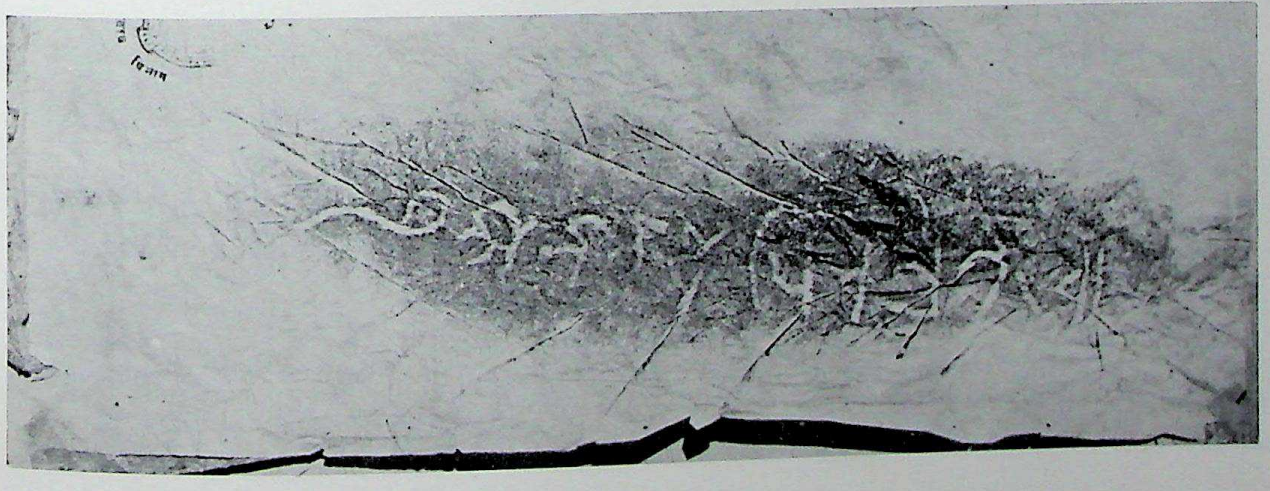

CLXIV

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Appendix I

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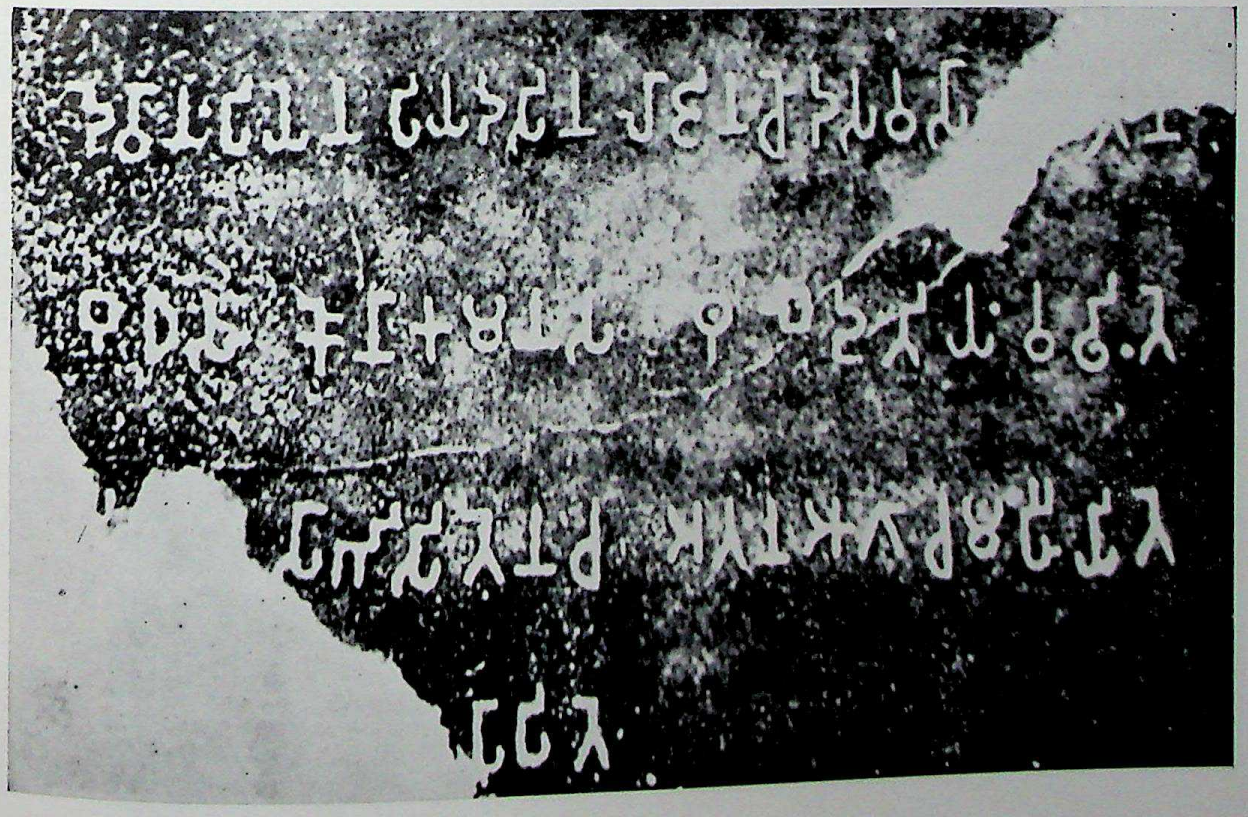

Appendix II

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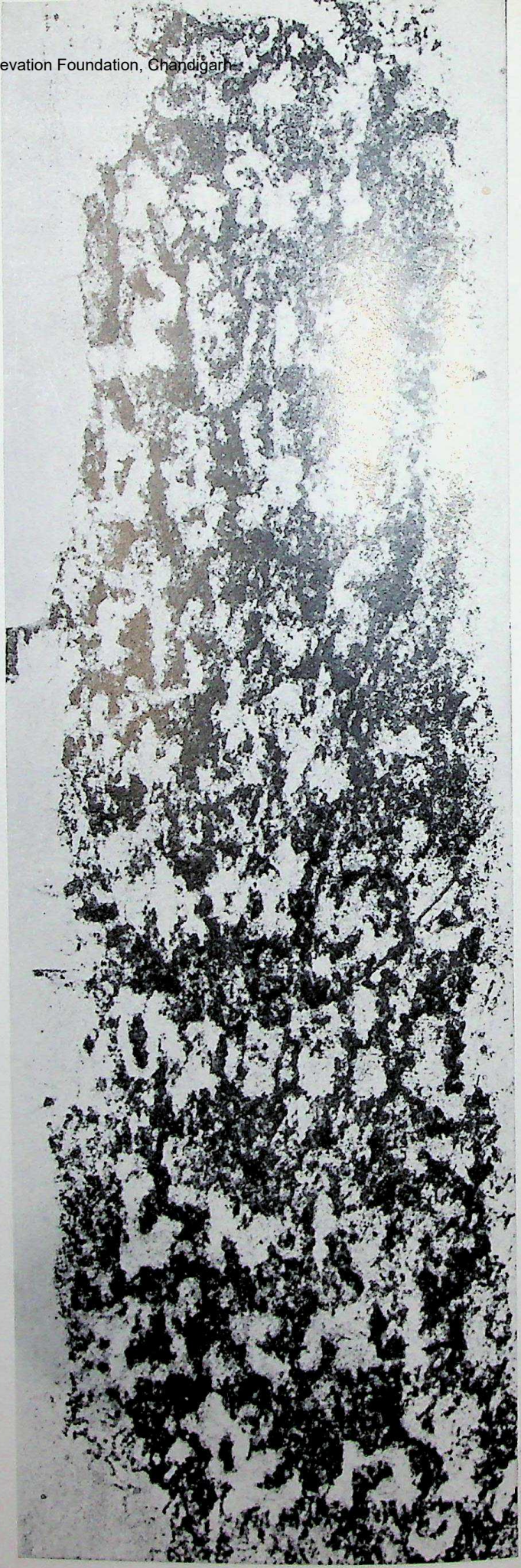
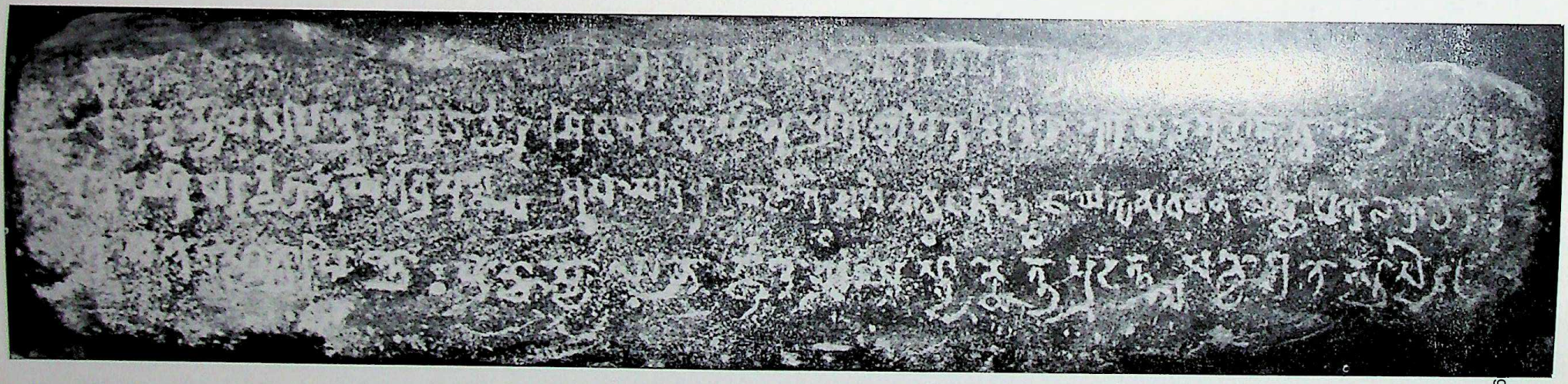
Appendix VII



Appendix IV



Appendix V

Appendix VI →

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Appendix VIII

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ADDENDUM

The following photographs are to show the missing lines at the bottom portion of the inscription on 3 faces of the Changu Pillar. It may be clarified here that Bhagwanlal Indraji's photographs of the cloth rubbing show only 17 lines in Face (a) and (b) and 20 lines in Face (c). He could not go beyond these because the pillar was submerged under the earth. Levi read the whole, of course with some errors, as he was able to get the bottom portion dug out for him. But his plates show only 17 lines in (a), 17 lines in (b) and 17 lines in (c). Gnoli reproduced Levi's plates but corrected his reading. Others who have not tried with the plates also did the same and were content with publishing the relevant passage on Gnoli's line.

I regret that some errors have crept in the English passage in page 2 despite the corrigendum due to oversight, which has necessitated adding the passage at this stage in a rewritten form.

One thing more, which should be made clear is that the present name Changu is still obscure in meaning and all that we have said is just a guess work. I have found that my view agrees with that of Dhanavajra in interpreting the meaning of Changu. One meaning offered is that there was a forest of champaka trees, Michelia Champaka, bearing a yellow fragrant flower, which the Newars call Chañsiñ.

The Champaka tree is not mentioned in the inscription of Śivadeva I, the stele now lying near the pillar in the same area (n. 53). However, the same inscription refers to the forest (atavi) of Dolādriśikhara implying that the top of Dolādri was a forest area. But even accepting gu as a version of gum, the idea of a hill cannot be made out from the name Changu and the name based on Champaka tree is ruled out.

The name Changu appears in records of the late medieval period. Maybe that the name came into being since that time which continues till today. How the name Changu came to be coined can only be a matter of guess and nothing definite can be said about it.

We shall give more thought to the subject of the name Changu and see if this provides a satisfactory clue as to the meaning. But this will be done in the next volume entitled 'Social Conditions in Ancient Nepal'.

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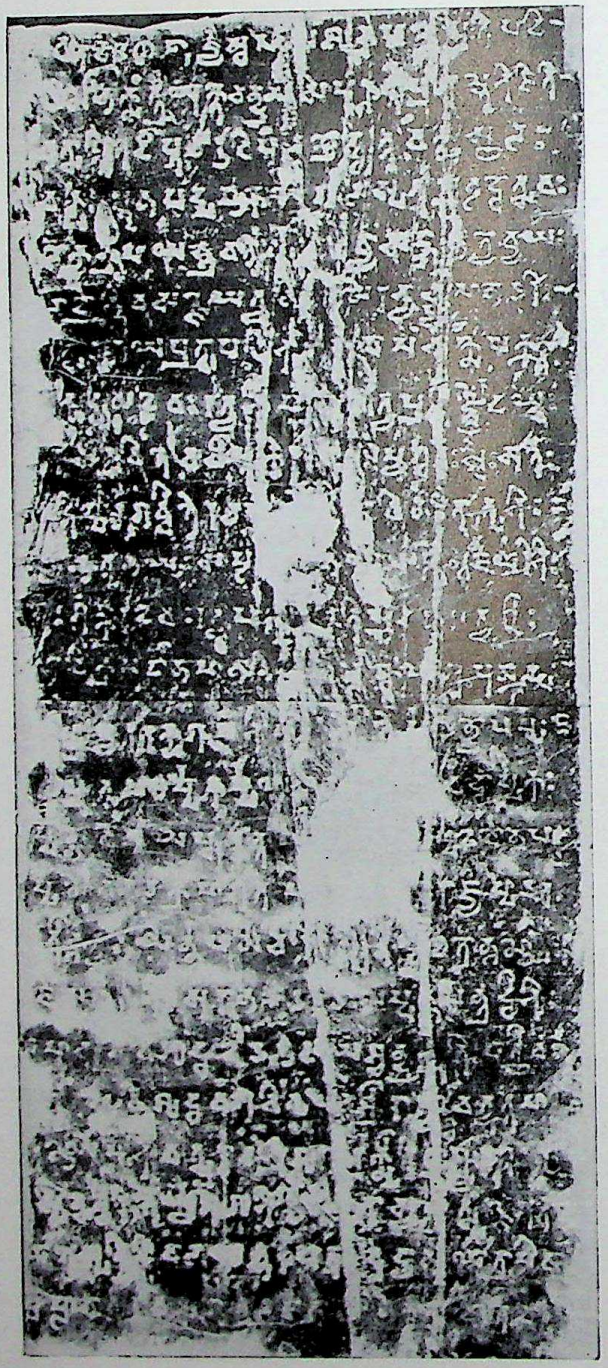
(A)



Here we have the whole of Face A. The reader's attention is drawn to the last six lines, which are missing in the earlier photograph.

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(B)

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(C)

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Part IV

POWERFUL REGENTS AND PUPPET KINGS

THE powerful regents we bring to notice at this instance are no other than Jiṣṇugupta and his son Viṣṇugupta ruling one after the other, first the father and then the son. The puppets are Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva, who also reigned one after the other, first Dhruvadeva and then Bhīmārjunadeva. Jiṣṇugupta started with Dhruvadeva and continued to rule until S. 54 or so. Dhruvadeva appears for the last time in the Kevalpur Inscription (no. 101) but the date line is damaged, and therefore we cannot tell the exact date of his disappearance from the scene. As Bhīmārjunadeva appears in the Balambu inscription of S. 55 (No. 102) it is obvious that his reign begins from this time. Jiṣṇugupta continues to appear also in the Thankot Inscription of S. 57 Kārtika Śukla 2 (No. 106) but he is no more seen thereafter. As Viṣṇugupta's Maligaon Inscription is dated S. 57 phālguṇa śukla 7, Jiṣṇugupta probably died sometime in between these two months of the same year, S. 57. Viṣṇugupta's last dated record belongs to S. 65, Phālguṇa Śukla 2, and as the first record of the next reign, the Lunjhya Inscription, is dated S. 67 he must have been dead or ousted in between these two dates.

The Tun Huang cave record talks of his demise in 641 A.D. and it adds that he was killed as a result of an invasion launched by Narendradeva. Both Viṣṇugupta and Bhīmārjunadeva lost to Narendradeva who avenged his father's ouster at the hands of Jiṣṇugupta and Dhruvadeva earlier.

Jiṣṇugupta and Viṣṇugupta issued the inscriptions from a palace different from the one occupied by the Lichchhavi monarchs. We have noticed that the latter lived in Mānagṛha and Jiṣṇugupta and his family made Kailāsakūṭa the secretariat of the government, where they also resided. The Lichchhavi kings appear just to qualify Jiṣṇugupta or his son to show to the people that the latter represented the authority of state in the leading position in the dispensation under their nominal overlordship and it was within their power to issue the inscriptions.

Jiṣṇugupta belonged to the powerful Ābhira Kṣatriya family who dominated the government until Amśuvarmā appeared. He was the grandson of Bhaumagupta who had the privilege to serve the people since the time of Gaṇadeva until the initial years of Śivadeva's reign. But Jiṣṇugupta and his son had proved most powerful of the Ābhira administrators. By being able to issue their own records at the cost of men on the throne they had almost eclipsed the throne reducing the monarchs to the status of puppets. Jiṣṇugupta had been able to issue coins in his name.

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These two kings Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva were puppets of Jiṣṇugupta. Bhīmārjunadeva figures also in Viṣṇugupta's 3 inscriptions.

As they get the address 'Lichchhavi Kulaketu' (banner of the Lichchhavi family), their identity with the ruling family is not doubted.

But how did they stand in the chronology? Nepalese sources do not say anything about their identity and relation they had with Śivadeva or Udayadeva. But when the Tang-shu states that Udayadeva was forced to flee on account of his brother's actions we presume that Dhruvadeva who succeeded Udayadeva was the person involved in the usurpation affair. It is probable that Bhīmārjunadeva had combined with Dhruvadeva in this action. They might have been brothers.

However we have seen that it was Jiṣṇugupta who was the architect of the rebellion, and the two brothers had played into his hands.

Both Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva are called just Mahārāja, and there is also only the epithet bappapādānudhyāta before their name. Although it appears before Jiṣṇugupta's name, the epithet Bhagavat Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānugṛhita does not occur with their names.

The title Mahārājādhirāja was first adopted by Amśuvarmā followed by Udayadeva. But why this was dropped in favour of just Mahārāja in the case of Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva we do not know.

In omitting reference to Lord Paśupati the Lichchhavi puppets betray the same attitude towards the deity as Śivadeva I. But then the epithet was not in practice in the latter's time and even Amśuvarmā while issuing the charters along with Śivadeva avoids the epithet. This appears only when he issues the charter by himself, and without mentioning Śivadeva. Udayadeva assumes this title, and this he does calling himself 'Lichchhavi'. Jiṣṇugupta follows Amśuvarmā but he uses the epithet in the same records where his puppets go without it. Since Narendradeva's time the epithet is common till the last record of Jayadeva. But why the puppet kings did not follow Udayadeva but were content by using only the expression Bappapādānudhyāta? There must be some reason for it. And one thing more. How is it that Jiṣṇugupta who himself paid homage to Lord Paśupati in the inscription did not persuade his puppets to adopt the same epithet?

But probably a question of belief was involved. Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva could have been followers of Buddhism and they were yet bound by narrow religious outlook. The two puppet monarchs share place with Jiṣṇugupta, first Dhruvadeva and then Bhīmārjunadeva who also appears along with Viṣṇugupta during the latter's tutelage period. The writs of the puppet kings are the same as those of the de facto rulers. But why Jiṣṇugupta or Viṣṇugupta could not persuade them to use the epithet Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānugṛhita? We can only suggest that because of their Buddhist leaning Jiṣṇugupta or Viṣṇugupta could have only wounded their feeling by such a persuasion. And it was no wonder that Jiṣṇugupta had leaned heavily on the Lichchhavi monarchs on the throne to give strength to his own regime. The same situation obtained in the time of his son but he had to go because the really legitimate successor to the throne was struggling to be restored.

As we shall discuss a little later in connection with the dvairajya system, according to Kauṭilya, the usurper does not realise the hostile results of the act of usurpation and thinking that 'the state is his indulges in activities injurious to his own interest, enters in business and profitable concerns but at the end gets so disgusted that he is forced to resign' (8.2.8). In Viṣṇugupta's case the result was so unhappy that he was not only ousted from power but was also killed.

Whatever that be Jiṣṇugupta's tactics in allowing Dhruvadeva to occupy the throne as a legitimate monarch had brought him desired result because this fact was known not only to the people of Nepal but to outsiders as well. It was known in Vaiśāli where the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang had heard of a Kṣatriya monarch of the Lichchhavi family to have ruled Nepal at the time he visited (637 A.D.).

97. Tavajhya Stele

The Tavajhya stele of Jiṣṇugupta was issued in the reign of Dhruvadeva who had kept in the front

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(tatpurassarah) Jiṣṇugupta. The charter is addressed to the householders of (1) Thambu, (2) Gangsul, (3) Mūlavātika villages. Dhruvadeva addresses from Mānagṛha and Jiṣṇugupta from Kailāśakūṭa bhavana. Dhruvadeva is described as one whose mind was enlightened because of sound merit. Jiṣṇugupta is devoted to the welfare of his subjects, with his character purified, enjoying the wealth of the state by virtue of his being descended from a meritorious dynasty. His administration was respected by all the city dwellers (पौरार्चित). Dhruvadeva is Bh. Mahārāja, whereas Jiṣṇugupta assumes the usual epithets started from the reign of Amśuvarmā *bhagavat paśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānugṛhita bappa pādānudhyāta* and the prefix is just Śrī. The object of the inscription is to contribute to the repair of a canal built by Bh. Maharajadhiraja Sryamsuvarma's grace (pādaih) for the welfare of the addressees which was, however, lying broken due to lack of repair. On being informed of its decayed condition by Sāmanta Chandravarmā and having known all these facts, Jiṣṇugupta made over the charge of repair and maintenance to him. Chandravarmā repaired the canal in order to ensure that no such destruction can take place in future and uninterrupted repair work is conducted according to the tradition. It was also decreed that only people of the 3 villages mentioned will use the canal and nobody else will do so.

The date is Samvat 48 and the dūtaka is Yuvarāja Viṣṇugupta. By granting the title of Yuvarāja on his son, Jiṣṇugupta prepared the ground for automatic succession to the august position by his son. Probably the succession would have been smooth as the next king Bhīmārjunadeva had no issue. But this situation never came.

It appears that Mānagṛha was still in existence and the puppet de jure Lichchhavi king lived there. Kailāśakūṭabhavana continued to be the residence and secretariat of the de facto ruler until Narendradeva himself thought to reside there. Mānagṛha never comes to view again since Bhīmārjunadeva ceases to appear.

Jiṣṇugupta has a coin in his name with a horse on the reverse. He was a follower of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Atop this inscription one can see a long fish symbolic of Viṣṇu in his fish incarnation.

In this inscription Dhruvadeva appears without mentioning his family connection.

Jiṣṇugupta did never assume the titles of Mahāsāmanta or Mahārāja mahāsāmanta or anything else of the type. But he continued to acknowledge the throne and while issuing charters gave an impression that the king was also a party.

98. Māliṭār

The inscription of Māliṭār (½ mile north of Balambu) is in line with the Tavajhya stele. Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Dhruvadeva is referred to here as the banner of the Lichchhavi family. Jiṣṇugupta uses the epithets *Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānugṛhita bappa pādānudhyāta Śrī* which he and his son use invariably in all records. Jiṣṇugupta is described here as 'one conducting the government purified by laws of virtue, which was admired by all townsmen'. The address is to the people of Magvāla grāma (village). The date is 49 Magha kṛṣṇa 12 and the dūtaka is Jiṣṇugupta's son Viṣṇugupta who is called yuvarāja (crown prince).

99. Bhairavadhoka, Kathmandu

The charter on a slab lying near the south gate of Kathmandu was issued to announce that Mahāsāmanta Śrī Jīvadeva as approved by Jiṣṇugupta had constructed a canal for the benefit of the area, the Gīṭāpānchālikā. The charter asks the householders of the pānchālikā to take 10 shares of rent. How much land was granted is not clear from the damaged letters to finish the construction as well as to make arrangements for the worship of . . . . . svami (the letters are damaged here to find out which deity was mentioned) and to feed the panchāli on specified occasions and to repair the canal when this was needed.

Mahāsāmanta Śrī Jīvadeva (because of damage in the letters the name is not as clear) was quite an

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influential person who is described in the inscription as 'one of good qualities, incomparable beauty, widespread fame and enjoying great respect, selfless and destroyer of many formidable enemies and ever determined to do good to others'. He must have been a staunch supporter of Jiṣṇugupta like Chandravarmā Gomī to write his own praise in this manner.

The date and dūtaka's name are missing as the last two lines are almost totally damaged. The dūtaka probably is Yuvarāja Viṣṇugupta.

Here again Dhruvadeva's name is associated with Mānagṛha and Jiṣṇugupta issued the charter from Kailāśakutabhavana.

Dakṣiṇakoligrāma and Koliya Migration

All inscriptions discovered in the southern part of Kathmandu mention Dakṣiṇakoligrāma as the venue related with the gifts made in royal charters.

These inscriptions include the Khapinche (Patan) inscription, the 3 of Yangahiti and one of a slab by the side of Bhairavadhoka, the south gate of Kathmandu. While the first of them (Bhairavadhoka, n. 99) is addressed to the people in Gīṭāpānchālikā in Dakṣiṇakoligrāma, the second is addressed to the inhabitants of Dakṣiṇakoligrāma (n. 103), the third which is an inscription of Viṣṇugupta talks of Dakṣiṇakoligrāma and one of the 4 draṅgas within it (n. 107). Viṣṇugupta states in the charter that as draṅga Daksinakoligrama had 4 sectors. In the third inscription (Yangahiti, n. 117) the name Dakṣiṇakoligrāma draṅga occurs suggesting that the village had become a bigger area consisting of villages and even lands (tala). Perhaps the south of the village above the bed of the river Bagmati (Vāgvatī) was the even land referred to by a tala or low land. As we go to the river we have to climb down to reach the level of the low land, and this low land was the site of *tala* mentioned.

As the word Kolī is associated with the name of a village, it is suggested that it was the place where Koliyas of Rāmagrama coming from the Terai region to the immediate west of the river Gandak had settled after migration.

The Koli or Koliyas[1] are the people who called themselves Kṣatriyas like the Śākyas. Their chief was the father of Māyādevī, mother of the Buddha. The Koliyas are placed by the Mahāparinivvāna sūtta along with Bulis of Allakāpura, Moriyas of Pippalivana, the Bhaggas of Sunisura hill and Kālamas of Keśaputta. But only a few records of the Pali literature mention them. The Koliyas were one of the tribes demanding a share of the Buddha's ashes. The Sumatimangalavilāsinī and Mahavastu state that the name Koliya was derived from a Kola tree around which Rāma, a king of Banaras, had built a township. This king had abandoned his home, and taken refuge at the foot of the mountain far north of his kingdom. He married a Śākya girl and invited many Śākyas to live there. The Śākyas and Koliyas later intermarried. They lived in adjacent territories with the river Rohiṇī dividing them. The verse 29 has a passage to say 'look at the Śākyas and Koliyas going to the west across the river Rohiṇī', which means that the Koliyas who were one of the Śākya clans lived in the east of the river.[2]

The Śākyas and Koliyas often fought over the water of the river. At one time the Buddha had to intervene in their dispute.

Talking of Mahāsāmanta Jīvadeva the compiler of *Lichchhavi Kālko Abhilekha* states that he was a Lichchhavi prince. He thinks that the *deva* in the name is suggestive of Lichchhavi lineage. This is, however, a stange argument.

There is a trend of thinking to take every name with a Varmā ending as one belonging to Amśuvarmā's family as the ending *deva* is ascribed to the Lichchhavis and Gupta to Jiṣṇugupta's Ābhira lineage. But we must not allow ourselves to be misled by such illogical inference.

If Mahāsāmanta Jivadeva was a Lichchhavi prince, his name could have been qualified by anything indicative of his family tree, but this is lacking, and nothing in the inscription appears to recall his kinship with the Lichchhavis.

If Jivadeva was a Lichchhavi what will one say about another name Viṣṇudeva of Changu stele

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of Narendradeva's time? He might also be given Lichchhavi connections. But it would be improper to do so. The writer might argue that these names do not have 'Śrī' as prefix, but even the king's name here goes without 'Śrī'.

The letters in the line are very much blurred. Could he be Jīvavarmā, after whose name a vihāra (monastic settlement) appears in the Narayanachaur inscription?

The name Jīvadeva with the titles of Mahāsāmanta mahārāja could be misread because letters are not very clear. There is Jivavarma Vihara in the Naksal Narayanachaur inscription (n. 143). Maybe we have read or misread deva in place of varma.

Be that as it may there is no sense in maintaining all deva ending names as those of the Lichchhavis. If this process goes then all the Varmas will be linked to the dynasty of Amśuvarmā. We shall have to suppose names like Bhogavarmā, Vṛṣavarmā, Babhruvarmā, all dūtakas in the inscriptions of Gaṇadeva and Śivadeva were kinsmen of Amśuvarmā belonging to the same family. But they belonged to different families. There is one Rājaputra Nandavarma (vide inscription of Ādeśvara) whose land grant gets protection from Jiṣṇugupta. We have already seen how Rājaputra Vikramasena was patronised by Amśuvarmā (n. 68, 75). The clever Chandravarmā is also there. How are these names to be classified familywise? The suffix *Varmā* is certainly a caste indicator, and all such names are of Kṣatriya caste men. But it will be absurd to suggest that they belonged to one family and for that matter to the family of Amśuvarmā.

100. Ādeśvara

The Ādeśvara stone with a bull at the top also with date line missing is a charter couched in the same terms so far as Dhruvadeva and Jiṣṇugupta are concerned. Jiṣṇugupta addresses the people who had gone to inhabit the village of (1) Chhoguṁ, (2) Ubisama, and (3) Talanju. Both the puppet monarch and the de facto ruler Regent have a short epithet. Dhruvadeva is an ornament of the Lichchhavi family with his valour spread far and wide. Jiṣṇugupta possessed all qualities of a king which had given brilliance to the world. The object of the inscription is to contribute towards completing the work of Rājaputra (prince) Nandavarmā who had built a temple of Nātheśvara in the memory of his father Rājaputra Jiṣṇuvarmā, mother Vatsadevī, brothers Bhīmavarmā and others for their continuous happiness in heaven. The land granted was near Talanju grāma.

All these people Chandravarmā, Nandavarmā and others seem to be of the stock to which Amśuvarmā belonged if the surname varmā could be a determining factor. There seems to be a relation of close friendship and amity between Amśuvarmā's family and Jiṣṇugupta's own kith and kin.

Nandavarmā is mentioned as a king in the list of Thakuri dynasty by the later chronicles.

101. Kevalpur

Issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana by Jiṣṇugupta in the front who was of the banner of the Lichchhavi family Dhruvadeva from Mānagṛha, the Kevalpur inscription is an address to the householders of Nupunna draṅga, refers to former kings Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Śrī Vasuraja, Śrī Mahīdeva, Śrī Mānadeva, Śrī Gaṇadeva and his own grandfather Śrī Bhūmagupta all these had with due sense of piety executed a charter on stone to grant a special privilege to the inhabitants of the draṅga and in that course conferred on the people 1/12 of the total articles (?) but these had lapsed and absorbed into the state ownership (rajyabhogyatamāpāditāni). Jiṣṇugupta announces that as he was pleased with their performance including that of rendering assistance, he was glad to give 200 in Nupunna dranga for the *kāraṇa pūjā* of Bhagavannārāyaṇa Svāmi by the householders and their chiefs. The former kings had introduced a practice by which they were paying 1000 (?). Jiṣṇugupta exempted them from this payment and again to release them from other obligations like working for Dankhuṭṭa, etc. which were included in the scheme made by the past rulers, banned the entry of offices including Lingval and Śolla.

There is no date and name of the dūtaka. The top has a reclining bull at the centre. Was

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Kevalpur known as Nupunna dranga in those days? The area to the west of Kevalpur in the district was until the 16th century inhabited sparsely by people. The dranga here seems to be a misfit. Perhaps from here the thoroughfare led to the south, towards Bihar, but not to the west. The banner of the Lichchhavi family Dhruvadeva is called 'one who devoted himself to doing good to all living beings, who was without any vanity and who possessed a pleasant behaviour'. Jiṣṇugupta is of a pure mind and ever devoted to the welfare of his people. He had humbled his enemies by his powers and influence, and he was full of incomparable qualities . . . . . like the moon. We are not aware what this Dankhutta means, nor anything is conveyed by 200 granted for the worship of Nārāyaṇa Svāmi and another 1000 fixed by past rulers. And further in what sense should we take the *dvadaśabhāga vastuto*? What are the articles involved?

The inscription brings four kings. We do not know if they come in chronological order. The first is Vasurāja, the second Mahīdeva, the third Mānadeva and then Gaṇadeva. If the list is in chronological order then surely this Mānadeva must not be Mānadeva of Changu Pillar and he rightly comes here before Gaṇadeva. Vasantadeva's name must have been omitted here as he had nothing to do with the arrangement spoken of in the inscription. Bhumagupta, grandfather of Jiṣṇugupta, has also found place in the line of kings. It must have been so because Jiṣṇugupta took pride in being his grandson.

Śrī Vasuraja is identified with Vasuvarmā of GR by some scholars. We shall examine the question later in the text of 'Ancient Nepal'.

Jiṣṇugupta's genealogy can be constructed like the following. They belonged to the Ābhira Ksatriya stock.

Paramābhimānī, his elder brother Mānagupta Gomi
|
Anuparama married to Ābhirī Gominī
|
Bhumagupta or Bhaumagupta
|
Son
No name available
|
Jiṣṇugupta
|
Viṣṇugupta

The Nepalese kings all along follow a practice to neglect mentioning their parents' names and this has been a handicap to construct a true chronology.

Jiṣṇugupta's Kevalpur inscription talks of a special favour granted to the people of Nupunna dranga by Bhaṭṭāraka Maharaja Śrī Vasudeva, Śrī Mahīdeva, Śrī Mānadeva, Śrī Gaṇadeva and grandfather (asmatpitamaha) Bhūmagupta. The inscription also states that these kings in the past (pūrvarājabhirasmadgurubhi) had extended the favour because of their desire to do a favour to others through an order engraved on a stone having also conferred on them 1/12 of an article. Jiṣṇugupta informs that he has donated 200 for the *Kāraṇa pūjā* of Narayanasvāmi having been pleased with the assistance rendered by them and now had also freed them from the obligation of paying 1000 (daśaśatam) imposed on them by rule established by former kings. What article was involved, of which 1/12 had been granted to them? And then how to define the character of 200 granted in honour of Narayanasvami and 10 hundred which were now not to be paid by the people? As no expression denoting monetary value is mentioned, it is difficult to suggest if the ruler was talking in terms of money units. But what these 200 and 1000 mean?

Leaving aside the inexplicit passage our attention is drawn to the respectable personages mentioned in the inscription. We have five names who figure in the inscription, and they are addressed in respectful language using such terms as Purvarajabhi. Among these names the first is that of Śrī Vasu-

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rāja who appears with the title of Bhattāraka Mahārāja. Then come Śrī Mahīdeva, Śrī Mānadeva, Śrī Gaṇadeva and Jiṣṇugupta's grandfather Śrī Bhūmagupta. Mahīdeva is easily identified. According to Jayadeva's Paśupati inscription he is the son of Mānadeva (obviously of the Changu Narayana Pillar). Gaṇadeva has several inscriptions to his credit. Bhūma (Bhauma) gupta is not a royal figure but he was widely respected in his ripe old age and it is no wonder that his grandson pays him a tribute in the same way as he does to kings. But identification is not possible in the case of Vasurāja, and there is also a question as to who follows Mahīdeva. If the names are put in chronological order, why Jiṣṇugupta omits the name of Vasantadeva is another question. The gap between the reigns of Mānadeva and Mahīdeva or between the latter and Vasantadeva is too narrow to allow of two short-lived reigns. But how to account for Mānadeva's reign who is shown here as Mahīdeva's successor in place of Vasantadeva.

The author of *Lichchhavi Kalkā Abhilekha* is of the opinion that Vasurāja is the same as Vasudatta Varmā of the chronicles. He is said to have reigned for 37 years according to V[1]. But I doubt if names could be identified in this fashion without looking into the reliable source materials. The list of V[1] is as much fictitious as that of the later chronicles. There is no point in drawing conclusions out of this arrangement. In the same way, as the list is totally unreliable and out of order, we cannot say anything about Mānadeva. But why Jiṣṇugupta chose to produce these names? And could this Mānadeva be another stopgap sovereign between Vasantadeva and Gaṇadeva or Gaṇadeva and Śivadeva. Notwithstanding the order of names in the inscription, which is very haphazard, we may suggest that Jiṣṇugupta simply ignored Vasantadeva because he was not important enough to be considered. He jumped over from Mahīdeva to Mānadeva and then to Gaṇadeva who was Bhaumagupta's protege. The order of names, however, is confusing and no conclusive evidence can be obtained by perusing the argument. Jiṣṇugupta had no intention to create a chronological order of names. He mentioned only those kings whom he considered to be deserving a place in his record. Above anything else he had abiding interest in his grandfather whom he wanted to honour by giving him a place among royal personages.

The expression daśaśatāni comes without any qualifying term. We do not know what the expression means. It might be taken as monetary units or as contributions in pieces of articles.

Similarly, we are not in a position to know what dānkhuttarthādikaraṇiyam means.

The king in the past had to ban the entry of Lingval and Śolla offices to exempt the people from such a duty (karaṇiya). Is it a forced labour (visti) exacted by these offices as made out by Dhanavajra? But I do not think we can with a degree of assurance call it so. What is this Dankhuṭṭārtha? Unless we know the exact meaning of the word, nothing can be said about it.

The arrangement made here by Jīvadeva is called dharmādhikāra vyavasthā, a settlement under rules by virtue of the rights which have been conferred (prasādikṛta) as favour.

Amśuvarmā in his second Harigaon charter called his own dispensation of donations made to deities, temples and Buddhist monasteries as 'my own beloved vyavasthā established with pure mind keeping in view the happiness of the people'. The expression prasādikṛta does not occur in this inscription.

The Kevalpur charter of Jiṣṇugupta (n. 151) abrogates the order of the preceding kings, by which the people were to contribute 10 hundred (?) to be used for the Kāraṇa pūjā of Bhagavan Nārāyaṇa Svāmī. This order is called a vyavasthā framed by former kings and now rescinded.

In the Maligaon inscription (n. 107) of Viṣṇugupta the rules made in regard to the treatment meted out to women taking more than one husband by the state in respect of properties under certain conditions constituted an order called vyavasthā, which was to be maintained by kings in future. There is no mention of the act of favour (prasāda) as in the present inscription.

King Narendradeva in his Deopatan (Kasaintol) inscription issues a charter prohibiting the entry of chāṭa and bhaṭa in Navagṛha. This is the favour (prasāda) conferred on the inhabitants of Navagṛha. Not only this, the Goṣṭhis connected with Navagṛha were also kept out of bounds for chāṭa and bhaṭa.

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102. Balambu

The Balambu stele of Jiṣṇugupta follows the practice of the earlier inscription but Jiṣṇugupta, while referring to the monarch on the throne, Bhīmarjunadeva, the banner of the Lichchhavi family, says that the charter was issued by him who was the king's director or leader. The epithet eulogising Jiṣṇugupta is worn away due to damage except a word as it is so also in the case of the king. The charter is addressed to the two agencies enjoying livelihood from the state (vṛtti bhūja), the *Ginung vritti bhūja* and *Digvāra britti bhūja*. Jiṣṇugnpta had brought a channel and let it fall in Jolpring village, which provided tasteful and cold drinking water to travellers. He had also constructed a simple garden on Ginung ground, and in order to maintain it he had exempted the Pānchālikās of the Jolpring village from a tax on cloth, along with the temple contributions and Digvāra vastu (?). The boundaries of Ginung vritti has been delimited as described in the other section.

In the boundary line several Khātakas are mentioned by name, one of them is Kamsmaśāna and another Nhyāguṅ mārga khātaka. The Khātakas are ditches or ponds all of which lay on the thoroughfares.

It is quite likely that these Khātakas were the space from which earth was excavated to build the road. The area enjoyed as britti by the Ginung (office) seems to have khātas and mārgas all around it.

It is not clear what Ginung and Digbara actually mean. The land which was enjoyed by Vrittibhūjas of the two lay in Jolpring village. The Vrittibhūjas are those who earned their livelihood from the king.

With Bhīmārjunadeva the inscription introduces a new monarch. But his identity is not known. Was he a brother of Dhruvadeva who probably died without male heir to succeed him.

103. Yangahiti

The inscription of Jiṣṇugupta issued along with King Bhīmārjunadeva belongs to the old site of Kathmandu proper and is lying in a courtyard of a water conduit some 30 ft below the ground level called Yangahiti. The inscription is without date and dūtaka because 5 or 6 lines are totally damaged. Jiṣṇugupta henceforth issues the inscriptions along with Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Bhīmārjunadeva who is described as the vermilion mark on the forehead of the Lichchhavi family, whose fame bore more brilliance than the rising sun. Jiṣṇugupta is called a person endowed with all the qualities of kingship, his fame like that of white moon, having pleased subjects, he was ever determined to make his people happy and he had churned all his enemies. While defining the relative position of the two, the inscriptions place Bhīmārjuna first and Jiṣṇugupta later using *tatsahitascha* (along with him). But the man who issues the charter as in all cases is Jiṣṇugupta kuśali.

This is a charter issued to the householders of all Panchalikas, with the Brahmana and chief in the front rank, inhabiting the Daksinakoli grama. It shows that former rulers levied taxes on *malla* which amounted to 4 copper panas. Jiṣṇugupta discontinued this practice, and further freed them also from the tax on malla infant. Although many letters are damaged in 11 to 14 lines, one can read just bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa (भट्टाधिकरण) and that its entry was prohibited. Further, every action connected with śaktibāṭa which demanded 4 copper paṇas was also prohibited, which included payment withdrawn along with it. The dūtaka and the date year and particulars are missing.

It appears that the work of bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa was to realise taxes on animals. Up till now Jiṣṇugupta referred to calling himself his '*purassara*' (पुरस्सरः). Here the inscription is issued along with the king. This practice was followed also by his son. Jiṣṇugupta seems to have usurped even the nominal status of the sovereign although he did not use the epithet symbolic of royal dignity.

The word *śaktibāṭakaraṇiyam* is interpreted by a writer as a form of *visti* (forced labour). But this is debatable. We will consider all aspects of *visti* in our book 'Ancient Nepal'.

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104. Chhatra Chaṇḍeśvara

This inscription with date line damaged shows that it was installed during the regime of Jiṣṇugupta by some teachers of Pāśupata school. Inscribed on a pillar it invokes the blessing of Lord Śiva. One highly learned Bhagavat Praṇardana Kauśika had donated lands to repair a water conduit in a village, dedicated to Chhatra Chaṇḍeśvara, and in favour of *Mundaśrinkhalika Pasupatacharya pariṣad* (council of Pāśupata Āchāryas) wearing a garland of human skulls and to Varahasvami, Dharmasoma, Chhatrasoma, and Khaddukas, 80 mānikās to be realised as rent from the land donated.

The fields donated and rent to be realised from them are specified. As no king's name figures in the inscription it appears that Jiṣṇugupta had passed as a ruler in the eyes of the people. The man on the throne had been totally overshadowed. It is only Jiṣṇugupta who figures in the inscription as a king.

The Pāśupata school of Śaivism seems to have gained ground in the time of Jiṣṇugupta.

In the next inscription Āchārya Praṇardana is described as a person who had renounced the world of varna (castes). He must have been a sanyāsi of the Pāśupata sect.

The Tantrasāra describes Chaṇḍeśvara as another Śiva of the red colour (रक्त तनौ शिवमूर्त्ति भेदे त्रिनेत्रम्) with 3 eyes. There are 28 lines out of which last 3 lines are damaged.

The present image of Chaṇḍeśvara is naked, and there is a parasol over his head. The pillar stands behind the image which is standing with all the emblems of Śiva in his 4 hands. The inscribed lines are on the pillar.

Its date line is damaged but the inscription refers to Jiṣṇugupta's reign (pravardhamāna vijayarājye). The inscription is a record of Āchārya Bhagavat Pranardana Prāṇakauśika who had donated some lands in the villages mentioned therein. The revenue of the land collected in terms of grain measure was to be utilised for the worship of the deity Chaṇḍeśvara and to repair any damage to the water conduit. The donation was made in writing in the name of the Pariṣad of Muṇḍaśrinkhalika Pāśupatāchārya represented by Varāhasvāmī, Dharmasoma, Chhatrasoma who were to enjoy the revenue of land yielding 80 mānikās and more in other villages.

The Pāśupata sect of the Śaivite school seems to be popular in the time of Amśuvarmā and Jiṣṇugupta. Amśuvarmā had started the epithets *Bhaṭṭāraka Paśupatipādānugṛhita* (or *dhyāta*) before his name. This was followed by a donation to Bhagavat Paśupatinātha in his second Harigaon inscription. Paśupati comes first in the list. Amśuvarmā's epithet was adopted by Udayadeva and then Jiṣṇugupta and after him by his son. The Lichchhavi kings Narendradeva, his son and grandson followed suit. Thus this was the period when the cult of Paśupati had become widely popular.

We shall say more about the cult in the next few paragraphs.

The Pāśupata Sect

Some Śaivite sects of monks have been mentioned in the inscription. The Chaṇḍeśvara stone inscription mentions the assembly of the teachers of Pāśupata school, who had adopted the practice of wearing a chain of human skulls (*mundasrinkhalika*). A grant of land is made by Pranardana (prana). The Pāśupata sect of Śaiva school is the oldest of the kind referred to also in Mahābhārata. Its antiquity goes back to distant past, and Srikantha who was an incarnation of Śiva founded the sect. The sect is an order of ascetics who apply ashes on their body, keep matted hair and follow some mystic practices. Above all the sects of the school regarded Śiva as the cause of creation.[3]

A sub-sect of the Pāśupata school was started by Lākulisa who had disciples by name Gārgya, Maitreya, Kuśika and Kāurusa. References to Lākulisa are found in the Mathura inscription of Chandra Gupta II. The donor in the above noted Chaṇḍeśvara inscription is called Kauśika. Did he belong to the sub-sect founded by Kuśika? The expression मुण्ड श्रृंखलिक पाशुपताचार्य पर्षदि वराहस्वामि उमा सोमाक्रम सोम खड्डुका नाञ्च brings out the various individuals within the Pāśupata sect, who were granted land in order to repair the water conduits at a particular place, and all these benefits were to go to Varāhasvāmi and others including the Khaḍḍukas.

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The Pāśupata sect is mentioned also in some other inscriptions. Śivadeva donates to Vasapasupatacharya (Gnoli, LXXVII), and there is also mention of Dānapāśupatāchārya. Also Śrinkhalika is often mentioned. We do not know what institutional meaning is conveyed by these.[4]

The Pāśupatāchārya was the teacher of the Pāśupata school. All such teachers were congregated to form a *parisad*, which was a collective body. Thus the *parisad* functioned like the present executive council in the management of the affairs of the sect.

Vasapāśupatāchārya might mean resident head of the Pāśupata sect. Similarly Dāna in connection with the same āchārya might convey the meaning of one who was used to taking gifts from the laity.

Muṇḍaśrinkhalika were those who wore a garland of human skulls. The Pāśupata knowingly assumed strange behaviour bordering on madness and all for the attainment of godhood and to merge in the Lord.

The Pāśupata sect was popular with the people of Nepal. The monks of this order were treated on equal footing with the Brahmanas when feeding by a lay devotee was concerned. Their popularity had reached climax in the time of Jiṣṇugupta.

One of Jiṣṇugupta's inscriptions makes a grant of land to a temple of Śiva. Out of this grant there was to be also a provision for feeding the Brāhmanas and Pāśupatas. The king enjoins on his officials that the grant was to be maintained till eternity because the same was given to the Brāhmanas. Perhaps a section of the Pāśupatas came from the Brahmana priest family and did not renounce the sacred thread. Varahamihira calls them *sabhasma dvija*. Because of their outlandish behaviour performing senseless and absurd acts the Pasupatas in all probability were far removed from the Brahmanas; yet they were a respected order. The *Majjhimanikāya* also refers to the Brahmana heretics whom it calls ash coloured. According to J.N. Banerji these were Brahmana Ajivikas whose practices were not different from those of the Pasupatas.

It is suggested that the Pasupatas were the successors of Ajivikas who flourished in the 6th century B.C.

It is obvious that the Pasupatas had their own order, through which they functioned on the line of Buddhist monks. The aim was to seek emancipation from the bondage of life, which they called *moksa*, or *dukhanta* (end of misery).

The mode of living of the Pāśupata was understood as a preparatory stage for the ultimate attainment of the goal. This involved the knowledge of the Supreme being as cause and effect of the universe, merging of the individual soul, i.e., Pasu with the greater soul who was Paśupati, and then final cessation of pain. The system is fairly described by Rasikara Kauṇḍinya who wrote a commentary on Lākuliśa's Pāśupata Sūtra. Mādhavāchārya, the author of *Sarvvadarśana sangraha*, calls it *Nakulisa Pāśupata darśana*.

It is suggested that though the Pāśupata monks widely practised all sorts of outlandish actions (*vidhi*) embodied in their way of life Kauṇḍinya himself discouraged the so-called path of righteousness and emphasised pure thinking and meditation.

The path known as *charya* consisted of *vrata* (vow) and *dvara* (doorways).[5] J.N. Banerji has summarised both, 'The different practices like besmearing the various parts of body with ashes thrice a day, lying down in ashes, laughing, singing, dancing, making a peculiar sound with tongue and palate (*hudukkara*) in imitation of bovine sound are the main features of *vrata*. The *dvara* meant *krathang* (feigning asleep while awake), *spandana* (shaking limbs like a paralytic), sringarana (making erotic gestures at the sight of a young woman), avitarkana (indulging in insane acts), mandana (appearing to have no control over the legs and limbs), avitarkana (speaking absurd and senseless words). In short the Pāśupata was to behave like a lunatic and feel himself not bound by any standard of social conduct. This kind of conduct was said to have been followed also by the Ajivikas and Pāśupata Bhagavatas.

Lākuliśa is taken as the 28th and last incarnation of Śiva. It is said that he was not a divine being but a human figure whose time occurred in the early first century A.D. J.N. Banerji thinks that the very term Pāśupata is used for the first time by Pātanjali who flourished in the second century B.C. So Lākuliśa inevitably must belong to the period after the Great Commentator.

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It would be wrong to identify Chaṇḍeśvara with Lākuliśa. Chaṇḍeśvara with the parasol over his head, and similar other images of Śiva in naked posture holding rosary, water-vessel, trident and battle-axe are very much unlike Lākuliśa who is not represented in the form where the generative organ is exposed. Moreover, his images as found (illustration by J.N. Banerji) are seated in *padmasana* and not standing as our Śaiva images here. The Śiva temples in Bhuvanesvara (Orissa, India) are full of Lakulisa images above the frontal door—all seated and with the generative organ hidden. But according to D.R. Bhandarkar the Mathura pilaster image shows the 'sex mark beneath the diaphanous drapery'. In the Orissan image he is accompanied by four sages, probably his disciples, who find place on the pedestal. We have several naked images of Śiva in Nepal with the emblems, such as trident, water-vessel (kamandalu), rosary and the hand held in Vyakhyana mudra. But these have no likeness to Lakulisa as we find it. But as an incarnation he can be identified with any image of Śiva in the incarnation of Pāśupatas. The Pāśupata sages kept themselves naked (so did Kapalika, etc.), besmeared with ashes. Obviously they went without any cover for the generative organ.

Acharya Pranardana, the donor of the Chaṇḍeśvara inscription has to his credit another record which addresses him as Bhagavat. This shows the high respect Pranardana commanded.

Iconographically we find several types of Śiva images apart from the *Mukhalingas*, four faces (*chaturmukha*) or just one (*ekamukha*). One type is represented by the family as a whole and another by Harihara, and yet another by single image popularly called after certain attributes belonging to Śiva in his incarnations and manifestations. Some are noticeably present in painting and the rest in sculpture. The three-eyed image we notice in a few *parivara* representations. The third eye on the forehead is also missing in mukhalingas. So also is the case with single representation images. The nude image, however, is known as Chaṇḍeśvara, and this could be attributed to the cult of Pāśupatas. But Chaṇḍeśvara was no substitute of Lākuliśa.

In our country we have seen that the Pāśupata sect is for the first time mentioned in Jiṣṇugupta's records. But as Paśupati figures as the tutelary deity of Amśuvarmā, perhaps the sect came to be popular about this time. In India the Pāśupata sect flourished during the Gupta and post-Gupta period. Although the Gupta Emperors were Vaisnavites, other rulers, e.g., Vakatakas and Naga-Bharasivas were followers of Śiva, maybe they were lay disciples of the Pāśupatas. The later Gupta rulers and Maukhari kings who called themselves paramamahesvaras also worshipped Śiva as their chief patron deity. Hiuen Tsang who visited India, in 629-643 A.D., found in a number of places in both North and South India, ascetics of Pāśupata sect whose naked body was covered with ashes and who wore matted hair with a knot at the top.

Thinking of the age in which the Pāśupatas had flourished in Nepal, it appears that their influence came from India in the 6th century A.D.

The nude images of Śiva are found here and there in the Valley. The private part is exposed as the image goes without any drapery, which is also kept apart from the belt and sacred thread running through the thigh and crossing it at the point of knee. The head wears knotted hair. The various emblems in hands are trident (right hand upper), rosary (left hand upper) and water vessel ,made of a pumpkin variety of vegetable. The right hand lower has a mudra formation of preaching.

The image of Chaṇḍeśvara is clearly distinguished from what are known as the Lākuliśa images, so there should be no confusion about their identity.

The Ardhanārīśvara images both as Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and Śiva-Pārvatī symbolise the union of nature with God and this union was supposed to give birth to the world and the entire creation. In the same way the worship of Harihara was to lay stress on the fact of unity and identity between Viṣṇu and Śiva. But these were outside the Pāśupata system.

Śiva was worshipped in his eight forms. The practice of offering eight petalled lotus (*astadala*) as described in the Pasupati inscription of Jayadeva must have been popular in the 8th century A.D. According to Padma Purana the eight forms of Rudra are Bhava, Śaiva, Iśāna, Śiva, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra and Mahādeva. It is suggested that these corresponded to the main deities in the sun shine, water, fire, earth, the air, and the ether.

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The name of Rudra as Paśupati is mentioned by the Rigveda and the fact that there was a shrine of Paśupati in *linga* form might have caused the men of Pāśupata sect to live at the site and attract popular notice and attention.

The Pāśupatas were a highly respected sect. One of Śivadeva's inscriptions asked the people of Vaidyagrama to pay *bhagabhoga* and *hiranya*, all levies, to the teachers of the Vasapasupatas, and to work according as they desire. The area was also prohibited for the entry of the king's police and spies.[6]

Vyasa, the author of the Mahābhārata, who is regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu by the Vaisnavas since about the 13th century was highly lauded in one of the inscriptions on stone pillar. The Harigaon pillar inscription of Anuparama is dedicated to Dvaipāyana who seems to have been also worshipped as a profoundly wise saint by non-Buddhists and anti-Buddhists. Anuparama who is a devotee of Viṣṇu calls Vyāsa 'the dispeller of darkness and giver of light' and dedicates his strotram to him (Dvaipayana). Vyasa by his Mahābhārata settles together the scattered Vedas, the mine of knowledge. He is the real finder of the ways to salvation. The sage had excelled him what Bṛhaspati and other lawgivers failed. If Vyasa had not composed the Mahābhārata, the Śrutis and Smritis would have disappeared.

In the words of Anuparama the sage Vyāsa showed the people the path of virtue fighting out the false doctrine preached by the evil thinking of the followers of Sugata. The teacher of (atman) was responsible for the destruction of ignorance, he was pure, him no worldly attachment touched. He was the embodiment of the three principal essences of the soul, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva.

According to Levi the author of the inscription prays to Vyāsa for enlightenment, not as God but as the great seer Rishi.[7] Vyāsa is called Dvaipāyana by Kumarila Bhaṭṭa. The Mahābhārata according to the Nepalese devotee was a mine of information regarding Vedic knowledge, science, history and philosophy embodying the eternal truth. Above all it was a book of laws of the Brahmanical society.

It is suggested that the author of Mahābhārata was adored as a deity in the 13th century A.D. But in the Satyanārāyaṇa inscription of the 5th century, he is already regarded as a God.

The Mahābhārata in the words of our poet contains all the knowledge philosophical and scientific. It contains weapons to fight ignorance, irreligious acts and heresy. It is full of piety and is enlightening, dispells darkness like the Sun.

Although the very earlier inscriptions of Mānadeva's time speak of phallus images of Śiva, Lord Paśupati is for the first time mentioned by earliest inscription of Amśuvarmā when it mentions Amśuvarmā as one devoted to the feet of Lord Paśupati.[8] This epithet occurs from this time onwards in all the inscriptions of Amśuvarmā and also in those of Jiṣṇugupta and his Lichhavi successors. Curiously the two Lichhavi puppets of Jiṣṇugupta do not bear this title. Similarly as long as Amśuvarmā appears along with Śivadeva, the epithet is totally absent. Lord Paśupati is one of the deities who obtains worship at the hands of Amśuvarmā in his very earliest inscription issued by himself.

We can draw two conclusions from the above discussion. Firstly, in the Amśuvarmā and post-Amśuvarmā period Lord Paśupati was regarded as the deity much highly respected by the rulers but not earlier. This, however, does not mean that Lord Paśupati did not exist. Secondly, all we have obtained as our source materials were to be a guide the fact of the rulers before Amśuvarmā becoming Buddhists is not established.

But among the subjects there must have been many such as put their faith in Buddhism.

In setting the boundary lines of a land grant the Banepa inscription (Gnoli, XXXIII) refers to Chandresvara in the west, and Dakṣiṇeśvara. We have cited numerous phallus images named after the parents or husband of the donors.

These are both plain lingas and Mukhalingas of the time. The latter bear carved heads with hands and faces turned to the front over the shaft of the linga. Four of which are seen to the eyes of the devotee and one at the centre is there only on supposition.

According to a classical treatise the five faces represent variously Iśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vamadeva and Sadyojata. All the frontispiece faces are beautifully carved with ornaments for the ears

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and with gracefully made matted hair. We do not know since when the practice of worshipping the southern head of the Paśupati phallus as Bodhisatva started. It was not surely there in the Lichhavi period.

The Trivikrama images of Lazimpat and Paśupati area belong to the reign of Mānadeva I. Even if the image of Changu is to be maintained as a deity set up later, these images provide evidence of Viṣṇu worship back to a period as old as Mānadeva's, which as we have said earlier a good many phallus images of Śiva. The Bhasmesvara phallus inscription brings into prominence many more Śivalingas adding the name Isvara. Similarly for that age Viṣṇu is mentioned as being widely worshipped in Jalasayana and other forms.

Most of these images are identified through inscriptions which they bear on the pedestal. Others could be identified by guesswork. But many might remain unknown as to their identity.

Anuparama thought that Mahabharata contained knowledge to fight out the unreasonable and evil doctrine of the Buddha.

Feud

The inscription of Harigaon pillar indicates extent of feud between the followers of Śaivo-Viṣṇuism and Buddhism.

We have an inscription of the year 452 (Khapinche, Lalitpur water conduit), which is dedicated to the great sage Vaisampayana regarded as the man who had narrated the story of Mahabharata to Janmejaya the great grandson of the Pandavas after the Great Indian War.

There is a word '*Vasudeva Gosthi*' in the Lele inscription of Śivadeva. Probably this refers to a sect following the cult of Vasudeva, in what form we do not know. Vasudeva obviously refers to the Kṛṣṇa legend, which, however, is absent both in inscriptions and images. Similarly the Pancharatra School does not find mention anywhere. We have also no knowledge of the monks of this sect. But it is established that whatever be the order, Viṣṇu was universally worshipped. The image in Changu who is called Hari gets obeisance in the very earliest inscriptions from king Mānadeva. This antedates any such images of the deities of Brahmanical pantheon. So we have no reason to believe that because of the popularity of the Pāśupatas the people had neglected Viṣṇu. In the Harihara image also respected by the Pāśupata monks Viṣṇu is one of the dual Supreme Being manifested. Thus Viṣṇu and Śiva seem to be equally revered. This was, however, not the case with Brahma. Except two images of his no extant records talk of him as a deity being worshipped by devotees.

Rituals

Image worship was very popular, but the same was not as elaborate as it came to be in the days when esoteric rites prevailed.

No records of our period talk of Tantric mode of worship, such as, accompanied by *nyasa*, *mudra*, etc. The rites performed are very simple with ceremonial bath of the image, offering flowers to the deity, burning of lamp and incense at the altar.

The Yājnika in the Khapinche (Patan city) and other inscriptions suggests the rite of *yajna*, offering upon the sacred fire.

There are certain inscriptions which talk of worship rituals in the temple. The mother of Bhaumagupta donated land for the worship of Śivalinga which included the paraphernalia noted above such as अम्पङ्गस्नप नावंन गंधधूपवलिनिवेदनादि प्रवर्तनार्थम् (Gnoli, XVI). In another record we have similar statement, e.g., स्नपन गंधपुष्प धूप प्रदीप वर्षवर्धन etc., exactly the same kind of ritual.

The *japa* (muttering prayers) was also a part of the paraphernalia. *Kāraṇapūjā*[9] is mentioned in a few inscriptions with reference to Śivalingas. But the first record to mention Kāraṇapūjā is one of Vasantadeva's inscriptions[10] dedicated to Viṣṇu.

Not until the time of Jiṣṇugupta *Kāraṇapūjā* is mentioned anywhere in the inscriptions as a ritual.

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In addition to this the nature of *karanapuja* is little known from the records. *Kāraṇapūjā* is said to be offered to Śiva worshipped in the school of Pāśupata. The *Pāśupata Sūtra*, composed in the centuries before Christ, is the chief treatise guiding the life of the Pāśupatas. According to *Pāśupata Sūtra* the God Śiva Paśupati is the cause of the universe as well as the destroyer and the agency who preserved it. Although it cannot be said precisely, yet we can suggest that *Kāraṇapūjā* must mean a ritual associated with Paśupati who was the *karana* creating the universe because in our inscriptions the deities mentioned by those receiving the *pūjā* are *Śivalingas*.

The pūjā is not well defined but according to one inscription (n. LIX of Gnoli) is said to consist, among others, of bathing the deity, dressing it with *chandana* (sandal wood), burning of incense and lamp before the object of worship, silently and without being heard utter the name of the Lord (japa), and meditation, etc.

I do not suppose that the *karanapuja* is a part of the Tantric rites. The rituals prescribed as aforesaid do not involve acts like anointation and reanointation of the object said to represent the deity.

The Padmapūjā

Jayadeva's Paśupati inscription talks of Padmapuja in honour of Lord Paśupati. The worship is done by offering eight petalled lotus to the image. The lotus was made of silver but looking like arcatone. The fully blown lotus is lauded in several verses in the inscription. It is called the very lotus grown out of the navel of Viṣṇu, out of which Brahma rose. It is also suggested to be the same kind of lotus which is held by Bodhisatva, Karunamaya (Lokesvara) in his hand.

Lord Paśupati is addressed as the destroyer of Tripurasura, as the deity of eight bodies, full of contradictory qualities, godly yet naked, all immanent yet small like an atom, master of the pramatha-ganas but he who is not ashamed of dancing, such is God Pasupatinatha. Brahma prays to him with his four mouths, the great Skandha salutes him and prays with all his six mouths, the snake God Vasuki adores him with his two thousand tongues and the Ravana also offers prayers. No other details are provided about the ritual.

Although the cult of Pancha Buddha and Lokesvara and Maitreya was popular, we have little evidence of ritualistic Buddhism, such as we find in the 10th-11th centuries. The rituals mentioned in relation to worship we have just mentioned are all in regard to deities of the Śaivo-Viṣṇu sect.

In the words of the Wang Hiuen T'se's memoir 'the Nepalese adored the five celestial spirits . . . . . They roast a lamb and offer it to sacrifice'.

The offer of roast lamb to a deity is not mentioned in classical treatises nor there is any indication in our inscriptions. Probably the Chinese might have noticed a sacrificed lamb to be roasted near a temple, as even today a lamb is sacrificed before a temple and roasted.

The five celestial spirits were no other than the five Buddhas who are popularly worshipped in Nepal up till now.

The following extracts from the Chinese notice might be reproduced for further information: "The kingdom of Nepal is right to the west of Tibet. The inhabitants have the custom to shave their hair just to the level of eyebrows. They pierce their ears and suspend therein tubes made of bamboo or horn of cattle. It is a mark of beauty to have ears hanging up to the shoulders. They eat with their hands without using spoons or sticks. All their utensils are made of copper. The merchants there, moving and stationary, are numerous; cultivators rare since they do not know how to plough the earth with the bulls. They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse (New History: They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse and a bull, and which have no hole in the middle). They do not pierce the nose of their bulls. They clothe themselves with a single piece of cloth which envelops the body. They bathe themselves several times a day. Their houses are constructed of wood. The walls of these are sculptured and painted. They are very fond of scenic plays, they take part in blowing trumpets and

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beating drums. They understand fairly well calculation of destiny and researches in physical philosophy. They are equally clever in the art of calendar making. They adore five celestial spirits and sculpture their images in stone. Each day they wash them with purifying water. They roast a lamb and offer it to sacrifice."

Hiuen Tsang wrote among other things: 'The climate is cold, the people are rude and deceitful and naturally unsociable. They do not know the value of time and justice, and have no learning, but they are much skilled in arts. Their body is awkward, and their appearance is ignoble.'

Unlike what Hiuen Tsang himself says about the ugly shape of the people, the T'ang account is definitely eulogising. Nor the assertion of the pilgrim that they were mostly of coarse behaviour and ignorant is accepted by the latter. From the evidence of the T'ang-shu it appears that the people were not only well shaped but also good natured. Hiuen Tsang, however, admits that the Nepalese were also proficient in astrology and science, which shows the high state of cultural achievement attained by them at that time.

According to Hiuen Tsang Buddhism in Nepal commanded following for both the vehicles, *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* and the monks followed their own order (*Sangha*). The name of *Sangha* figures in several inscriptions.

There is also a reference to the Sangha of female monks, who belonged to the greater vehicle. The *mahasramanah* in the *Silapaila* rock inscription[11] must have been like abbots. Somebody who might be superior in hierarchy to ordinary monks. Among the *Mahayana* deities invocations are made to Lokesvara, but not one single reference is available regarding the five celestial Buddhas.

The Sangha enjoyed much influence. They were free from state influence and interference. One of the charters of Śivadeva II (Gnoli, LXXIII) states that the government could have claimed only over the body of a person committing one of the five offences (*panchaparadhakarinam*), but to Sangha were surrendered his property, house, land, wife and other properties. The enormous powers enjoyed by the Sangha is evident from the statement of this particular charter.

105. A Slab of Stone on the Platform of Chaṇḍeśvara

This inscription also omits the king's name and says only about the reign of Jiṣṇugupta who was protecting the people. This commemorates the occasion of offering of covering garment by Āchārya Pranardana. The Āchārya was far away from the fold of 4 varṇas, which means that he was no longer bound by their rules.

This inscription gives supplementary information about Pāśupatāchārya.

At the same time this strengthens what the earlier inscription spoke of Jiṣṇugupta. He was being regarded as the real king in these two inscriptions. The Lichchhavi monarch was no more in the picture.

106. Thankot

The Thankot inscription issued while bhaṭṭāraka (there is no Maharaja) Bhīmārjunadeva was on the throne from Mānagṛha, by Jiṣṇugupta from Kailāsakūtabhavana invokes the blessing of Viṣṇu lying on his back half asleep in the sea described so in the initial 4 lines. Here Śrī Jiṣṇugupta calls himself 'an ornament of the dynasty of the moon'. This is a charter addressed to the householders with their elders inhabiting the village of Thencho identified with Thankot.

The inscription records that Jiṣṇugupta's elder great grandfather Mānagupta Gomi had built a tank and had donated certain lands on the hill, north of the village freeing the people from a tax on cloth called Chokhaparā. But in course of time the land was taken possession of by the state Jiṣṇugupta out of gratitude (कृतज्ञतया) to his great grandfather executed this charter on stone and demarcated the boundary of the land freeing from the cloth tax. Besides this, he had added a special favour to the people as the people had pleased him by other works. The tax which they had to pay for

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a show of bull fight and for every plough of land in Daksinakoli grāma was cut by half. Also they were exempted from Sintukara (सिंतुकर). The whole is put like this. Those who paid 1 kārṣāpaṇa will now have to pay 8 paṇas, those who paid 8 paṇas will pay 4 paṇas, the *mallakara* was fixed at the rate of 4 paṇas.

The date is 57 Kārtika śukla 2 and the dūtaka is Yuvarāja Viṣṇugupta and in conclusion Jiṣṇugupta requests the future kings to maintain all that had been done by him with due regard as a mark of obligation to the past kings.

The inscription sheds some light on the currency system of the period, which was to give the ratio between kārṣāpaṇa and paṇa, 1 : 16. We have described the system as a whole in the text of another book.

This inscription has dropped Mahārāja from the epithets of Bhīmārjuna which was so far used in all the records. But Bhaṭṭāraka gives the meaning of a divine monarch, it does not seem that there was any intention of Jiṣṇugupta in further eroding the status of the ruler. After all he still calls himself *tatpurassara* (तत्पुरस्सरः) referring to the king. The word Mahārāja seems to have been inadvertently omitted. Neither we should think that adding deva as a suffix to his name Jiṣṇugupta wanted to enhance his power and status. He was already a de facto ruler. He had not usurped the throne, although he had rendered it weak and helpless.

Jiṣṇugupta's claim to have belonged to the moon dynasty is certainly a claim to full status of a Kṣatrīya. He adds *deva* after his name.

What meaning the word Chokhparā conveys is not clear from the inscription. It appears that in Thankot hills, the cultivation of crops was done by bullock drawn ploughs. The tax was realised on the basis of an assessment based on how much tilling was done by a pair of bullocks in a day. This system prevailed in hill areas of the Nepal Valley until recently.

The Word 'Deva'

Relying on Amarasimha's statement (rājābhaṭṭāraka devo), an author reads something of an usurpation by Jiṣṇugupta with the expression 'Jiṣṇuguptadevah' appearing in the charter of Thankot. He thinks that Jiṣṇugupta had deprived Bhīmārjunadeva of the right to call himself Maharaja. He argues that when the title Lichchhavi 'Kulaketu' was missing Bhimarjuna is referred to as 'Simhasanadhyasi'. 'Kulaketu' was a recognition of a nominal title to the throne but for all practical purposes he was to appear before the people as non-existent. He also says that by claiming descent from the moon god Jiṣṇugupta wanted to show himself equally entitled to occupy the throne.

I do not think that Jiṣṇugupta ever thought of usurpation of the throne as in the next 3 inscriptions Bhimarjunadeva is very much in the position of a monarch with the title of Lichchhavi Kulaketu and bhattaraka and mahārāja (108, 109). The word Deva might not always be added to the royal names or any name with deva as suffix may not pass as royal. If we accept the critic's argument then mahasamanta Jivadeva would be linked to the royal Lichchhavi family (n. 99). And why not look into Indian inscriptions? Not to speak of Maurya, Sunga and Yuechi (Kuṣāna) dynasties, we do not think any monarch of the Gupta dynasty ever added *Deva* to his name. This is unknown to emperors and kings who ruled over a large or small part of India. It is for this reason that we should discount any suggestion of adoption of a king's status by Jiṣṇugupta with the word *deva* added to his name in this inscription. The argument, however, might cause confusion. Why should Jiṣṇugupta add *deva* after his name in this inscription? It could be just a whim of Jiṣṇugupta or his scribe to add *deva* misconceiving that it goes to enhance his prestige. Perhaps being not aware of the real purport of the word *deva* Jiṣṇugupta's scribe suffered from the same complex as our compiler.

Jiṣṇugupta had not founded a ruling dynasty in the sense that it replaced the Lichchhavi dynasty. But as head of the government he had founded a dynasty. His position was like that of Śrī Mahārāja in the heyday of the Rana regime (1856-1950) when the king was a puppet though he never appeared with such titles. The practice of having the prince appointed as dūtaka was Jiṣṇugupta's original,

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which was adopted later by Narendradeva and his successors. As he ruled, his son Viṣṇugupta was the dūtaka in all of his charters. In Viṣṇugupta's charters Śrīdharagupta appears as dūtaka. Both are yuvarāja. Possibly the Lichchhavi Mahārājas of Mānagṛha were without any issues. It is also likely that Jiṣṇugupta might have thought of his own son or grandson to succeed as monarch. But Viṣṇugupta's ouster in 641 A.D. prevented him to carry out the intention. Thus Śrīdharagupta was the last in the line of Jiṣṇugupta.

107. Maligaon

The first line of the Maligaon inscription shows Kailāśakūṭabhavana. In all likelihood, the charter was issued from Kailasakutabhavana. But 8 lines thence are completely damaged. However it can be guessed that Bhīmarjunadeva's name does not find a place. This means that he was ignored.

But he appears in the next two inscriptions.

The inscription is dated 57 Phalguna sukla 7 and the dūtaka is Yuvaraja Śrīdharagupta. As Śrīdharagupta appears as dūtaka in Viṣṇugupta's inscriptions, the Maligaon stele must belong to Viṣṇugupta's period. Obviously Jiṣṇugupta had died in Samvat 57 any time between the month of Mārgaśirṣa and Phālguna śukla.

In issuing the charter Viṣṇugupta states that the provisions were designed to remove the distress of the people (deśapīḍāparihāraniṣṭham).

Curiously the secretariat Kailāsakūṭa comes in the beginning. Some lines are damaged, and we do not know what facts were mentioned in these. But this is the only record which talks of women living with males as wife by deserting their married husbands. The following passage will reveal that Narada's precept in respect of choosing to live with a second husband was followed in Nepal. We proceed to deal with this problem in the next few passages.

The inscription deals with the subject of husband and wife relationship, desertion by the wife and the extent of state interference to regulate it. This is a vyavastha (arrangement) emanating from the royal order. On the husband's disappearance, death, renouncing the world as a monk, being fallen (perhaps due to crime or physical fitness), disgrace, being lost, or if the wife takes to another husband or if a wife deviates from her conjugal relationship because of some other reasons immediately after the marriage and yet she goes to live with another husband without enjoying the status of a married wife i.e. becomes concubine but has no issues then the kinsmen . . . . . After being fallen if she takes another husband and in that state also continues to have no issue the matter lies within the jurisdiction of Mapchoka. Such cases the department should handle according to its rules. The Mapchoka is also entitled to hold the property declared in their name belonging to women who are dead. But there might be many young women who are not satisfied with men, have abandoned with the sense of shame, are deprived of virtues, have tended on tense and have developed loose character and if such young women devoid of sexual satisfaction but full of sexual passions get dissatisfied with their first husband and run after men and give birth to children they lie outside the jurisdiction of the Māpchoka department.

It is strange that only in the event of bearing no child a profligate woman is liable to punishment while shifting her conjugal loyalty from one male to the other. Perhaps the law took this shape to increase the population as Nepal was then very sparsely populated. But there is another inscription which throws more light on this subject. The present inscription says that Viṣṇugupta is determined to uproot the unhappiness of the country and therefore he has promulgated this decree. He calls upon the future kings to respect the royal decree as they are used to this practice and treat the same as their own coming as it does from a past king.

The inscription quotes a passage from a Smṛti text, which mentions conditions in which women can remarry. Perhaps the passage is taken from Nārada. We reproduce the texts here to give an idea of how the kings used the views of Nārada to support their measure. But the charter does not have good opinion of women in general when they abandon their married husbands for any reason.

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Here we quote the passage from the inscription, which looks very similar to a verse attributed to Nārada:

व्यवस्थे यमुपदा—स—वुपरते नष्ठे प्रवजितेपिवा पतिते पियदृष्टे—यो षितामपर: पति—मादिभि: कारणैर परैरपि कारणान्तौ—विवाहात्पतन कालं संग्रहणेना परं पतिमुपयोता निरपत्या योषितो ज्ञातिभि: व———या यदि परिभ्रश्यान्यत्पत्यन्न मुपादत एवं द्वितीय संग्रह मुपयाता

This is followed by another passage. This passage underlines the freedom of a woman to take a second husband on certain conditions such as when he disappears, dies or becomes impotent or forsakes her to adopt monkhood and is thus fallen from character. But by stating for other reasons it also adds further conditions to her choice of second marriage keeping her in all the greater advantageous position. But taking a second husband is regarded as a fallen state after marriage, and so this was not considered proper which means society abhorred it though it was not punishable physically. But only the act of marriage was treated like this. What has been said in the passage following seems to lay a greater stress on the issues who could inherit the mother's property after they had taken to the third marriage.

It is said that all women who cohabited with a man other than the married one and bear no issues fell under the clutches of the Mapchoka department. In their cases as it suits the system the declared property in their names will likewise be taken possession of by those who derive their livelihood from Mapchoka office. The charter then proceeds to regulate the conduct of women not satisfied with two husbands. But there were also women who were after more and more men: पुरुष परितोषमभावयित्वा वहुशोपि व्यपेत लज्जा: प्रखल स्वभावाश्चारित्र धर्मोपगता युवत्य सन्तोष हीना: प्रथमे विरक्ता रागानुरापक्ता: पुरुषंभजन्ने। Because they are sexually satisfied with one man they have taken up as second husband they want more of them. They have developed loose character. They are fallen having lost virtues and good conduct. Ever wanting in satisfaction, she full of sexual desire feels at first disgusted with the man closest to her.

But a kind of remarriage is advocated by a few sages in the ancient time. Nārada and Parāsara openly support second marriage of a woman.

The *Baudhyāyana Dharmasutra* states by implication that if the husband is impotent or outcaste, she could bear a child from another and this child was called *punarbhava* (II, 2.31).

Parāsara:

नष्टे मृते प्रवजिते क्लीवेच पतिते पतौ
पञ्चस्यापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधियते IV·30

However, if she can remain unmarried, she will get a place in heaven:

मृते भर्तरियानारी ब्रह्मचर्य व्रतस्पिता
सामृता लभते स्वर्गं यथाते ब्रह्मचारिण:

The best state is that of a woman who dies along with her husband because by self-immolation she is entitled to live in heaven for 3½ koti years:

तिस्रकोट्योर्द्ध कोटीचयानिलोभानि मानुषे
तावत्कालं वसेत्स्वर्गं भर्तारयानु गच्छति IV·32

Nārada:

नष्टे मृते प्रवजिते क्लीवेच पतिते पतौ
पञ्च स्यापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधियते (स्त्रीपुंस V·97)

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Agnipurana has also the same verse (154, 5-6). This occurs in our inscriptions also but we do not know which exactly was the source from which it was borrowed. Although the rights implied in this verse are referred to the yuga that was preceding (?). This can only mean that they did not apply for the time they were written. But Viṣṇugupta's charter categorically allows second marriage in similar conditions, and therefore the yuga factor is dispensed with. Not only that when marriage in Dharmasastra was regarded as a samskara and not subject to divorce, here in ancient Nepal as governed by the charter it was not so as far as the conditions laid down by the Smṛtikaras went.

Narada is the only Smṛti writer to deal with the question of remarrige in detail. He talks of punarbhu at great length, and defines their 7 categories. They constitute a woman's career at different stages between her engagement and ritual marriage. Narada has another sort of woman called Svairini often applied to one who goes to a man out of love rejecting her married husband or given to an unknown person because of being a wanton.

Viṣṇugupta flourished in the thirties of the 6th century A.D. He wanted to give legality under decrees to all such practices where women desert their husbands but produce issues. Perhaps this was already in vogue and the state tolerated it. Viṣṇugupta regularised the practice.

From Indian history it appears that second marriage of a female was prohibited in the Gupta period. Manu who wrote his works in the early years of the Christian era (some say he wrote to please the Brahmana Emperors of the Sunga dynasty of North India) strictly prohibited remarriage, but allowed it on conditions of the husband's disappearance, death, renouncing the world (प्रवज्या) and disgrace. But his statement is contradictory.

The inscription is given a great importance by Viṣṇugupta. He passes it on to the future generations as something done to remove the causes of distress of the country (deśapīdaparihāraheto) as we have already suggested.

It appears that the problem of women of profligate character was serious enough to cause anxiety to the people in general and the state in particular and Viṣṇugupta had taken steps to remedy the situation.

But it should be borne in mind that every woman mentioned in the inscription was of a profligate character. Viṣṇugupta had in his mind not those who following Nārada's advice had taken another husband. When he talks of profligate women, he means those who run after men for the satisfaction of their strong sexual urge.

108. Yangahiti

The Yangahiti inscription issued by Viṣṇugupta as the Regent of Lichchhavi Kulaketu bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Bhīmārjunadeva throws light on the image of the Jalaśayana Viṣṇu.

Viṣṇugupta extends rewards to those who helped to carry the large stone piece that was suitable for carving the image of Jalaśayana Viṣṇu on it. The Regent was happy that such a stone was drawn to its destination by the people of Dakṣiṇakoligrāma who were living in the 4 parts of the dranga delimited earlier, to whom certain concessions were granted in respect of ornaments to be worn by women. The ornaments which they now could wear as a result of the favour granted in the charter were all ornaments for the neck or breast all except padaka which was worn on the upper arms such as Keyura (bracelet) and Nepura (ornament for the breast or neck). This was an additional concession to those who had already been granted the right to wear ornaments in general.

But those who lived in the delimited areas were liable to certain punishments. Those who committed theft, adultery, murder, treason and similar offences were liable to be convicted, and the convicts were to surrender their shares of houses, lands, cattle (ātmīyameva gṛhakṣetra godhanādi dravyam) and other properties to the king. But it had been decreed that nothing belonging to brothers, sons and wives was to be touched, and no one, other than the person carrying the blame, was to get the least harassment.

Any disadvantage the people suffered in regard to wearing of ornaments will be looked upon as a

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gross act of discrimination practised by the ruling aristocracy as against their people.

How the general mass of the people were treated by the aristocracy is known from this inscription. All the inscriptions available in the Yangahiti are addressed to the people of Dakṣiṇakoli grama and inscriptions meant for the people of Yupa grāma are found in the present day Patan, whichever part of the city the original site might belong to. It appears that south Kathmandu was Dakṣiṇakoli grama and Yupa grama is Patan. Similarly Navagrha appears to be the Deopatana (Patan) as Hamsagrha lay somewhere to the south of Bhadgaon. But nothing can be said of other sites, whether gramas or drangas and attempts to identify them have so far failed.

109. Bhṛṅgāreśvara Temple Compound

The letters are damaged from 8th to 12th lines, at least half of each line. The entry of one office is prohibited but which office is not known because of the damage, and we also do not know what Mapchoka vastu means at the end of the next line. This might be an article contributed to the Mapchoka office.

In a different wording the punishment for murder, enticement, theft etc. was the same as prescribed in the preceding inscription, which was to confiscate the property of the guilty and not involve his relations.

The dūtaka here is Yuvarāja Śrīdharagupta who could be Viṣṇugupta's brother or son and the date is Samvat 65 Phālguna śukla 2. The date is exactly a year later to the Yangahiti inscription. The Mānagṛha is still extant up to this time and so is its occupant to whom some sort of recognition as monarch is given. Like his father Viṣṇugupta though claiming near equal status with the king had not usurped the throne, although in Maligaon inscription and in the Changu stele (hereafter appearing) the puppet is ignored.

But which is the Jalaśayana Viṣṇu referred to in the two inscriptions? The large stone which was suitable for carving the image of sleeping Viṣṇu on it was pulled to its site by the inhabitants of Bhṛṅgāreśvara and Dakṣiṇakoligrāma panchalikas to fulfil Viṣṇugupta's ardent desire to carve the image of Viṣṇu on it. The verses invoking the Lord's blessing describe him as the God sleeping on the serpent in the midst of waters (*toyāśaye bhujaga bhogavare prasupto*). The toyāśaye obviously refers to a pond where at the centre a platform is raised to support the reclining God. This kind of image of Śeṣaśāyī at the centre of a small pond or tank is available at several places, and they were set up both in ancient and medieval times. But there are three images all placed at the centre of the tanks, which attract our notice as creations of the ancient period. They are (1) Būdhānīlakantha, of course, wrongly so named at the foot of the Sivapuri hill, the northern extremity of the valley, (2) Bālāju at the foot of the Nagarjung hill, a mile from Kathmandu to the north east and (3) Jalaśayana Viṣṇu in the garden of the old royal palace at Kathmandu.

Although in another context some years earlier we had given a wrong date for the Bālāju image, the art style definitely pushes it back to the early period. So we have to compare the three and try to identify the one with the image set up by Viṣṇugupta.

Quoting a passage from Gopala Rajvamsavali, a Nepalese writer and relying on him an American authress identifies Viṣṇugupta's Jalaśayana image with Būdhānīlakaṇṭha. The passage in GR(V^1) states 'after setting up a large image of Viṣṇu in his own measurement and his two sons on two sides on the bank of the river Bagmati he established another image, that of Viṣṇu Jalaśayana in a large size along with a beautiful temple in Narasimhasthana the northern hill and Viṣṇugupta ruled for 71 years' (f. 22a).

Narasimha pānchālī in the same area is known from the inscription of Būdhānīlakaṇṭha. But how much credibility could be given to V^1 as far as the chronicle of the period upto the 8th century goes is still a question. To my mind it seems that it suffers from the same kind of shortcomings as the later Vamsavalis.

Viṣṇugupta is said to belong to a dynasty of the moon which had gained victory over the Sun

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dynasty. His predecessor was Śivagupta (regnal year 74) and his successor Bhumigupta who had set up the image of Vārāha with the earth. The V[1] adds 'Thereafter 3 kings of the Gopala dynasty ruled. Then the dynasty was conquered by the Sun dynasty of Śivadeva whose nephew (sister's son) Amśuvarmā became a successor.'

Now we know that Viṣṇugupta was Jiṣṇugupta's son, and both these were de facto rulers and there were some other rulers on the throne. We also know that Viṣṇugupta was the second man to hold power after Amśuvarmā but V[1] places Viṣṇugupta long before him. Jiṣṇugupta's name is totally missing. It is obvious that the statement of V[1] goes against the basis of chronology as available to us from the reliable evidence of the inscriptions which mention the Lichhavi family on the throne. No doubt a grave error has been committed as to the royal names, who were responsible for the creation of the images we are dealing with at this stage. Unless we establish a chronology of de jure rulers, the identity of the image is difficult to establish.

Leaving aside V[1] it will be reasonable to assume that either the image of the royal palace of Kathmandu or the Balaju Jalasayi were the images referred to in the two inscriptions of Viṣṇugupta. The people of Dakṣiṇakoligrāma identified with the present day Kathmandu had brought the stone to their place where probably the carving was done and the image installed. We have not traced any inscription so far in the region north of Kathmandu city, which could say that the stone was removed towards this part. The find of such materials is not exhausted and we may wait till then for the disposal of the problem. But then why jump to any conclusion before it comes to be traced?

Jalaśayana Image in the Two Inscriptions

When people try to identify Viṣṇugupta's Jalaśayana Nārāyaṇa with Budhanilakantha situated at the foot of the Śivapuri hill at the farthest northern end of the Valley, they forget an important omission in Viṣṇugupta's inscriptions as to places through which the large stone was drawn to arrive at its destination.

It looks that the stone was brought from the hill not far from the present site of Bhṛngareśvara. No doubt the stone was lying in the hill at the south end of the Valley. The Bhṛngareśvara inscription tells us that the people of Bhṛṅgāra Pānchālī had helped to draw the stone through. The Dakṣiṇakoligrāma record of the inscription bears testimony to the help rendered by the people of this area to pull the large stone from the point where the Bhṛṅgāra Pānchālikā people had brought it. It might be that the people of the two villages had both put their strength together to pull the stone. If Dakṣiṇakoligrāma is today's Kathmandu, it appears that the large stone on which the Jalaśayana image was carved was brought upto this stage. But we have no information that the stone was drawn towards the north of Dakṣiṇakoligrāma. There is absolutely no inscription to tell us its pull towards the north.

There were many settlements in between present Kathmandu upto the site of Budhanilakantha and Kathmandu. As yet we are denied the availability of records showing that the stone had an upward passage and it was drawn to the present site of Budhanilakantha. Obviously the destination of the stone was somewhere in Daksinakoligrama, to which the people of this village had helped to bring it as Viṣṇugupta wanted.

From Kathmandu to the foothill at the northern end of the valley the distance is nearly 12 km. Kathmandu was halfway between the south and the north end. It involved no less a stupendous labour force to pull the stone through its course, and en route the stone had to pass through many settlements. It is clear that to get it pulled from the stone quarry in the hill south of Chapagaon to Bhṛṅgara village and then to Dakṣiṇakoligrāma was not an ordinary task. The two inscriptions speak of the ruler's appreciation of the hard labour the people had to put in fulfilling their obligations and they had been rewarded the way as is stated in the records. And here the matter ended as the goal was achieved. Obviously the destination of the stone was not as far as Śivapuri foothill. If the destination was the foothill of Mt. Śivapuri many others, elders and villagers would have helped in the draught. But no villages north of Dakṣiṇakoligrāma are known to have been a party to drawing the said stone.

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Dakṣiṇakoligrāma is obviously the last destination.

The V[1] stated that Viṣṇugupta installed an image of Jalaśayana in a beautiful temple in Narasimha Pānchālikā in the north hill—tatah punascha uttra pravata (uttara parvata) tina madhye Narasimhasthane mahachchhilamaya Viṣṇu jalaśayana atisundara āvāsa sahitam krtavān (f. 22a). This Viṣṇugupta is the son of Śivagupta who had conquered the king of the Solar dynasty. Including Bhūmigupta they are the three kings of the Gopāla dynasty.

The solar dynasty included the kings whose names are given in the Changu Narayana Pillar inscription but not in that order. The V[1] has its own chronology which does not conform to the list of the inscriptions:

Visvadeva, his son
Mānadeva, his son
Śankaradeva, his son
Dharmadeva, his son
Mahīdeva, his son
Vasantadeva, his son
Udayadeva, his son
Gaṇadeva, his son
and
Śankaradeva

Then Champādeva reigned and was followed by Bhīmadeva. He was the last king of the Solar dynasty. The V[1] says after the Gopala dynasty the Solar dynasty is restored with Śivadeva, and then Amśuvarmā, his sister's son, founded a new dynasty, and later Mahīpala from Gabuṭa is introduced as king. But he loses the throne, and once again the Solar family comes to power. The names of Dhruvavarmā, Bhīmārjunadeva, and Narendradeva, Śivadeva and again Narendradeva figure one after the other.

I am at a loss to account for the names appearing in this chronology and it is too difficult for me to say what action should be attributed to which of these. The order shown here is simply disorder. Reality has given way to fiction, and I do not think we can separate grains out of the chaff. It is most likely that the image of Jalaśayana Viṣṇu at the foot of the northern hill was not set up by Viṣṇugupta but by somebody else and that too much earlier. It is true that by mentioning Narasiṁhasthāna in the hill of the north, whose Jalaśayana is said to have an image made and enshrined by Viṣṇugupta the statement of V[1] seems to give us a factual account in view of the presence of the image at the moment, but what I think is that the compiler in the 14th century mixed up facts with fiction and created a tangled web. To be sure there was a tradition that Viṣṇugupta had set up the image at Budhanilakantha and this tradition grew out of the Yangahiti and Bhṛṅgāreśvara inscriptions. The compiler did not look into the probability or otherwise of the sleeping Viṣṇu at the northern end of the Valley far from the town of Kathmandu. His belief rested on the tradition, which again was built up around the two inscriptions, the Bhṛṅgāreśvara and Yangahiti. Nobody knows how the tradition grew and led to the misplacement of names in the chronology. We are yet to know who actually set up the Jalaśayana Viṣṇu known as Budhanilakantha. As its reference is there in Amśuvarmā's Harigaon inscription, the image is older than his age. It shall appear that Viṣṇugupta's image lies in the Bhandarkhal part of the old palace in Kathmandu.

We cannot depend on the V[1] as we cannot do on modern chronicles. They depend on traditions built on false premises. The chroniclers were misled on many points. They were misled to give a dynasty to those persons whose surname was Varmā. Inscriptions in the name of Amśuvarmā's own relations such as those of his nephew Bhogavarmā (sister's son) (n. 80) and of Rajaputra Nandavarmā, Jiṣṇuvarmā and Bhīmavarmā (n. 100, Ādeśvara) helped to create a false tradition of rule by Amśuvarmā's descendants. The dūtakas in many of Śivadeva's inscriptions such as Deśavarmā and Vipravarmā did also much to create misunderstanding. When traditions grow, real or false, they die

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hard, and we are at a loss to face a genealogy of fictitious dynasties.

Migration into the Valley

One writer has readily accepted the story of immigration into the valley of Nepal by people such as Kirātas, Lichchhavis, Mallas, Ābhiras, Vṛjjikas and Koliyas. The Lichchhavis were one of the astavṛjji Sanghas. It is said that they were identical peoples.

But we have seen that it is difficult to believe the fact of emigration of all these ethnic groups. Emigration had taken place on a large scale but whether it embraced all these groups is a question.

The theory of migration of Mallas may not be a myth. But the Śakyas and Koliyas had not certainly migrated. The Vṛjjikas, probably a collective name for the Lichchhavis, and others in the area might have migrated in times of stress being under attack by outside elements. Both in the case of the Lichchhavis and Ābhiras, we may accept a migration of a section which could influence the cultural advancement of the valley. There is no doubt that the Lichchhavis had given to Nepal what we call the culture and civilisation in its ancient history.

The trace of Kirāta culture is invisible due to non-identity as well as non-availability of data identified with the complex. We do not know as yet what Kirāta culture is and meant in that context. But a type of Indo-Mongoid people must have migrated and formed a section of the Valley's migrant population. Perhaps they had come in a large number and swamped the Valley, though they themselves were in a semi-barbarous state they could, however, impose their dialect. But where are the Lichchhavis and the Ābhiras who are said to have migrated to the valley? Supposing the migration of Koliyas and Mallas had taken place and the Śakyas had also migrated we face in their case also the same question as to how they came and by what route. Those who have left a level of culture or some aspects of it in the form of images are the Lichchhavis and it is to their credit that we face no problems.

Since centuries and centuries elapsed the creators of what we now call the Nepalese civilisation had vanished. Their identity is lost in the population that came into being. We do not know how this culture changed and grew to height and refinement and when it developed maturity. Unless the issues of migration are clear we are not in a position to say anything about the nature of migration.

The Lichchhavis or whoever they were made Nepal what it was culturally in 4th-8th centuries. They were undoubtedly makers of the glorious culture of the Valley.

To whatever race they might have belonged the Lichchhavis, Ābhiras or others it looks certain that there was a large scale migration from the south and southeast. If we have doubted the fact of the Lichchhavi linear connection of the ruling family or the Ābhira origin of the powerful feudal families such as familial class of Ravigupta, Bhaumagupta, Aṁśuvarmā and Jiṣṇugupta it is not to disown the fact of migration. We are not very sure of the Śakyas, Mallas and Koliyas migrating into the Valley from the western region. But it is an undebatable fact that Nepal received a large scale migration from the Terai belt in the south and this migration was mainly responsible for the creation of a degree of culture that was in evidence during a period of 600 years from the 4th-10th centuries A.D.

The Lichchhavīs and Ābhiras

The Lichchhavīs were kings of Nepal and the Ābhira Guptas were either domineering Prime Ministers or de facto rulers. Their presence in the society in the 5th-8th centuries is significant. Although they migrated from the south of the border they must have come in a large number as they formed dominant sections in the society. They were in a way associated with the birth and growth of what we now call civilisation and culture of ancient Nepal. It is for all these reasons that we write something about them, their race and original home from where they came to this country.

The Lichchhavī and Ābhira families seem to appear in Nepal almost simultaneously, and at the initial stage while the kings belonged to the Lichchhavī family, Ābhira Guptas functioned as high dignitaries in the realm.

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The original home of the Lichchhavīs was in Vaiśālī. They were one of the 8 members of the Vṛjjikagaṇa sanghas (asta vṛjjisangha).

They were one of the people who received Buddha's relics (ashes) after his death. Buddhist texts mention them, for example the *Mahaparinibbāṇasutta* states that the Lichchhavīs claimed Buddha's ashes on account of their Kṣatriya lineage. They sent a messenger to Kusinārā and to the Mallas who was asked to say 'Buddha was a Kṣatriya, so are we, on account of common lineage we deserve to obtain the relics'.

Manu, whatever age he lived in, calls them Vrātya Kṣatriyas, such as have deviated from their traditional way of life of a Kṣatriya (*rājanya*). According to him they had downgraded themselves like the Jhallas, Mallas, Dravidas, Naṭas, Karaṇas and Khasas. We quote Manu, *Jhallo mallaścha rajanyād vrātyānnichchhavi revacha nataścha karaṇaschaiva khaso dravida evacha* (X.22). Manu is said to have used the word Nichchhavī but it is the same as Lichchhavī. Nichchhavī however is a mistake of Kulluka Bhaṭṭa, one of the commentators because other commentaries have Lichchhavī. Buddhist texts have either Lichchhavī or Lechchhavī. The Parinirvaṇasutta has Lichchhavī. The Sanskrit Divyāvadāna has Lichchhavī, whereas Mahavastu has Lechchhavī. The Jaina texts have invariably Lichchhavī. Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, was a Lichchhavī prince.

The Lichchhavīs ruled the Nepal Valley from 4th-8th centuries. They were undoubtedly creators of the culture that is known as Nepal's glory today. They are lost in the multitude. They are still alive through the culture still in evidence and to some extent living. The Kiratas whatever the time they migrated came to dominate the Nepal Valley so as to impose their language of the inscriptions used in the 11th century and afterwards. If this gives any indication of the nature of the language what is known as Newari today was spoken by the ordinary people even in the earlier period of our history and this is so in particular. But a civilised society came into existence only in the Lichchhavī period. The Kiratas as primitive people had migrated to overwhelm the local population because their number was larger than that of any other migrant section and there is no doubt that the latter absorbed them but in return accepted their language though everything worked under the dominant Sanskritic influence.

Who were the original settlers of the Valley? This question might come again and again. Perhaps they were the Austroids or Mediterranean people the common ancestors of the Santals, Saravas, Kolis and Bhils.

Kauṭilya mentions Lichchhavikas, Vṛjjikas, Mallakas, Madrakas, Kukuras, Pānchalas and others living by '*rāja śabda*'. This may mean that they use the title of a king for livelihood.

The Lichchhavīs are not heard of since the death of the Buddha. But they seem to be living in early Gupta period about the beginning of the Gupta period. They had probably a kingdom in North Bihar. Chandragupta, the first Emperor of the Gupta family, had married Kumāradevī, a Lichchhavi princess, whose name appears in his coin along with the word Lichchhavayah. His son Samudragupta is called Lichchhavi dauhitra in Harisena's Allahabad Pillar inscription and subsequent inscriptions of himself and Kumaragupta I (Bhilsad GS 96), Skandagupta (Bhitari and Bihar Pillar) and Kumaragupta II (Bhitari Seal). If the Gupta Emperors take pride in their relation with the Lichchhavīs, the latter must have been really a distinguished royal family or race. But we are not told as to where they lived. It is possible that about the time of Chandragupta I the ruling family had migrated to Nepal, for we do not hear anything about them in Indian records since then.

The Ābhiras

Literally the Ābhira is connected with the cattle. They were known to the Mahābhārata. It was said that they lived in the area along the bank of the river Indus (or Sindhu). According to Mahābhārata the Ābhiras were one of the people who brought presents to Yudhiṣṭhira on the occasion of the Rājasūya Sacrifice. The Ābhiras also came to attack Arjuna while he was returning from Dvarakā carrying with him Krishna's widows and defeated him in several skirmishes (XVI, 7, 45-49). They

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were a brave and courageous tribe who came to India from the north-west prior to Śakas and spread all over the Punjab. The Āhiras (Yādavas) whose occupation was to rear cattle was another name of the Ābhiras. According to Amarakośa (2/9/5) the Ābhira is a synonym for a gopāla—go samkhya godhu gabhira ballabah. Patanjali in his bhasya states *Sudrabhira go bali bardhanau* that the traditional duty of an Ābhira who was a Sudra lay in rearing cattle.

Kātyāyana, the writer of Vārtika on Pāṇini, uses the word mahāśudra and explained by the Kesikā refers to the Ābhira tribe (*naisa doṣah iha tāvat śudrābhiramiti Ābhiraṇi jātyāntarani*). The Ābhiras were taken as Śudra by some and Ksatriyas by others. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa probably following Kātyāyana places them in the category of Śudras dwelling in Saurāṣṭra and the desert belt of the river Narmadā:

सौराष्ट्रावन्तिशूद्रा भीरान्नर्मदा मरूभूमि विषयश्चव्रात्या द्विजाभीराशूद्रा द्या भोक्षन्ति (IV.24.66)

They were Vrātyas i.e. fallen from dharma. Varāhamihira, the great astronomer of the 6th century A.D., talks of the Ābhiras living in the nairitya (southwestern) direction. The Ābhira kingdom of Gujerat has a history of its own. The kings of this dynasty ruled for centuries.

It is known how the Ābhiras came to a country so far as Nepal in the central Himalayas and settled in the Valley. It must have been a long and arduous journey. Here they appear as Kṣatriyas of the Moon dynasty as we know from one of Jiṣṇugupta's inscriptions where he calls himself an ornament of the lunar dynasty (*somānvaya bhuṣaṇa*).

Kolis

Kolis had disappeared since the time of the Buddha like the Sakyas. There is no evidence of their coming to Nepal travelling so far from the country, the region east of Kapilavastu, and from a river to the Gandak. How they travelled and by which route is beyond our comprehension and the question comes as to what was the reason which impelled them to go to Nepal and not to the southern country south of their border. The south was the normal travelling area. If they had sought migration they surely went to further south in Gorakhpur and Deoria districts of the present day Uttara Pradeśa. It was simply impossible to take the route to Kathmandu valley, which is approached with severe difficulties through jungles and the hills and ferocious animals. But some Kolis might have penetrated into the valley in the later period when they faced total extinction, or the name of the village was just reminiscent of the tribe which had the honour to claim the illustrious Buddha's mother as their daughter.

They are not the only Kolis. At the moment there is a Koli tribe in the sub-Himalayan tract of the Himachal Pradesa north of the Punjab. They are treated as low caste people and untouchable.

110. A Stele in Changu Nārāyaṇa Temple

This is the last inscription of Viṣṇugupta who reconstructs the water conduit which had grown old because of time, the gate of the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Changu. The water conduit was originally built by Bhogavarmā. The reconstruction was planned in memory of his father Jiṣṇugupta. The water conduit was 'the banner of the fame', and was brought from a source from a place at a distance which lay like an armpit of a hill. He built also another water conduit. In the beginning there is a verse invoking the blessing of the deity Viṣṇu. Viṣṇugupta calls his father 'a moon of the earth' (kṣititata śaśi). After the construction the flow of water was uninterrupted.

The record establishes the fact that Viṣṇugupta was Jiṣṇugupta's son.

All steles of Jiṣṇugupta and Viṣṇugupta have at the top Viṣṇuite symbols. It appears that their primary devotion was to God Viṣṇu.

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The Śankha and Chakra are common emblems decorating the top in their inscriptions—Bhairava-dhoka (n. 99), Yangahiti (n. 103), Thankot (n. 106), Maligaon (n. 107) and Yangahiti (n. 108). But a reclining bull also finds place in the Ādeśvara and Kevalpur stones (n. 100 and 101), which shows that the family of Jiṣṇugupta was also devoted to Śiva and deeply respected him.

111, 112, 113. Tebahal, Dhumvarahi Seal I and II

The two seals of Dhumvarahi bear the statement of Buddha, the mahāśramaṇa.

The Tebahal wall slab invokes the blessing of the three jewels, the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

Triratna forms the base on which Buddhism stands. They together mean Enlightenment, the Sacred law and Congregation. Here is an invocation to the trinity. They are treated as a collective whole, and paying respects to them Priyapāla, a monk (Śākya Yati), built a well and water conduit to provide drinking water to all the living beings.

The seals and the two line inscriptions have no historical importance.

The Śākyas

As Priyapāla calls himself Śākyayati, the sage belonging to the Śākya tribe, one author thinks that he was from the Śākya country, Kapilavastu and imagines that the Śākyas had migrated to the Nepal Valley at one time.

But it is a doubtful proposition to bring the Śākyas as migrants into the Valley.

The Śākyas claimed to be of Ksatriya caste. They were a clan, to which the Buddha himself belonged. They were connected with the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhya. They were the descendants of the five sons of the first queen of king Ikṣvāku. Being expelled from Ayodhya after their mother's death they took refuge in the Terai near the foot of the sub-Himalayan ranges in the north of their original home. They claimed to have been Kṣatriyas of solar dynasty and Gotama was their family name. Gotama was also their gotra. It was one of the most respectable gotras showing descent from a highly reputed sage.

Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century visited Kapilavastu as Fa-Shien did in early 5th century. Both of them recall several anecdotes connected with Buddha's life, while he lived here. According to Hiuen Tsang the area of Śākya kingdom was 4000 li (800 miles) in circumference.

The Sattabhanga (Pachitiya, II) places the Śākyas in the highest order of Kṣatriyas.

The Sanskritic Lalitavistara and Mahāvastu narrate the events of Buddha's life. They also call the Śākyas as of pure Kṣatriya caste.

We get the information from both the Pāli and Sanskrit literature that prince Vidhudhaka after his father Prasenajit's death invaded Kapilavastu and massacred a large number of the Śākyas. The Śākya clan was completely eliminated. But this happened some time after the Buddha's death.

If we stretch our imagination a little further we can suggest that those Śākyas who could spare their life in the battle waged by Vidhudhaka, king of Kosala, might have sought asylum elsewhere. But we cannot conceive of a migration to a place as far as Nepal. It is just the same as the case of the Koliyas.

There is a practice to call the monks of the Buddhist order as Śākya bhiksu or Sakya yati. The Buddha himself was called the sage of the Śākyas. The monks who call themselves 'Sakya bhiksu' or 'Śākya yati' do so just to show that they belong to the Buddha's order and this has no relevance to their caste or race.

However, it is quite likely that the Śākyas in their flight from Kapilavastu might have tried to seek habitation far and wide. In that course they might have come to the Nepal Valley. But we do not know if the Valley of Nepal was a suitable place for human migration in the 5th century B.C. According to Sarvāstivādavinaya even the Buddha dissuaded his disciples and merchants to undertake a journey to Nepal as it was not easy job to travel through a land infested with ferocious animals

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and cruel robbers. But this description is true of the journey only. What actually was happening in Nepal in those days the Sarvāstivādavinaya does not say. And again the text is not very ancient. It was a text composed quite late before the 7th century A.D. How can it present the true picture of Nepal of the 5th century B.C.?

Jiṣṇugupta also for the People

Jiṣṇugupta also claimed abiding interest in the welfare of his people as Amśuvarmā. Even at the cost of repetition we confirm our statement by such expressions he used in various inscriptions as prajāhitaisi, wishing welfare of the people (Tavajhya, No. 97); sakala jananirupadravopāya sambhihādnatatparah, ever ready in performing actions to get the people rid of all troubles (Bhairavadhoka, No. 99); prajāhitodyukta visuddhamānasa, enjoying purity of heart due to his engagement in furthering popular interest (Kevalpur, No. 101); muditajana . . . having kept his people delighted etc., etc. Viṣṇugupta just once uses this expression as in the Bhairavadhoka inscription above. All this speaks of how every ruler claimed to speak of his interest in the welfare of his people and how he enjoyed their confidence. These epithets are very common with Amśuvarmā and Jiṣṇugupta but earlier rulers had not used them. Since Narendradeva's time, however, more flamboyant words are in use, and we are apt to imagine how the people were essentially exploited to keep up the reputation of a ruler howsoever powerful he might be.

Assessment of the Position of Jiṣṇugupta and Viṣṇugupta

Now that we have come to the conclusion of the careers of Jiṣṇugupta and Viṣṇugupta it is time that we make a real assessment of the position they occupied in their career as men behind the throne.

There is no doubt that both the father and son occupied the position of de facto kings. Though for a show they allowed the names of the de jure monarchs to appear in the records, this was more by way of a sufferance than a real desire to have them appear as reigning in the real sense of the term. But the Lichchhavī monarchs even as puppets could not be dismissed from public notice. These names had to be recorded because the men wielding real power felt that the removal of the Lichchhavī monarchs from the throne would mean troubles for themselves.

Jiṣṇugupta was aware that his ascendancy was due to the result of the coup d'etat staged in the name of Dhruvadeva whom the Chinese and Tibetan sources call Narendradeva's uncle. How could he dethrone the man who was supposed to be the central figure in the conspiracy? The Lichchhavī monarch's presence on the throne was essential at least to keep up appearances that he was ruling in the kingdom and not Jiṣṇugupta himself. Dhruva was a claimant to the throne being Udayadeva's brother, and therefore his continuing to reign preserved legitimacy. Every ruler specially the man who had usurped power was keen to display before the world that his rule was legitimate. This gave sustenance to the state he ruled, and knowing fully well that an illegitimate government could be overthrown the same way as Udayadeva's, the issue of legitimacy was more important than one could imagine. Jiṣṇugupta must have lived all the time in fear of coup d'etat from any quarter and by any individual, most of all by disgruntled elements working against his own government. Actually his son had to meet his end as a result of a conspiracy. Jiṣṇugupta lived at a crucial moment of history and there was sufficient reason to be fearful and suspicious in the situation that emerged after Udayadeva's ouster.

Jiṣṇugupta succeeds Amśuvarmā in similar capacity. In one respect he goes further than Amśuvarmā in grabbing overall power. He had helped to oust the legal occupant of the throne in favour of his brother or cousin whom he declared king of the country. As a man who owed the throne to Jiṣṇugupta's machinations Dhruvadeva naturally became subservient to him. His position was that of a puppet. This was the reason that Jiṣṇugupta was called *tatpurassarah* which would mean a leader or a man in advance or one who could represent him. Jiṣṇugupta functioned from Kailāsakūṭabhavana

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as Dhruvadeva lived in Mānagṛha. The royal palace and the secretariat were kept apart, the former in a more or less formal situation, the latter controlling the administration. Amśuvarmā never functioned from his secretariat as long as Śivadeva's name appeared in the inscriptions. The palace Kailāsakūṭa-bhavana was built by him and made the seat of the government, when Śivadeva had virtually abandoned the throne or at least dissociated with the administration.

None of Amśuvarmā's inscriptions mention Mānagṛha or the man who lived there. In the years after the coup d'etat though inscriptions referred to the Mānagṛha and its occupant, the sovereign Mahārājā, the wording suggested that it was Jiṣṇugupta who actually issued the charters. Dhruvadeva's name is associated with the charters no doubt but it was qualified with words which suggested that Jiṣṇugupta and not Dhruvadeva had issued them (*Śrī Dhruvadeva sahito . . . . . Jiṣṇugupta kuśali*). This is first evident in the very earliest available inscription of the regime (Tavajhya, n. 97). In some inscriptions Dhruvadeva is mentioned just to stress the fact that Jiṣṇugupta the man who issued the inscriptions was his (n. 99, 100, 101) purassarah i.e. his representative or the man who was his leading advisor or chief or was at the head of the state affairs. Jiṣṇugupta adopted the same style of functioning when Bhīmārjunadeva succeeded Dhruvadeva in Mānagṛha as is evident from the inscriptions (n. 102, 103, 106). Dhruvadeva or Bhīmārjunadeva bears simple titles. Dhruvadeva is called 'a banner of Lichchhavī family and his mind bound to uninterrupted succession' (*ditachittasantati*), whereas Jiṣṇugupta, being devoid of all malice is called 'endowed with clear wisdom who wished well of the people, who is credited with irreproachable conduct and to whom the wealth of the state had come because of pure descent and whose rule was acclaimed widely by the people' (*Samastapaurārchita*). These expressions are often repeated to qualify both names. In Malitar inscription the qualifying phrase is applied to Jiṣṇugupta in addition to his own usual epithets. He also claims that he was running his administration which was purified as it conformed to the order of *dharma*. Jiṣṇugupta like Amśuvarmā claims in another instance to have devoted himself to seeking ways and means to remove the misfortune or calamity threatening his people. But the Ādeśvara inscription (n. 100) gives Dhruvadeva the title of 'widely renowned for his great victories', while Jiṣṇugupta is called 'to have brightened the entire earth by the easily evident qualities of a king'. The latter adjective of Jiṣṇugupta comes to notice also in the Kevalpur inscription. In the Ādeśvara inscription Dhruvadeva and Jiṣṇugupta are put in a position of equality, but this was what the latter intended. I am referring to the adjectives qualifying their names and not to the degree of power they enjoyed. At one place (Kevalpur inscription) Dhruvadeva is described 'as a person who had pledged his mind to the welfare of all the living beings and removed all vanities and possessed charming conduct' (*sakala satvānugrahahita manonirābhimāna ramaṇiya charita*). This seems to be the precursor of the qualifying phrase in the Ādeśvara inscription, but the position of equality between the two is distorted and Jiṣṇugupta gets the highest praise ever obtained and Dhruvadeva's epithets pale into insignificance. Jiṣṇugupta calls himself 'having a pure mind because it was endeavouring to preserve people's welfare, and a person who has made all the enemies bow to him due to his influence and bravery and equipped with unparalleled merits, knew the highest principles of life and lovely as the Moon' (prajāhitodyukta viśuddha mānasah pravava śaurya praṇatan maṇḍala guṇai rupetonupamairi-bātmavān priyamapi chandramaiva). It can be compared also with the inscription of Yangahiti (n. 103).

But no epithets regarding qualities and performance are attached to either names in the Thankot inscription of Jiṣṇugupta, which looks very strange (n. 106).

While we come to Viṣṇugupta's inscription of Yangahiti (the earlier one being damaged in the upper portion does not show anything of the type) the epithet of Bhīmārjunadeva is the same (sakalajano nirupadravopāya sambidhānaika chitta santāno) as the epithet added to Jiṣṇugupta's name in the Bhairavadhoka inscription (n. 99). But Viṣṇugupta's epithet is grandiose. He is here a man endowed with the best qualities befitting a king, who had cleared the darkness, enemylike, by the rays of his knowledge.

It appears that as co-rulers Jiṣṇugupta and Viṣṇugupta commanded the overall domination over the state affairs and the monarchs were reduced to the position of nominal rulers. Jiṣṇugupta issues

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his coin (Walsh, Pl. I), which adds to his stature. But unlike Amśuvarmā he does not even at the end dispense with the individual on the throne. Nor he adopts any title. Amśuvarmā was mahāsāmanta, but he was not so. Otherwise as co-rulers Amśuvarmā and Jiṣṇugupta are placed on the same level. Jiṣṇugupta incidentally happens to be the last of such powerful co-rulers.

Dvaita Śāsana

Some people think that when a powerful Chief Minister or somebody like Amśuvarmā or Jiṣṇugupta appears in control of the state affairs without disturbing the throne it is called dvaita śāsana i.e. the dual rule, two persons ruling over the area jointly. The word dvaita is used in philosophy referring to the duality of human soul and Supreme Being as inseparable. But here it is used in the sense of two persons as rulers over the same area running the administration jointly in similar capacities and situations.

I do not think that a regime of a powerful minister, feudatory or personality functioning under a nominal king will be called a dual rule. After all, however powerful the minister or anybody who is the power behind the throne has to acknowledge his sovereign and extend all courtesy and respect due to him. But such a type of sovereign is just reigning while the business of the government is conducted by another man who wields power without reference to the throne. If there were two persons sharing the powers of governance jointly the term dual rule would have better fitted the situation. Every situation which shows a domineering minister and a weak king on the throne does not represent a dual rule.

We could hardly get a real example of dual rule in Nepal as we know about its character. The combination of de jure and de facto rulership as personified in different persons is what we can utmost witness, but this is not the dual rule. For a dual rule the two persons must be equally powerful and share in common between them the control over the affairs of the government.

Vasantadeva was not surely a puppet. Ravigupta, though Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka and mahāpratihāra, always preferred to be a dūtaka. Although in one case (Ins. n. 29) he appears to have put himself in the capacity of one who made a request to the superior authority and recommended the desired measures along with Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Kramalilah, the Chief Minister, Ravigupta is still a dūtaka in this record as well.

Bhaumagupta started as a dūtaka in one of Gaṇadeva's inscriptions (Pharping stele, n. 37). In the same inscription he also plays the role of the figure who makes a request for a desired objective. In the following inscriptions he played the role of an advisor to recommend actions carried out and announced through the charter. He never felt a pride in lauding his own merits in the inscriptions. He was a little more powerful figure no doubt than Ravigupta, but no comparison can be made between his position and that of Amśuvarmā and Jiṣṇugupta. In the time of Ravigupta and Bhaumagupta, both powerful ministers, whom the kings respected, the man occupying the throne was never totally overshadowed.

The case of Amśuvarmā and Jiṣṇugupta is completely different. Both of them issued coins in their respective names, and functioned as de jure and de facto rulers. Curiously enough they were the only rulers to issue coins in their name. No names appear in any coins except in the case of these two rulers. Amśuvarmā outbids Jiṣṇugupta in that he even occupies the throne calling himself Mahārājādhirāja, which was a courtesy title given to him by his monarch in the Banepa charter issued under his recommendation. But when he usurped the throne forcing his master to seek asylum in a Buddhist hermitage he made it the very formal title of a ruler. No ruler of Nepal until this time had declared himself Mahārājādhirāja. But we have a coin of Amśuvarmā, one of the four varieties with the legend Mahārājādhirājasya Śryamśoh which goes to establish his becoming a king. Jiṣṇugupta did not go to that extent but called his son Viṣṇugupta a yuvarāja, crown prince. The crown, however, still belonged to the monarch of the Lichchhavī family who occupied Mānagṛha in a defunct capacity. As far as Amśuvarmā was concerned, the concept of dual rule is ruled out as he usurped the throne

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founding his own era and minting his own coin. Jiṣṇugupta's case is a little different but he had so overwhelmed the puppet king by his domineering personality and conduct that the latter was almost a lost figure. Therefore in his case also it was not correct to call it a dual rule. There was a single man at the helm of affairs whether it was Amśuvarmā or Jiṣṇugupta ruling the country.

Dvairajya

One Nepalese author has tried to explain the predominant position of Ravigupta and others as a form of dvairajya where he thinks the minister was ruling along with the king. But this is a wrong concept. In no case a powerful chief minister overshadowing the king should be taken to arrogate to himself sovereign status, because the sanctity of throne was never desecrated. A king was a king commanding respect howsoever nominal his powers might be.

Dvairajya literally means joint rule by two kings over a kingdom. It might only mean sharing of power as heads of state. The idea of partition was never intended by dvairajya. Vairajya is not a kingless state but a state under an usurper.

Kauṭilya in 8.2.5 describes dvairajya and allied forms:

राजा राज्यमिति प्रकृति संक्षेपः । 1 । द्वैराज्य वैराज्ययोः द्वैराज्य मन्योन्य पक्ष द्वेषानुरागाभ्याम् परस्पर संघर्षेण वाविनश्यति । वैराज्यंतु प्रकृभि चित्तग्रहणा पेक्षी यथा स्थित मन्यै र्भुक्ष्यते इत्याचार्याः । 5 । नेति कौटिल्यः । पिता पुत्रयोः भ्रात्रोर्वा द्वैराज्यं तुल्य योग क्षेममात्यां व व्रहं व्रजयति । 7 । वैराज्यं तु जीवतः परस्याच्छिद्य 'नैतन्मम' इतिमन्य मानः दर्शयति, अपवाह्यति, पण्य वा करोति विरक्तंवा पिरत्यज्जाप गच्छति । 8 ।

The king and kingdom are natural of the dvairajya, two king system and no king system i.e. a kingdom of no legitimate rights, the rule by two kings is destroyed because of the respective following being in conflict or by mutual bickering but if a kingdom goes with an usurper who will ever take care to win the hearts of his people it may last as it is so say the teachers.

But Kauṭilya says 'not so'. The rule of father and son or of two brothers will exist. The people enjoying well being and ministers are checkmated. If there is an usurper, he will be engaged in snatching away other's property. He will feel about everything that it is not his, which may lead ultimately to the destruction and even sale of the kingdom and his own flight.

Dvairajya is often found in early 11th century A.D., but as far as the early history of Nepal is concerned, we do not find a single instance of two king system as it is meant by dvairajya.

114. Chobar, Kathmandu District

I do not think that this inscription carries any importance for us. The name of the king is missing and so is the date. But the word Kula Ketu can be read, obviously this must have been preceded by the word Lichchhavī. This seems to be a charter and issued with a view to enforce royal orders making land grants and tax exemptions in the interest of the people. The offices of Śolla and Lingval appear in the record, and criminals are also talked about and king's spies and soldiers were prohibited to enter certain areas of a Pānchālī, the name missing.

Other expressions show obscure meaning.

115. Yampivahi, Patan

A single line is inscribed on a stone water conduit reservoir, which talks of one Mahāpratihāra Sujātaprabhu, after whom the monastery (vihāra) is called.

Who is this Mahāpratihāra Sujātaprabhu? When and how and where did he function? No records mention him and we do not know anything of his time.

In consequence of all these factors the record is useless from a historical point of view.

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Part V

RESTORATION OF THE LICHCHHAVIS TO POWER

NARENDRADEVA TO JAYADEVA

WE have already said that the Tun Huang annal speaks of Narendradeva (Na-ling-ti-po) coming to power in Nepal in 641 A.D., and he had achieved success by leading an invasion against Viṣṇugupta (Viṣṇu Kugti) who was killed in a battle.

Narendradeva calls himself like Śivadeva earlier as the banner of the Lichchhavi family, and so it would be natural to talk of the Lichchhavi restoration with him on the throne.

As Jayadeva by claiming Lichchhavi descent calls himself a great grandson of Udayadeva, grandson of Narendradeva and son of Śivadeva in his Pasupati slab Narendradeva surely continued Udayadeva's line. But we do not know anything of Udayadeva's own branch of the Lichchhavi family. Jayadeva cannot give the names of 12 kings preceding Udayadeva nor he ever suggests the many more kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty so that we are in dark about the particular branch of the family, to which Udayadeva's line belonged. This is a very complicated problem and I do not think that a solution is available on the basis of records at our disposal.

At any rate Narendradeva, his son and his grandson have left their inscriptions and there is a sound basis to accept the fact of their rule, which had extended to nearly one hundred years or even more. With this background we shall herewith go ahead with the consideration of the inscriptions of their reign and it shall appear that the task only helps us to add more of the data to those already drawn from the sources.

One may be correct to observe that Narendradeva's restoration put an end to a period of uncertainty which could create a situation for the emergence of extraordinarily dominant personalities like Amśuvarmā or Jiṣṇugupta. Indeed in the post-restoration period we do not hear of mahāpratihāra and sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka not to speak of mahāsāmanta or a scion of the old powerful family either related to Amśuvarmā or Jiṣṇugupta. One Kumārāmātya Prīyajīva is a dūtaka in the two earliest inscriptions of Narendradeva dated S. 71. One Nṛpadeva figures as a dūtaka in the Deopatan inscription of S. 71. He holds the title of Daṇḍanāyaka. Since then king's sons, Yuvarājas, are dūtakas, the first being Skandadeva who figures in the Gairidhara stele of S. 83 (n. 121). The next princely figure is that of Śauryadeva, a yuvarāja, in the Patan (Chyasaltol) inscription (n. 126). In between them one Rudra Gomi comes to appear as dūtaka in the Balambu inscription of S. 90 (n. 125).

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There is Rājaputra Janārdanavarmā as dūtaka in the Batuka Bhairava temple inscription.

Both Skandadeva and Śauryadeva were Narendradeva's sons. As Śivadeva figures in the inscriptions of S. 103 and thereafter as dūtaka we presume that they were dead before this date.

Dhanavajra thinks that a line in the Lunjhyā inscription (n. 116) dated S. 67, the very first available record of Narendradeva suggesting his victory over the enemy in a battle which had resulted in their defeat refers to his struggle carried against Viṣṇugupta. The enemy's elephants and horses had run helter-skelter charged by Narendradeva's advancing brave and courageous soldiers. The Yangahiti inscription (n. 117) talks of the strength of his arms (*bāhubala*), which had enabled him to conquer his enemies, who the enemy is the lines do not say. But we shall return to this question in the next paragraph.

But as Amśuvarmā and Jiṣṇugupta talk of the victories achieved in battles against enemies without identifying them, Narendradeva's statement is of similar type. Narendradeva talks of the horses and elephants of the enemy who pierced by the arrows and lances of his own soldiers had run helter-skelter in a panic.

The reference to the battles in all such cases is more allegorical than real. If Narendradeva had fought Viṣṇugupta and his supporters in battle-fields the enemies should have been named.

Lastly, let me warn the readers that the dvaita śāsana is totally different from dvairājya, which is a concept of two kings ruling together.

NARENDRADEVA

Now there are no records of Viṣṇugupta and we have now on the scene Lichchhavī Narendradeva, whom Jayadeva II calls his grandfather.

We have the Tun Huang annal to say that Viṣṇugupta's rule came to an end in 641 A.D. after a coup d'etat by Narendradeva, and he was killed. Such an important event was noted by the Tibetans and the Chinese who also say that Narendradeva (Na-ling-ti-po) earlier had fled from Nepal.

Some scholars think that the dual rule as prevailed in the time of the reigning monarch Śivadeva and then Dhruvadeva and Bhimarjunadeva had ended with the death of Viṣṇugupta.

Nothing more is known. It was said by the same sources that earlier Udayadeva was ousted by his brother and he and his son Narendradeva had taken refuge in Tibet.

These sources claim that Nepal had accepted vassalage of Tibet in consequence of the help rendered by the Tibetans to restore Narendradeva to power.

116. Luñjhyā, Patan Palace

The Luñjhyā inscription is the first record of Narendradeva's reign and for that matter of the restoration period.

From the Luñjhyā (gold window) courtyard inscription the reign of Narendradeva begins and the dual rule of a puppet monarch and powerful regent disappears. The Luñjhyā stele is dated Samvat 67 Pauṣa śukla 5. The charter is issued from Kailāsakūṭa palace implying that Mānagṛha is now totally discarded. As we know from the inscription of Jayadeva II Narendradeva is his grand-father and son of Udayadeva (vide above). According to T'ang annals Narendradeva's uncle had usurped the throne. Udayadeva was forced to flee. The present record shows that the so-called Lichchhavī dynasty was restored and this is the first record of the restoration period.

Unlike the past Lichchhavī rulers Narendradeva and his son and grandson used the epithets Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānugṛhita bappapādānudhyāta before their name. They also adopted the titles of Parama bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja so far not used by any Lichchhavī rulers. But Udayadeva had adopted the title of Mahārājādhirāja and bhaṭṭāraka. The charter was issued as *svayamājnā* from Kailāsakūṭabhavana described as the light of the universe and the splendour of the reflection on the peak of the Himalayas, and the stele bears the discus flanked by Śankhas at the top.

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The praise sung by the composer describing Narendradeva's powers and fame is high sounding.

Narendradeva, a moon in the sky of the Lichchhavi family, uses an epithet to pose that the flag of his fame clear fluttered upto the sea and he had to his credit an enviable valour, which he had carried, while his brave army leaping forward throw lancers and arrows pierce with success through the enemy's line of cavalry and elephants fleeing helter-skelter in utter defeat and spared none of them in the battle-field and the king thus had turned to promoting the welfare of his subjects. Narendradeva goes out to add that he was engaged in increasing the moral and material prosperity of his people. Keeping in balance such things of contradictory nature he had spread his fame far and wide in all directions.

The address is directed to the present and future kings paying them due respects. The object of the charter is to remove the distress caused to the people in Yupadranga with all its *talas* by the domination of the officials of Bhaṭṭa and Māpchoka by banning their entry. The king was prompted by a desire to do good to the people as he knew of a generous action done in connection with something. After this the inscription talks of warning to those who desecrate the gift in the usual tone and manner and emphasises that kings should take particular note of its virtues if they want to increase their glory, health and prosperity.

Narendradeva says that having still not satisfied with the gifts, he grants one more which was to remove the adhikara (right) of Pitaljā, perhaps another office of the government, which interfered with the daily life of the people in the performance of their duties.

It appears that although the expression is just in terms of aphorism, we see the use of horses and elephants and then of arrows and spears in battles.

The dūtaka here is Kumārāmātya Priyajīya whose identity cannot be established. The record is dated Pauṣa śukla panchamī of S. 67 (5th day of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa of the year 67).

The Bhaṭṭa and Māpchoka offices had grown overwhelmingly powerful and they were harassing the people by their actions. It was to prevent them from conducting their nefarious activities in Yūpadraṅga that the charter was issued.

Narendradeva states that he was not satisfied just by banning the entry of the authorities of the two departments. He wanted to add to it one more gift, and this was to free them from Pitaljādhikāra. The Pitaljādhikāra might be another office. What function it rendered we do not know. Probably its activity also was harassing the people.

We do not have local evidence to support Viṣṇugupta's defeat at the hands of Narendradeva. But as we know from the Tun Huang annal Narendradeva killed Viṣṇugupta in a battle, and with Tibetan help got back his throne.

If rightly interpreted the very early records of Narendradeva might throw some light on the episode of 641 A.D., in which year Narendradeva either staged a coup against Bhīmārjunadeva and his mentor Viṣṇugupta or fought and defeated them in battle, as a result of which he was restored to power.

I mark the first 4 lines of the Luñjhyā inscription, which suggest that Narendradeva had fought his enemies in the battle-field, and defeated them. This can be a hint to the invasion he carried against Viṣṇugupta, the real man behind the throne. Of course the talk of a large infantry, cavalry and elephants in disarray when pierced by his advancing army looks allegorical and it cannot be taken seriously. But it is a fact that Narendradeva had fought his battles to power, which ended in the ouster of Viṣṇugupta and in his own succession to the throne. The lines in question might support the statement of the Chinese and Tibetan sources. But after all this is a poetic composition and must not be taken seriously.

It is a pity that Narendradeva does not mention anything about his victory over Viṣṇugupta and if it was his intention to convey this sense in his laudatory epithets he should have mentioned any person by name whom he had vanquished.

117. Yangāhiti

This is one of the two inscriptions of Yangāhiti (literally a water conduit in or near the ditch of

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Kathmandu) which belongs to Bhaṭṭāraka Md. Narendradeva and is a charter addressed to the future kings of Nepal informing them of the restoration of a royal land donated to the temple of Bhuvaneśvara within the precincts of Māneśvara to the Dakṣiṇakoligrāma draṅga with all the *talas* for proper management. This land for some reason had gone to the possession of the royal household as a result of actions taken by Śrī Bhumagupta. The king had restored this land in order to respect the traditional arrangement and for the welfare of his people. The draṅga as aforesaid was to enjoy all lands and garden belonging to Bhuvaneśvara temple as it did earlier. Also added to the gift were the three demarcated villages, Konko, Vilvamārga and Huspriṅduṅ in the form of agrahāra and endowed with the status of a fort and administered according to the regulations thereof. The entry of Chāṭa and Bhaṭa were prohibited. The inhabitants of the three agrahāras were to pay the usual share of produce and other taxes to the dranga and live in happiness undisturbed. This dranga was also charged with the care of Śivagaldeva temple in Sitati enjoying all the lands, the share of the produce paid by the tenants and other taxes as usual. The charter with the witness Kumārāmātya Priyajiva is dated Samvat 67 Bhadra śukla dvitiya. It is issued as samajnapana.

As Bhaumagupta's father has been identified with Anuparama in the light of the evidence of Ābhiri Gominī, there is no point even in talking of the possibility of Bhūmagupta being different from Bhaumagupta. In the Kevalpur inscription of Jiṣṇugupta, Bhūmagupta's identity is correctly stressed.

For the first time the term Kumārāmātya appears in these two inscriptions. This was the official title of the witness Priyajīva.

The compiler of the 'Lichchhavī Kalka Abhilekha' has given contradictory ideas about the meaning of Kumārāmātya.[1] He first says that the person who helped the crown prince in his administrative duties was known as Kumārāmātya. He cites the Vaiśāli seal 'Śrī yuvarāja bhaṭṭāraka pādīya kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya'[2] as evidence. He argues that when the crown prince became king, this amātya became the minister in the king's council because of past services. But instead of giving examples of men serving the crown prince assuming full ministership when the prince's reign began, he goes on to say that Kumārāmātya had no special function. To refute his own earlier contention he cites the examples of Harisena of the Allahabad Pillar inscription, who bore the title of Kumārāmātya and Sandhivigrahika (foreign minister) and Sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka (chief minister) and of Prithvisena, minister of Kumāragupta, who bore the title of Kumārāmātya.[3] None of these rulers have suggested that these amātyas were there because of old associations.

Literally Kumārāmātya might mean a minister of a Kumāra,[4] which is used for a prince (not necessarily crown prince). But if its literal meaning was to be associated with the function of a dignitary called Kumārāmātya, the title would not have stuck to the name when he became a full-fledged minister of the king whoever he might have been in the past, prince or otherwise.

Kumārāmātya figures in the contemporary inscriptions of North and North-eastern India. D.C. Sircar thinks that the title is probably that of a minister enjoying the status of a prince.[5] J.F. Fleet takes Kumāra as a counsellor of the prince.[6] Curiously this counsellor of the prince referring to Harisena of the Allahabad Pillar inscription was the son of a Kumārāmātya mahādaṇḍanāyaka Sandhivigrahika. Like Dhruvabhuti the father Harisena himself adopted all the titles of the former. The title of Kumārāmātya was as important as the others.

S.K. Maity thinks that Kumārāmātya was a minister in charge of the princes. This can be an exact meaning of the term, otherwise contradictions will result. There was a separate office of the minister as the Vaiśāli seal shows (Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa).

Kumārāmātya figures in several inscriptions including that of Chandragupta II. There are inscriptions where Kumārāmātya along with other office-bearers of the State is addressed in the charters issued by the kings.[7]

Kumārāmātya is defined as a minister (mantri) in two inscriptions of Kumāragupta. This man later became mahābalādhyakṣa. Thus we know what rank Kumārāmātya was designed to hold.

The Pāla period inscriptions have both rājāmātya and Kumārāmātya. Literally they would mean the minister of the king and the minister of the prince. Sometimes there is just amātya and

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mahākumārāmātya. This finds place in the Monghyr copper plate inscription of Devapāla. The Khalimpur C.P. of Dharmapāla mentions rājāmātya and does not mention kumārāmātya. But Nārāyaṇapāla's Bhagalpur C.P. expressly mentions rājāmātya and mahākumārāmātya. The editors of the corpus of the Bengal Inscriptions translate these terms as the minister and minister appointed by the prince. I do not think that this translation is correct. The Kumārāmātya might be a minister looking after the princes as ordered by the king. But nothing can be said definitely at this stage.

In this inscription if Narendradeva had referred to the agrahāra in Māneśvara area to have been absorbed into the land belonging to the state it was not to condemn Bhaumagupta. The statement of Narendradeva is couched in a language which shows no disrespect in any way to Bhaumagupta. There is Śrī before his name if it was an emblem imparting respectability. As for Bhaumagupta's intention in the absorption of land into state property Narendradeva just says 'he had done it for any reason' (kenāpi hetunā), which does not mean that this particular action was ill motivated.

Narendradeva also displays no anxiety to put all the blame on Bhaumagupta whom he thought to be a devilish figure wanting to create an impression that it was not he who actually grabbed the Agrahāra property but it was the then king who did so. It is difficult for me to understand as to why Narendradeva should try to absolve Bhaumagupta's king probably Gaṇadeva of this guilt involved in this action. Was Gaṇadeva a forefather of Narendradeva? Perhaps Gaṇadeva belonged to a branch of the family, with which Narendradeva had little to do.

Prīyajīva and Nṛpadeva

It appears that Kumārāmātya Prīyajīva who appears in the three earlier inscriptions of Narendradeva (n. 116, 117, 118) was a staunch supporter of Narendradeva. Nṛpadeva who enjoys the title of a daṇḍanāyaka and is a dūtaka in the inscription of Deopatan (n. 119) was another supporter. Narendradeva had not yet appointed his son as dūtaka in his charter. This practice started since the inscription of Patan (n. 121), where Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Yuvarāja Skandadeva is a dūtaka. He is the eldest son of Narendradeva. He appears only in two inscriptions. Probably he met his end.

Thereafter the dūtakas are persons who do not belong to his family until the Chyasaltol (Patan) inscription when Yuvarāja Śrī Śauryadeva appears as dūtaka. He appears only in one inscription. Śivadeva who succeeded Narendradeva comes to the scene as dūtaka in all the inscriptions since then. Śivadeva was his third son who had survived to succeed his father. We do not know exactly if Skandadeva and Śauryadeva were Narendradeva's sons. We have called them as his sons because if they were his brothers there was no need to appoint Prīyajīva and Nṛpadeva as dūtaka in the charters concerned. Perhaps his son was aged enough to become a dūtaka. We think that Skandadeva was a minor when Narendra came to the throne. As soon as they ceased to be minors both Skandadeva and Śauryadeva became dūtaka. On their death Śivadeva became the legal successor and was allowed to appear as dūtaka in the charters until Narendradeva's death.

The two earliest inscriptions of Narendradeva show two different months in the same year S. 67. The first (Luñjhyā) was issued on Pauṣa śukla 5 and the second (Yangāhiti) on Bhādra śukla. In a Chaitrādi year the first would follow the second, as the month of Pauṣa follows Bhādra. But in the Kartikadi year the month Bhādra would follow Pauṣa. However there is no event like that of the Śūryaghat Śivaliṅga inscription, which would go to prove the priority of the one over the other.

118. Deopatan

This is an inscription of the reign of Pbh. Narendradeva dated Samvat 69 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa divā 7 on the pedestal of a Śivaliṅga in the field near the temple of Paśupati. It records a grant of land by Brahmana Viśvasena's wife Suvarṇa Gominī of Śalankā. The inscription informs 'to chuhunga pedāyaya . . . . . ' The land was situated south of Narapring grāma (village) and south east of the canal and donations included 7 kinds of dues donated by the Commander-in-Chief. Rāmasvāmi was

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dūtaka. The recipient was Pāśupatāchārya Dakṣiṇatilaḍuka. This man donated the land for the medical treatment of Dānaśriṅkhalika Pāśupatas. The pindaka (cess) from the land in the same village annually at the rate of 20 mas paddy 14 ma and pu (currency) 7. Again paddy kuda 1 . . . . . Gichalija, Namila, Gatibala, Vāhikagupta . . . . . amātya Bhagavachchandra and Chandāka living in Sārikā. The gift money with interest will go to those appointed for the task relating to Chuhungapedā.

What is this Chuhungapedā? The word does not seem to be familiar. It might mean an agency of administration. But Chuhungapedāniyoktasya might mean either appointed by Chuhungapedā or for or in Chuhungapedā. In the latter case it should be a place name.

119. Kasaintole, Deopatan

The inscription was issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana with date 71 Kārtika śukla dvitiyā.

This inscription on the stele in the Kasaintole quarter of Deopatan (a small inhabited place near the temple of Pasupatinātha) is in a damaged condition as far as the upper part of it is concerned, but from the 11th line onwards it looks well preserved except lines 13 and 14 and the first few letters of the 11th and last few letters of the 13th and half of the 14th.

From the two initial readable lines, it appears that this was a charter issued by Bhagavat Paśupati pādānugṛhita bappa pādānudhyāta Pbh Md Śrī Narendradeva and addressed to the servants of the state and perhaps to the present and future rulers of Nepal on the lines of inscriptions nos. 123 and 124 above. It records the grant of certain favour to the people of Navagṛha enabling it to enjoy the status of a fort abiding, of course, by the regulations concerning it. The entry of Chāṭa and Bhaṭa is banned.

The charter warns that any one entering Navagṛha and causing slightest discomfort to its inhabitants will be punished. Anybody transgressing the rule and disobeying the king's order will not be tolerated. It is desired that future kings will help to preserve the gift for eternity. The passage for this is similarly worded as in the earlier royal charters of Narendradeva. This charter is issued as *svayamājnā* in the same way as was done since Amśuvarmā's time.

Then towards the end, the charter says that if some important issues crop up and if this could not be settled by the Pāñchālikās, then it was to go for consideration through antarāsana. It is also added that all Gosthis related to Navagṛha will be independent of the Chāṭas and Bhaṭas.

The *vyavasthā* i.e. the established custom will be the same as written in the copper plate under the same. But we have not found any record of the time in a copper plate. Madhusudanasvāmy who is an inhabitant of Vṛjjika rathyā (the road) becomes pāñchālikā sāmānya, ordinary member of the Pāñchāli.

The date is Samvat 71 Kārtika śukla 2, and the dūtaka is Daṇḍanāyaka Nṛpadeva. Nṛpadeva's identity is not known. We should not be misled to think that anyone with the name ending with *deva* was a Lichchhavi prince. As the doc. n. 15 (Darb. Lib. Cat. I.1320.8) of Jayasthitimalla's sons has in the colophon as the place of writing the ms. Nityanhikatilaka Devapattananagare Navagrhasthane, we presume that Navagṛha was a part of the city of Deopatan or Gvala.

It appears that Vṛjjikarathyā, a street in Deopatan, was thus named to commemorate someone coming from Vṛjji country, present Darbhanga and Mazzaffarpur districts of Bihar or just to honour the memory of the Vṛjji saṅgha.

It appears that the word *Vṛjjikarathyā* in this inscription was meant to commemorate the *Vṛjjika gana* by calling the road after the republic of Vṛjji. Rathyā means a road through which horse-drawn chariots could negotiate. We should not imagine that this was a part of Navagṛha, where people from Vṛjji countries had settled down. If the Vṛjjis had migrated to Nepal, this must have taken place long ago, at least 1200 years back. But none found it proper to mention them in the earlier inscriptions. Those whose attention was drawn to the necessity of naming the road belonged to the 8th century A.D. How a particular figure came to know that people from Vṛjji countries had migrated to this area just as someone imagined that Koliyas of Devadāha had settled down in the old city of

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Kathmandu at the southern tip is beyond our comprehension.

It was suggested that Narendradeva who had love for parama started the practice of calling the earlier royal court antarāsana as paramāsana. But this does not seem so in view of antarāsana used here.

Earlier steles of Narendradeva show at the top discus (chakra) flanked by śankhas but this shows only a chakra. His devotion to Viṣṇu seems deeper than to other deities.

120. Naksal Water Conduit

This inscription on a reservoir of stone placed on the wall in front of the Bhagvati temple at Naksal, a suburb of Kathmandu, talks of the water conduit of stone to have been constructed by one Viṣṇudeva who had earned fortune serving King Narendradeva then ruling by virtue of his hereditary rights. This Viṣṇudeva had also constructed a well with a device to draw water from the same to fulfil the requirement of the people including the Brahmanas who were to take their three daily ritual baths and washing of body.

Narendradeva is described as a person endowed with the qualities of courage, bravery, fearlessness, statesmanship and high merits exhibited in the Lord of the kingdom not easily evident in him as if they were competing with one another.

Viṣṇudeva is shown as one who had renounced his self-interest and taken to serving others. The date is Samvat 78 Kārtika śukla 9 prayugāda (i.e. beginning of Satyayuga).

I do not think that there is anything of importance here.

But the name ending with 'deva' might be interpreted by some to give Viṣṇudeva a Lichchhavī lineage. But as we have already suggested, the name ending with *deva* alone is not the criterion to establish one's Lichchhavī lineage.

Unfortunately we do not find anybody except the kings claiming Lichchhavī birth. Even princes of the family, sons of kings, who figure as dūtakas in many charters are denied any kind of declaration of their birth in the Lichchhavī family. It is, however, improper to give kinship of collateral character just on the basis of similarity of names.

121. Gairidhāra, Patan

The inscription first published by Bendall is from Gairidhāra (Patan) and is issued through a slab of stone by Narendradeva with the usual titles addressed to present and future kings about the activities of officers (adhikṛt) of Sarvvādhikaraṇa (all offices) regarding the Vajreśvara maṇḍala situated on the eastern bank of the Vāgvati river in the Paśupati area on the recommendation of Mahāpratihāra Chandravarmā. The object of the charter is to create a religious body for the management of the maṇḍala of Vajreśvara maintaining the traditional freedom of the area from the encroachment of the officials of all offices. The dhārmikagaṇa was to look after the temple maṇḍala (area under the temple management). The reference to the dhārmikagaṇa is made in terms of those who were engaged in the acquirement of knowledge and action (without any lust for possession) and who had subjected themselves to discipline. These people were at the appointed hour to perform the ritual of worship, called Kāraṇapūjā, accompanied by ceremonial bath to the God, offering of flowers and gandha, burning of incense and lamp, performing rituals of varsavardhana, playing of instrumental music in the rainy season, and japas etc. In the temple besmearing with cowdung (upalepana), washing and repairing are also to be done, and then out of the remaining amount, the cost of feeding Pāśupatas and Brāhmanas is to be arranged as far as possible keeping in view Bhagavat Vajreśvara (out of reverence to him). In course of time, if the donors demand so in times of distress, and giving thoughts to the nature of the time prevailing, they should be paid at the rate of 20 mānikas but not more than that. In case some issues are raised in this connection, these are to be only subjected to consideration by the procedure of paramāsana but the purpose should be never to interfere

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in the act of distributing money. The officials of all the offices and departments and other servants of the king knowing this fact fully well desist from doing otherwise. The charter was issued in the form of svayamājnā with the ṭdūtaka yuvarāja Skandadeva and inaugurated on Samvat 83 Bhādra śukla diva ṣaṣṭyām.

The temple of Vajreśvara and the circular structure meant for the congregation of the Pāśupatā-chāryas are not existent any more. Their location as suggested in the inscription was within the Paśupati kṣetra but across the river Bagmati.

No office is specified as to the previous arrangement made to look after the temple property. But now Narendradeva had entrusted it by creating a body known as dhārmikagaṇa, which is a new term. They were to look after religious sites and mendicants associated with them who lived there. They seem to enjoy much power to the exclusion of all king's offices. It appears that Pāśupata sect was widely respected also in the time of Narendradeva. Yuvarāja Skandadeva might be the eldest son of Narendradeva.

Dhārmikagaṇa

If the Lele inscription of Śivadeva issued on the recommendation of Amśuvarmā talks of several gausthikās, each rendering different functions, the Thankot inscription of Jiṣṇugupta containing a charter announces the creation of a Dhārmikagaṇa, a body of persons required to perform the task of religious nature on important occasions such as observing festivals, worshipping the image of the deity and taking care of it along with the temple which enshrines it as well as the premises and its neighbourhood.

The temple concerned as the inscription tells us is that of Vajreśvara. The whole area where the temple existed was called Vajreśvaramaṇḍala situated within the confines of the sanctuary of Paśupatinātha.

Instead of Pañchali looking after the management the body created, the dhārmikagaṇa, was to act according to the charter as the trustee. Its duty was to look after the temple affairs and all that it means. It received donation from the ruler, which was utilised to conduct the worship of the deity on cleansing the temple.

The area was declared prohibited to the chāṭa and bhaṭa and all departments of state. The dhārmikagaṇa was an autonomous body.

The worship of Vajreśvara is called kāraṇapūjā. It was decreed to be performed in time by persons dedicating themselves to the earning of knowledge and meritorious action and leading a life of discipline. The kāraṇapūjā involved a simple worship, first, the deity was to be washed with water, then flowers and perfume were offered to the deity, a lamp was lit and incense was burnt, as chanting of mantras was practised. The special occasions for this kind of Pūjā were the rainy season, the birthday ceremony of the Lord, etc. On these days the Brāhmanas and Pāśupatas were to be fed. It appears that the Dhārmikagaṇa were like any religious body concerned with the performance of duties towards the temple in all aspects and its premises. The temple was to be washed, plastered and where repair was necessary it was to be done properly. Thereafer followed kāraṇapūjā, whose principal features are described in the lines.

The dhārmikagaṇa had been given predominance by the charter. If a dispute arose between them and some donors who tended to take more than their common share there could be direct intervention of the supreme authority of the ruler.

The names of Brahman caste in these inscriptions show that the Brāhmanas had occupied important place in the society. When the worship of the Lord is mentioned the scribe talks of the Kāraṇapūjā for which there is a land donation. The paraphernalia is missing. So it is difficult to say how the pūjā was performed but from some other inscriptions we know that it is a simple pūjā as explained below.

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Kāraṇapūjā

While dealing with Mānadeva's records earlier we came across Kāraṇapūjā (of a Śivaliṅga) in Jayalambha's inscription of Samvat 413. But as in the present inscription, so also in the earlier one, the nature of the pūjā has not been explained. The next inscription to mention Kāraṇapūjā (of five Śivaliṅgas) for which a donation is offered is that of Bhaṣmeśvara but this also goes without any details and such is the case also of Mānadeva's inscription in Budhanīlakantha area where Kāraṇapūjā figures without what it actually means. Kāraṇapūjā prominently figures also in the Kevalpur inscription, but again there is no useful information in it. The only record from which we can collect some information regarding the nature of pūjā called kāraṇapūja is the Vajraghar inscription of Narendradeva dated Sam. 83. This says that the kāraṇapūjā involves snapana (bath), gandha (sandalwood paste), offering of flowers (puṣpa), burning of incense (dhūpa), lighting the lamp with oil, playing of musical instruments (bāditra) usually played in the rainy season and muttering of prayers (japakādina) without being heard, etc. (वर्ष वर्धन वर्षाकाल वादित्र जपकादिना).

The pūjā is always associated with the worship of the Śivaliṅga. So it must have something to do with the Pāśupata sect, which was popular in India in those days. The Pāśupata sūtra composed in the centuries before Christ is the principal treatise guiding the daily life of the Pāśupatas. According to this Sūtra the Lord Śiva Paśupati is the cause of the universe as well as the destroyer and agency to maintain it. Although it cannot be said precisely if the Kāraṇapūjā derived its name from the fact of Paśupati being the cause of the Universe, some people think the cause (kāraṇa) of creation was Paśupati and hence the name of his pūjā.

Chandravarmā

Chandravarmā seems to be a very clever person who shifted his allegiance as it suited his interest. He seems to be a follower of Amśuvarmā in the beginning of his career as it appears from the Tavajhyā inscription. Here he requests Jiṣṇugupta to repair the water conduit built by mahārājādhirāja Amśuvarmā. In this inscription he is given the title of sāmanta. The title he seems to have obtained from Jiṣṇugupta, to whom he has now shifted his loyalty. In the post-restoration period he comes to occupy similar position holding the rank of mahāpratihāra. He requests king Narendradeva in the Gairidhara (Patan) inscription to take care of Bhagavat Vajreśvara's temple and its precincts in S. 83 Bhādra śukla 6. It is a difficult job to remain the same loyal servant to every master who seizes or comes to power. But Chandravarmā had that manoeuvrability and he could manage to tackle every ituation to serve his end with success.

Chandra Gomi and Chandravarmā

One Sāmanta Chandravarmā appears an important person in the Tavajhya inscription of Jiṣṇugupta's regime. This man had advised Jiṣṇugupta to repair a canal once built by Mahārājādhirāja Amśuvarmā, which had now gone into dilapidated condition on account of neglect and absence of repair. Chandravarmā in another inscription (Gairidhara, Patan) appears as mahāpratihāra in S. 83 in the reign of Narendradeva. It appears that Chandravarmā's position was not influenced by political changes taking place in and before 641 A.D. when Narendradeva was restored to power. He seems to have been a favourite of kings and regents from Amśuvarmā to Narendradeva and enjoyed a long career.

But his name has been utilised by some people to present him as a scholar and identify him with the famous grammarian Chandra Gomi on flimsy grounds.

It is absurd to suggest that Samanta Chandravarmā of the inscription of Jiṣṇugupta and of the early regnal years of Narendradeva was the author of Chandra Vyākaraṇa. If it was so the two inscriptions which talk of him should have first of all made a reference to his attainments in the field of

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learning. Chandra Gomin was not only a grammarian but also a poet and dramatist as it appears from a dramatic work called *Lokānanda*, the theme based on the story of *Maṇichudavadana*. Chandra Gomi is said to be a contemporary of Kalidasa who flourished in the 4th-5th centuries, nearly three hundred years earlier to the Samanta Chandravarmā Gomi, and Chandra Gomin who was a Buddhist scholar was never a feudatory, nor he had anything to do with Nepal.

Chandravarmā Gomi's dramatical work *Lokānanda* is fully described by Michael Ham. The article quotes a passage to say that the dramatist, the writer of Lokananda natakam was also the author of Chandra Vyakarana. This occurs in the prologue: Yena vyakaraṇaṁ kṛtaṁ laghutaraṁ vispaṣṭa sampūrṇakaṁ. Also, siddham pranamya sarvvajnam sarvoyam jagato guruṁ/ laghu vispaṣṭa sampūrṇamuchyate śabdalakṣanam (Kailaśa, Vol. VII, 1979, n. 1).

122. Anantalingeśvara

Although the stone is found within the compound of the temple of Anantalingeśvara, a Śivaliṅga, the inscription does not mention anything about it. The inscription is much damaged and 20th line onwards, except some marginal letters, all is lost after the 24th line. The date however is noticed in the last two lines as Samvat 80 . . . kṛṣṇa 10, and the name of the witness is missing. The object of the record is to announce donations to Lokapālasvāmi of Hamsagrha dranga management board of the temple and servants and maids attached to it.

The charter is issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana which is compared with the likeness of Mt. Kailāsa and which causes joy to the eye (by its beauty) and famous all the world over. The usual titles such as Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānugṛhita and bappa pādānudhyata are there. He is the jewel of the Lichchhavī kings and surpasses every other king in merits. He is endowed with 3 śaktis and Goddess Śrī or Lakṣmī of the lunar maṇḍala and kings are used to behold him as if he were a moon in the sky. Discipline, politeness and bravery decorate him.

The address is to the present and future officers and men of all the departments (sarvvādhikaraṇa) within the borders of Nepal. It prohibits the entry of chāṭa and bhaṭa in the dranga of Haṁsagṛha with the western village. The area had obtained this privilege long ago but due to some errors of the past kings it had lost its status and now it is renewed through this inscription on a stele.

Haṁsagṛha is not here mentioned for the first time. One of the Harigaon inscriptions (Samvat 32) refers to Haṁsagṛhadeva. Probably this deity is the same as Lokapālasvāmi mentioned in the present inscription. The charter provides paṇas and puraṇas 25 as gift to Brāhmanas for the work in sprinkling water for peace on Kārtika śukla 12, the anniversary of the inaugural ceremony of Lokapālasvāmi, and 4 mānikas of rice to do works of repair on the road a day earlier. The contribution was to be made by Kulapati who was also to offer to all castes, the Brahmanas and others including the Chandalas living within the limits of the dranga, food mixed with ghee and Termealia tomentosa, and for erecting pillars he was also to give 54 mānikā. In order to pay for flags during the bull fights the payment of 25 puraṇa was to be fixed and 40 mānikā for the purification rite of Lokapālasvāmi was to be added to it.

Before announcing the donations the king states that he had received them as it was found that they were destroyed due to lack of attention by some kings in the past (pūrvarājabibhramamato nastodhunā).

There is allotment of some quantity of paddy (how much cannot be ascertained in some cases as the letter is damaged). The devasthapaka was to get . . . The paddy is called bhuktika, which means worthy of eating perhaps conveying a sense of good taste. All paddies mentioned here whether to be paid to the temple male servants 140 mānikā or 360 mani to the maids at the rate of 20 mānikās or to *devasthapaka* are in bhuktika paddies. There are more grants in terms of puraṇa giving to devabhṛtya 120 and devadāsi 80 puraṇas. The Kulapati was to obtain 130 mānikā.

There is a reference to Varāha yātra within the draṅga on the day of Jyeṣṭha śukla 11. The Chandol Varāha confirms the popularity of the deity in the form of a boar lifting the earth. Kulapati

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figures as the person through whom donations were distributed. Perhaps he was the head incharge of the lands of the villages and dranga. Literally Kulapati means head of the family. Perhaps he led the job of distribution as head of all the families living within the drańga and villages associated.

It is not clear whether the grants are made in a lot without reference to time or whether the grants were annual and meant for maintenance.

Devadāsa and Devadāsī

The Anantalingeśvara stele shows donations to some Devabhrtya and Devadāsis attached to the temple of Lokapālasvāmi. This is the only occasion we hear of them in ancient Nepal. But what were they? What function they rendered? Literally male servants attached to temples are called Devadāsa and female servants Devadāsis. They are not only in the temple to do yeoman's job but their services are utilised on special occasions to perform dancing, sing prayer songs, play musical instruments.

A custom had grown in India in the medieval period, by which a family donated one of its daughters to a temple. These girls were called Devadāsis, literally the maids of the temple. The males were also dedicated and called Devadāsa literally slaves.

A Nepalese writer thinks that the mānikās to Devadāsa and Devadāsis provides a clue to the grain measure system and in particular of the *mānikā*. The total quantity produced, however, is not known. He argues that if 140 mānikās are given to 10 male servants of the temple, 360 mānikās to 20 maids, this amounts to 14 mānikās for each of the males for a year and 18 mānikās for each of the females for the same period. On this basis he thinks that if 14 mānikās were to be consumed in a year by a male and 18 mānikās by a female then the mānikā could never be equal to 2 anjolis but must mean a very large measure higher than Kudava but never equal to a muri (=160 pound).

Slavery

The custom of surrendering a girl or boy to temple as Devadāsi or Devabhrtya was prevalent in South India until few decades ago. The custom began in early ages as it seems from the several classical writings. This was in evidence in Nepal also and the Anantalingeśvara inscription supports it.

But what about slavery? A writer suggests in view of the statement recorded in this inscription made by the donor that slavery had become a part of the society. We do not know if such a hypothetical observation could be taken seriously. Then there are other occasions when a dasa was mentioned as the donor prays to deities that he was a dasa of the divine being. The suppression of sensual desires was also compared with the act of enslaving them. Although the expression is allegorical it is said to be a reflection of the spirit of the time which had a society suffering from the evil of slavery.

Slavery is as old as our society. The Rigveda narrates a story of a king who had made a gift of 1000 slaves to a priest for the latter's entertainment. It also talks of a gift of 100 fleece bearing ewes made to a Brahmana by another king. In the Grhasutras a slave (dasa) is asked to wash the feet of the guests. But a dasa should not be maltreated. The Apastamba Dharma sutra (II.4.9.11), however, prohibits slaves employed for such a work. According to one author slavery came along with agriculture in a stabilised society. The Vanaparva (195.34) of the Mahābhārata speaks of a thousand female slaves given to Atri by King Vanya. The Āryans are said to enslave people like the Kiratas, Abhiras and other original inhabitants whom they had defeated.

Kauṭilya (3.13.1-37), Yājnavalkya (Ch. 2 prakarana 14, verses 181-184), Kātyāyana, Nārada and Manu all speak of slaves and bonded labour. Kauṭilya prohibits enslaving an Āryan except in time of distress. But he could himself purchase his freedom back. A Mlechchha (tribal or foreigner) could always sell himself or his children (3.13.6). Yājnavalkya talks of enslavement by force, by paying the

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price and sold by thieves. The duty of a slave both according to Kauṭilya and Yājnavalkya was to serve the master with absolute obedience. The former laid down a fine to be paid by the owner if the slave was forced to do some unclean work. Nārada classifies the work into subha and asubha. Those who did subha work might not be slaves, for a pupil was also asked to do this kind of work. Nārada talks of 15 agrhajatadasa as opposed to those who serve for learning, relatives etc. They are called bhrtyas. The worst duty performed by them was to become a carrier of loads. Those who took arms and worked in the field are thought to enjoy higher status. The gṛhajata literally means 'born at home'. They are real slaves who do unclean works. There are 15 kinds of slaves: gṛhajāta (born at home), krta (bought), labdho (automatically obtained), dāyādupāgata (inherited), anākāla bhṛta (enslaved during famine), stadbahitah svaminācha yahmok sitoṛṇat (freed from debt), yuddheprapta (obtained in battle-field), panejitah (won in gambling), tabāhamityupagatah (self surrendered), pravajya vasitah (abandoned monkhood), kṛtabhaktadāsa (enslaved for food), ścha vijñeya stathai vavada vāhṛta (brought as maid and the man who marries her), vikretatmānaṁ (who sold himself), all these are called dāsas by the śāstras.

Manu (8/130) states that there are 7 kinds of slaves and calls them *dāsa yoni*. They are:

ध्वजाहृतो भक्तदास गृहजः क्रीत दत्रिमौ ।
पैत्रिकोदण्डदासश्च सप्तैतेदास योनयः ।।

Nārada thinks that all persons who have been forcibly enslaved or purchased or sold by thieves should be released if they honestly serve their master and if he does not release them, the king should get them released (राज्ञा मोचयितव्यासो तस्य तेषुहिनष्यते).

Nārada has a passage giving details of conditions under which certain categories of slaves can be freed. An enslaved debtor could purchase back his freedom by paying off the debt. The man who sold himself in famine was emancipated by giving goyuga, two bullocks. A bhaktadāsa also has to pay back the amount spent on his food. Persons losing freedom in battle-field and in gambling den could obtain freedom by giving pratiśirsa. By nigraha a Vadahrta also is freed. But more than that the master can free the man who had pledged himself by his own will. Many slaves get back their freedom with the consent of the master. This applies to all those who were caught in battle-fields or inherited or born in the house. A man who had married a slave girl and thus become a slave has also the chance to be freed if he leaves his wife. Those who have bonded themselves for a fixed period go back to freedom when the time expires.

Yājnavalkya prescribes that in the system of slavery a high caste man can take a low caste man as slave but not vice versa. The verse stressing *anuloma* slavery is also available in Nārada Smṛti.

Kauṭilya discourages cruelty to slaves. He prohibits the master of slaves to exact unclean and hard labour from his slaves. Unclean works included 'making a pledge or slave pick up a corpse, dung, urine, or leavings of food, and making women (pledges) give bath to a naked person, giving corporal punishment to them, dishonouring them' (3/13/9).[8]

Kauṭilya suggests punishment to any runaway pledges who were caught by the police and surrendered to the master.

The difference between a pledge and slave has got to be noted. A slave could not be free without the consent of his master. But a pledge could secure freedom if the articles or himself pledged returned the price. His release depended not on the sweet will of the man to whom he was pledged but on his own capacity to redeem the pledge.

123. Bhairavanath Temple, Bhadgaon

This is a stone in an area on the pedestal of an unidentified image near the temple of Bhairava in Bhadgaon. This bears the date S. 88. The 3 line inscription is not well preserved and it does not provide any information.

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124. Batuka Bhairava

It is a much damaged inscription with an incomplete date 89 . . . . . trayodaśyām but showing the place of issue, which is Bhadrādivāsabhavana. This bhavana seems to have been constructed by Narendradeva but fell into disuse after some time. The dūtaka is Rājaputra Janārdanavarmā. He might be a relation of Narendradeva or someone belonging to Amśuvarmā's family. The inscription is of no historical importance.

125. Balambu

It is a lower fragment of a larger stele, which is important only for its date 90 Vaiśākha śukla 10 and dūtaka Rudrachandra Gomī. It is a charter. It was issued by Narendradeva as the date shows. It just stresses the king's wishes that the future kings should lend their support to the maintenance of the gift. We do not know the nature of the gift.

The Anantalingeśvara inscription shows just Yuvarāja as dūtaka but the name is missing on account of damage. It is possible that the name could be of Skandadeva. Perhaps he was the eldest son of Narendradeva. But he disappears sooner than ever. We do not know this Janārdanavarmā who appears as witness in the Vatuka Bhairava Inscription. The identity of persons in many cases is not revealed. But this man must be highly connected and trustworthy official of Narendradeva.

The stone was lying in a field some years back but it is now placed in a vihāra newly built close to the village of Balambu.

126. Chyasaltol

This is an inscription of the time of Narendradeva who issues a charter on Samvat 95 Pauṣa śukla daśami prohibiting the entry of chāṭa and bhaṭa into Gandigulma. As the first ten lines are totally worn away except the first few letters showing *Bhadrādivāsabhavanāt* in the first line. We do not know who was the person issuing the charter and nor other details. There is the word *santustaih* in the 13th line, but for what the king was satisfied is not known. The rest though well preserved is only about the king's warning to the future kings for the preservation of the record. The inscription is dated Samvat 95 *Pauṣa śukla* 10. As Narendradeva issues another charter after this date, this record must belong to him. The dūtaka Yuvarāja Śauryadeva shows that he had succeeded Skandadeva the dūtaka in the first few records as crown prince. Possibly he was appointed Yuvarāja after Skandadeva's death. But no information is available about such events.

As the date is S. 95 the record obviously belongs to Naerndradeva. This is a charter issued from Bhadrādivāsabhavana a royal palace, perhaps built by Narendradeva wherefrom he functioned in the last stage of his career. There are three records of this period. The other two records of his reign are also issued from this palace. We do not know why Narendradeva chose to issue his records from Bhadrādivāsabhavana during the end of his regnal career.

127. Yanamugal or Yangubahi, Patan

The Yagbahal or Yangubahi inscription of Narendradeva is also issued from Bhadrādivāsabhavana. Besides other epithets Narendradeva calls himself Paramamahesvara which indicates his devotion and attachment to the Śaivite cult. This is a charter addressed to the inhabitants of Gullantanga village with the chiefs at the lead. This refers to a large water conduit (mahapranali) in the Paśupati area, where the village was situated. This pranali was built by Narendradeva who wanted to get everything done in this connection in the manner of a bounden duty performed without stratagem, which included exacting forced labour. The area was freed from the interference of Chāṭa and Bhaṭa whose entry

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was banned. In addition to this, all that is to be done by physical labour, arising out of the obligation to keep the dignity of the strong fort (*śarirakottamaryada*) was also exempted. Any head of the family was exempted from all kinds of forced labour if he happened to go out of the country. In certain cases the amount of payment was reduced. If a pregnant woman died, and the foetus had to be taken out the fine was just 100 paṇas. If a diseased animal was denied medical care and died in the shed as a result a fine of 3 purāṇas and 3 paṇas was adequate. The five sins such as theft, enticement, murder, and related crimes (saṁbandhādi) were met with a sentence that involved arrest of the person by the Palace, while the house, wife and all properties could be claimed by Āryasaṅgha, These privileges were enjoyed by the Āryasaṅgha in Śrī Śivadeva monastery (perhaps as centre) where monks from all four directions came to rest . . . For the benefit of the Aryasangha the agrahara was created.

Narendradeva calls himself Paramamāheśvara. The gift with such high privileges to the Buddhist order of Bhiksus by a staunch Śaivite ruler bespeaks of his tolerance and respect for other religious sects.

The date should be S. 103 as the date of the next inscription (the Vajraghar) issued only a few days earlier shows. The content is more or less the same. Only some village lands gifted belong to other areas.

The dūtaka is Bhaṭṭāraka Śivadeva, the donor's son, who was to succeed him on the throne.

Then the boundaries were demarcated. The river Bagvati formed one line, and it touched the confluence where a canal had joined, and in the north lay Kharjurikā vihāra and Śrī Mānadeva vihāra both situated within each other's vicinity. There is also mention of Madhyama vihāra, and then of Abhayaruchi vihāra, and then of Vārtakalyaṇagupta vihāra and Badāduna vihāra and Rāja vihāra. In the delineation of the boundary mahapatha and terhanmarga are mentioned. It is said that within a limited boundary an agrahara was created by command of the king for the Āryasaṅgha. Any issues arising in the area which could not be settled by the saṅgha, will be subjected to consideration by the procedure of paramāsana.

Māna vihāra, Kharjurikā vihāra, Madhyama vihāra and Rāja vihāra, all figure in the Harigaon inscription of Amśuvarmā of Samvat 32. The Śivadeva vihāra and Kalyāṇagupta vihāra occur here for the first time. Their locations are given in the Yagbahal inscription, which appear to be near the river Vāgvatī (at which point the boundary line traversed is not known). Similarly there is no light in which direction and from where bṛhatpatha (wide road) and mahāpatha (highway) ran their course. The agrahara was a sort of monastery with orchard, and the rulers always thought it a duty to create an agrahāra for monks or Brahmanas. Śivadeva vihāra is the centre of the agrahāra, so it is the focal point although its location cannot be determined. But possibly it could be in between Paśupati and Sankhamul across the river Vagvati opposite to Banesvor, where the rivulet Manohara joins it, while all other vihāras were within Patan, perhaps on the fringe of the city.

The GR V[1] states that Śivadeva built a vihāra and offered mahākuṭa to Khāsa chaitya (Rājā Śivadeva varṣa 41 ma 6 tena pratiṣṭhita vihāra sukṛtam khāsochita mahakuṭaṁ). Dhanavajra is of the opinion that Śivadeva vihāra is the same as Khasa Chaitya but the passage does not warrant this kind of conclusion. Even if it was so the agrahāra would cover a vast area from Paśupati to north-eastern site called Bauddha.

We cannot, however, take the statement of V[1] seriously. Unless boundary sites are properly identified it is difficult to say anything about the site of the agrahāra.

Chaturdiśābhikṣu Saṅgha occurs also in two inscriptions, one of the time of Gupta Emperor Chandra Gupta I (Sanchi Stupa) and another of Toramana (kura). The expression is Chaturdise bhiksu sangha in the latter. The former has kakanadamatravihare silasamadhi prajnaguna bhavitendriyāya parama-puṇya kṣetrā(ga)tāya chaturdiśabhyāgatāya śramaṇa puṅga vāvāsaspthārya bhiksu sangha. The meaning of chaturdiśārya bhiksu saṅghāya becomes clear from the Toramana's inscription, which refers to the monks coming from all the four directions (chaturdiśa bhyāgatāya). The land and house were acquired in a place called Panchamaṇḍala. The donor was a commander of the Emperor's army,

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who had named the house as Ratnagrha. The donation was to be utilised to feed five monks daily and to keep the lamp ever burning in the monastery forever. Although it was a donation for the Buddhist monks, the breach of the gift was said to invite the results of the crimes committed to kill the Brahmanas, cows and bulls.

Saṅghas

The inscriptions of the later Lichchhavi pericd tell us of the Ārya Bhikṣu Saṅgha and Bhikṣuṇī Saṅgha, which means that the congregation of male and female monks were separate and both existed side by side fulfilling the same purpose.

Hiuen Tsang spoke of the Saṅghas of both Hinayana and Mahayana sects and also monasteries for each. The cult of Avalokitesvara was already there in the 6th century A.D. This is known from an inscription on the pedestal of an image, which seems to have been sculptured on the Sarnath style of the Gupta period. The Viharas, monasteries, appear in the Harigaon inscriptions of Amśuvarma in 7th century. But we do not know the nature of the Saṅgha occupying them.

The Saṅgha was an integral part of Buddhism. It was the 'Order' through which a body of dedicated monks (Bhiksus) preached its basic tenets of life. The Saṅgha was an organised institution with its head, to which section it may belong. It provided education on Buddhist philosophy and way of life to all those who came to dedicate their life to the service of humanity in the missionary zeal. All that mattered to a monk or men was the attainment of enlightenment, become an arhat by means of his service to the people. He renounced the world, imbibed virtuous rules of conduct and disciplined himself. He preached 'dharma' and 'vinaya' as taught by the Buddha. He tendered the monastery and followed his routine work under the direction of the most senior monk who was throughout the headship of the monastery called mahatthavira. He looked after the affairs of all the monastic settlements.

The saṅgha was responsible for conducting the discourse and to see if the discipline was maintained, It was a sort of church. The monks were bound to observe disciplinary rules in their life according to canons. The order was the integral part of the Buddhist society whether it was a Mahayana or Hinayana sect. It met twice in a month on full moon day and the new moon day. The text of Patimoksa which was the collection of about 227 rules was recited in the congregation.

Immediately after the Buddha's death, the monks gathered at Rajgriha and certain rules were agreed upon, which were to be relaxed in the second council held at Vaisali at the time of Kalasoka of the dynasty of Sisunaga. The 10 points commonly agreed for a life of disciple of the monk by the council ordained him to eat food 'when the shadow of the sun had passed 2 fingers breadth beyond the noon' after begging in the morning but if he ate in the morning he could go to the village where he got time to say prayers (uposatha) more than once. Sometimes the monks could emulate their teachers even though the practice was unusual. He could also wear gold and silver ornaments. But this was later rejected. Even otherwise the monk was to abstain from fermented drink; he was also prohibited use of a large size blanket and luxurious food. For day to day existence he was to beg from door to door and accept whatever was given, and not to indicate what and how he wanted from the laity.

Literally the saṅgha means a well organised collective body or brotherhood of monks. It referred to an organisation. Let us see how Buddha had told the Lichchhavis when Ajatasatru threatened to attack Vaiśāli. He said 'Lichchhavīs, do not be afraid of anybody so long you believed in the practices of the saṅgha and decisions agreed at the congregation'. The Saṅgha in its organisational aspects represented power described in the maxim saṅghe śakti kalauyuge (in kaliyuga strength lies in the Saṅgha) i.e. collective strength.

References to the Saṅgha are available from Mahāvastu, Majjhima Nikāya, and E. Thomas, 'Life of Lord Buddha'.

There are Bhikṣu Saṅghas and Bhikṣuṇī Saṅghas mentioned. However, the Saṅghas or Saṅghinis are all called Āryabhikṣu or bhikṣuṇī Saṅgha.

As it will appear the name used in the Chapatol inscription is Āryabhikṣuṇī Saṅgha (No. 90). The

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Musumbahal inscription also talks of Āryabhikṣuṇī Saṅgha (No. 138). The Yangubahi inscription (No. 128) categorically mentions Āryabhikṣu Saṅgha.

It appears that the many monasteries mentioned by the inscriptions belonged to the Mahāyāna Saṅgha as the epithet Ārya is only applied to that sect.

The only place where a Bhikṣu Saṅgha is mentioned without Ārya is the Sankhu Inscription (No. 129).

Temples and Vihāras

Hiuen Tsang in his note says that Nepal in those days was full of temples and monasteries of both the vehicles of Buddhism where Brāhmanas and monks of the order lived in the places meant for them.

In the inscriptions we come across temples with names of Brahmanical deities and Vihāras for the Buddhist monks.

Temples to come to view are older and seen since Mānadeva's time who had constructed one to enhance the merits of his mother. Mānadeva builds temples of Trivikrama in Lazimpat and near the confluence of a water channel and river Bāgmatī near Paśupatinatha to the south of Āryaghāt (Insc. n. 3 & 4). Then we have the temples of Kṣemasundarī (n. 5) a queen of Mānadeva, but today only the liṅga remains. Śivaliṅgas and other deities are in the same order, Ratneśvara and Prabhukeśvara set up by Ratna Saṅgha (8, 9), the image of the Sun God called Indra set up by Sārthavāha Guhamitra (n. 10), Jayeśvara liṅga set up by Jayalambha (n. 11), and a Śivaliṅga set up by Mānadeva's wife Guṇavatī (n. 13).

The Harigaon stele of S. 32 has referred to Bhagavat Paśupati Dolāśikharasvāmī (at Changu), Rameśvara, Hamsagṛhadeva, Vāgvatīpāradeva, Maneśvara, Sāmbapura, Dhārāmaneśvara Pārvateśvara, Narasimha, Kailāśeśvara and Bhumbhukkikā Jalaśayana. Without any attempt to identify we can outright say that they belong to Brahmanical religion.

Three temples of Śivalingas, Śūrabhogeśvara, Laḍitamaheśvara and Dakṣiṇeśvara are known from the Deopatan crossroad inscription (n. 60). The image of Chhatra Chaṇḍeśvara figuring in the inscription of Jiṣṇugupta's time (n. 104) must have its temple. The Viṣṇuite deities, Nārāyaṇasvāmī in the Kevalpur inscription (n. 101) and Lokapālasvāmī of the Anantalingeśvara stele (n. 122) had their own temples and were pilgrim centres in whose honour festivals were celebrated on different occasions. The temple (devakula) of Bhuvaneśvara appearing in the inscription of Yangahiti (n. 117) is Śaivite.

The temple of Bhagavān Vajreśvara, a popular Śaivite deity, in the area on the eastern coast of Bagmati river commanded a large mandala (ground). This is evident in the inscription of Narendradeva (n. 120). Last of all there comes the temple of Bhṛṅgāreśvara, a very popular Śivalinga, in the village of that name to the south of Patan (n. 121.)

It appears that Chaṇḍeśvara was widely worshipped. His images are lying scattered here and there. One inscription of Jiṣṇugupta's time on a pillar is dedicated to Chaṇḍeśvara. The image is naked and stands with an umbrella over the head. The inscription talks of a donation of land by Bhagavat Āchārya Pranardana Prāṇakauśika for the worship of Chaṇḍeśvara and for the repair of any possible damage to the image (n. 105). Āchārya Pranardana figures also in the next inscription (n. 106). We shall refer to Pāśupatāchārya Pariṣad, here also so prominently mentioned, in another context where such a pariṣad is also talked about.

Vyāsa and his disciple Vaiśampāyana seem also quite popular. Vyāsa has been praised as a divine being and a teacher whose preaching helped to counteract the (so called) nefarious activities of the Buddhists. The Buddhists are called mischievious logicians who misled the people. The followers of the Buddha were wicked and were to be hated. Vyāsa had helped to restore the laws of Manu, Bṛhaspati, Uśanasa and Yama and earned name by writing that magnificent work, the Mahābhārata.

If Vyāsa is divine his disciple Vaiśampāyana is maharṣi, the great sage. He had read the story of Mahābhārata to king Janamejaya. He deserved high praise for this and was to be worshipped.

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Vyāsa and Vaiśampāyana figure in the inscriptions of the earlier period. In the later period the Pāśupatāchārya Pariṣad figures prominently in one of the inscriptions of Narendradeva (No. 117). In this inscription the Dāna Pāśupatas and Dana Śṛnkhalika Pāśupatas are mentioned. We shall have to describe the school of Pāśupatas elsewhere at the appropriate place.

If Brahmanical deities and temples were popular with the people, the Buddhist monasteries received utmost attention from kings and people, whatever their faith.

The Harigaon stele of Amśuvarmā, S. 30, mentions popular deities as well as the Buddhist monasteries. The Viharas appear for the first time at this stage. They are placed in between different kinds of Brahmanical deities.

If deities like Paśupati, Dolāśikharasvāmī which have their place first in the list belonged to Brahmanical religion as others like Hamsagṛhadeva, Maneśvara, Narasimhadeva, Kailāseśvara, Bhumbhukkikā, etc coming after an interval the Vihāras so prominently named like Śrī Guṁ Vihāra, Śrī Mānadeva Vihāra, Śrī Rāja Vihāra, Kharjurikā Vihāra, Madhyama Vihāra, Sāmanya Vihāra belong to the Buddhist sects, but to which vehicle they belong we do not know.

If the names are in order of precedence then Paśupati and Dolaśikharasvāmī were regarded as Amśuvarmā's most respected deities but contributions made to them pu 6 pa 2 are the same as have gone to Guṁ Vihāra, Mānadeva Vihāra, Kharjūrikā Vihāra, Rāja Vihāra and Madhyama Vihāra. The former 3 Vihāras have Śrī before them. It is probable that they had commanded more respect than others. The other Vihāras and Brahmanical deities other than those coming in the beginning are treated equally, each of them getting pu 3 pa 1.

We have Vihāras in a large number mentioned in the boundary line drawn in the Yangubahi and Vajraghar inscriptions of S. 103 relating to the two agrahāras and also in the Narayana Chaur stele. The Yangubahi inscription talks of the Vihāras nearabout the Gullataṅga village probably in the modern Patan area, while the Vajraghar stele locates them in a village probably around the same place as the centre is Śrī Śivadeva common to both.

The Yangubahi inscription (n. 127) mentions Śrī Mānadeva Vihāra, Kharjūrikā Vihāra, Abhayaruchi Vihāra, Chaturvadaduna Vihāra, Śrī Rājendra Vihāra, Vārta Kalyāṇagupta Vihāra and Madhyama Vihāra.

The first, second, fifth and last are identified with those mentioned in the Harigaon inscription. But Śrī Mānadevavihāra is mentioned as Mānavihāra and Śrī Rājendra Vihāra as Śrī Rājavihāra.

There is one thing more in the Yangubahi inscription. This is the Śrī Śivadeva Vihāra, to which the agrahāra was dedicated in order to enable the Vihāra to be used by monks coming from all the 4 directions.

There is also Puspavātikā Vihāra in one of the inscriptions.

128. Vajraghar

Upto 11th line and then 30 to 37 the Vajraghar inscription has the same text as that of Yagbahal stele, but the agrahāra that was created for Āryasaṅgha through this charter with Śrī Śivadeva vihāra as the centre has a different area under demarcation. Both the charters have put the praṇālī of Paśupati ksetra to the charge of Āryasaṅgha, a body owing allegiance to Buddhism, which enjoyed the ownership of the two agrahāras.

The Vajraghar inscription enables the saṅgha to realise the taxes on the market place as well as fines on the irregularity machinated by businessmen in respect of weighing scale, the inspection being conducted every intercalary month, which fell according to Bhāradvāja system either in the month of Kārtika or Āṣāḍha after 32 to 33 months, as the case may be.

Although Manu recommends six monthly inspection (8.403), the Nepalese in ancient Nepal seem to have followed a practice which involved a longer period as inspection of the tulā was done only during the intercalary month.

The charter of Varjraghar stele was issued on S. 103 Jyeṣṭha śukla 13.

The charter was issued in the form of svayamājna, and the favour granted was a special one. The

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dūtaka is Bhaṭṭāraka Śivadeva. In quoting a passage from the Mahabharata incorporating a vachana to Yudhisthira it omits Vyāsa's name but says that the Dharmaśāstra vachana always stresses the virtues of land grant and the fact that the donor alone is entitled to the results of the gift.

Agrahāra

An area of considerable length and breadth with a residential quarter and all the amenities that went with it, which was dedicated to monks of Buddhist sects of either vehicle or to learned Brahmanas or to Pāśupatāchāryas was called Agrahāra. Here we have an agrahāra defined to be created in the interest of Āryabhikṣu Saṅgha.

Agrahāra is a rent free village or land given to Brahmanas or monks according to D.C. Sircar.[9] In the Vāchaspatyam the agrahāra is defined in the same way:

शश्योत्पन्न शस्यादुद्धृत्य ब्रह्मणोद्देशेन स्थाप्ये धान्यादौ गुरुकुला वृत्त ब्रह्मचारिणे देये क्षेत्रादौ[10]

The Yangubahi (n. 72), Vajraghar (n. 73) inscriptions are charters by which agrahāras were created with a village for the use of Chāturdiśāryabhikṣu Saṅgha housed in Śivadeva Vihāra. The Yangubahi charter was addressed to Gullatanga village and the Vajraghar charter to Pa(?)nchagarta. These were not ordinary sanghas. They had many privileges such as handling of cases involving offences of the nature of abduction, enticing a married woman, murder, theft and allied crimes, all constituting *panchāparādha* occurring within the area. They could seize the property, house and fields as well as the wife of the accused. The agrahāra was a sacred site where no chāṭa and bhaṭa could enter. Its status was elevated to that of a fort, where the people had been freed from all compulsory physical labour. They were also exempted from all forced labour of the kind if and when one of the householders was out of station. Probably some other person in his place had to provide such labour. They acquired fines imposed on taking out a foetus out of the womb when the pregnant woman died. The fine was 100 paṇas. There was also a fine of 3 puraṇas in the case of a wounded animal died in cowshed for lack of proper medical care.

The charter bestowed a very high favour by a king of Śaivite faith on a Buddhist Saṅgha. King Narendradeva called himself Paramamāheśvara, literally a great devotee of Śiva yet makes a gift to Mahāyāna sect. This is a very important aspect of the document. This shows how kings in Nepal treated teachers and followers of all religious sects with equal respect.

The Bhikṣu Saṅgha had enjoyed the privilege of acquiring the fines on certain acts of omission and commission by a fellow citizen. They realised 100 paṇas as fine when a foetus was to be taken out of a dead pregnant woman, 3 purāṇas when a cattle died in a state of sickness due to negligence, and in case of five heinous crimes the saṅgha was entitled to the confiscated houses, lands and wife of the condemned man, the king had a right only over his person.

The Vajraghar inscription talks of the same subject, although the village donated as agrahāra is different. The favours granted are more or less of similar nature. But two additional privileges are given here to Āryabhikṣu Saṅgha, (1) the right to realise market tax and (2) the fines imposed on weighing scales during the intercalary months.

The king looked upon these privileges as sacred and always to be protected. So he decrees that if at any time the Āryasaṅgha is not in a position to solve the affair, it might be considered at a higher level by way of *Paramasana* (king himself).

Tulādaṇḍa

Literally it means a fine or punishment in respect of weighing scales. *Adhikamāsa Tulādaṇḍādi* might refer to the practice of examining the weighing scales (scales were held together by a tulā—balancing holder) and punishing with fines if they did not conform to the standard set by the king.

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It appears that the practice of examining the scales was carried out during the intercalary months, twice in 365¼ days, once in the middle of the period and second time at the end.

The authors of law books have said elaborately about the weighing scale. The examination of weighing and measuring instruments in the intercalary months is talked about in this inscription. But Manu recommended six monthly period examination:

तुलामानं प्रतिमानं सर्वञ्चस्यात् सुलक्षितम्
षट्सुषट्सु चमासेषु पुनरेव परिक्षयेत् ॥ 8/403

Kulluka Bhaṭṭa comments that the king should get the same examined by good people (*sabhya puruṣaih*) whether there is a decrease or increase due to the advertent or inadvertent action of the trader.

Pitamaha suggested that only experts, goldsmiths, bronzesmiths and shopkeepers could examine the weights and measures:

परिक्षका नियुक्तव्या स्तुलामान विशारदः
वणिजो हेमकारश्च कांस्यकारास्तथैवच ॥

There was a practice of using stone and brick pieces for weighing things of heavy capacity. In Nepal, however, the weighing scales and measures were examined in the intercalary months as is shown by the Anantalingeśvara stone.

The Chyasaltol, the Yanmugal and Vajraghar inscriptions form the three last inscriptions of Narendradeva but they are issued from Bhādradivāsa bhavana. Kailāsakūta bhavana reappears with Śivadeva, the succeeding ruler. So it does not seem that it was deserted. But Bhadrādivāsa bhavana comes to notice as a new palace secretariat, which seems to have been built by Narendradeva. The palace, however, fell into disuse after Narendradeva as it makes no appearance later at any stage. It seems to have been a temporary residence of the kings of Nepal for a few years.

But what was the need which compelled Narendradeva to build the Bhadrādivāsa Palace? Was it because the Kailāsakūta Palace wanted repair or because Narendradeva felt an urge to show himself off as a great builder? The king must have felt that he could be a builder of another palace vying in magnificence with the Kailāsakūta Palace so highly praised by the Chinese. But it appears that Bhadrādivāsa fell short of the elegance that belonged to Kailāsakūta. But Narendradeva stuck to it till his last. Śivadeva, his son, however shifted the secretariat and royal residence back to the Kailāsakūta bhavana and the Bhadrādivāsa bhavana was allowed to meet its decadence in due course.

129. Sankhu

It is a two line inscription on a fragment of a stele in Sankhu. The inscription invokes Buddhist saying. There is a reference to dharmarājikāmātya, a minister looking after religious affairs. The lines are damaged at the end portion. So the full meaning is not available.

The first few letters showed Sāṅghika bhikṣu saṅghasya. Probably the reference is to Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism.

Aśoka called Dharma mahāmātra to indicate a minister in charge of religious affairs. The dharmarājikāmātya in our inscriptions is a minister in charge of religious affairs.

Dharmarājikāmātya

This inscription brings into focus two damaged lines, the dharmarājikāmātya and saṅghikabhikṣusaṅgha.

Dharmarājikāmātya looks like Dharma mahāmātra of Aśoka's edicts, Girnar Rock n. 5 and Feroz-

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shah Kotla pillar n. 7. The mahāmātra was a minister incharge of religious affairs whose duty was to look after Brahmanas, Buddhist monks and Ājivakas and to take care of the poor, destitutes and handicapped.

Dharmarājika is certainly connected with the word Dharmarāja either the Tathagata himself or Aśoka. Yudhisthira in Mahābhārata is also called Dharmarāja, because he never told untruth.

Dharmarājika is also the name of the Stupa in Taxila said to be built by Aśoka over the relics of Buddha's body.

The amātya here is certainly incharge of religious affairs but belongs to Mahayana sect.

The saṅghika probably is mahāsānghika. It is the earliest name applying to Mahāyāna sect. The mahāsānghikas are one of the 18 sects in the aftermath of the schism in the congregation. They were opposed to theravadi or sthaviravādi, in respect of the qualities of the Ashok who was supposed to be omniscient and maintained an absolutely pure conduct. The sthaviravādins were not so much anxious to stick to the concept of Arhat omniscience but they were uncompromising about the aspects of conduct only.

The schism in the congregation arose since the council meeting at Vaisali in the time of Kalasoka. A difference arose in regard to whether they could ask for donations for welfare activities. One Yaśa was found condemning those who were collecting funds for humanitarian work. But the majority disliked Yaśa's views. They thought that the dharma was a way of life not rigidly defined. Enlightenment would come also through an unconditional attitude to doing good to others and emancipation would follow as it would by perfection of one's self and getting rid of samskaras under rigorous discipline.

The points of difference separating the Mahasanghikas from the Theravadin arising in Vaiśālī were later exaggerated and schism was the natural corollary. Thereafter the mahasanghikas became mahayanists.

Asarga has described the character of the Mahayana sect and the difference between Mahāyāna and Hinayāna in his 'Mahāyāna sūtrālaṅkāra'. He criticises Hinayāna as a vehicle, individualistic in approach to Nirvāṇa and eternal bliss seeking the salvation from the recurrence of birth. The Mahāyāna on the other hand is dedicated to remove suffering of all beings and help them to attain salvation.

The mahāsangha school changed later because it was very much mixed up with the doctrine of Bodhisatvas who were supposed to keep the desire to serve humanity unextinguished forever, the Bodhisatva was to devote himself for centuries to serve the suffering humanity.

130. Chickañdeo, Patan

The image on whose pedestal the 4 lines are inscribed does not seem that of Balarama. Although we have read the date 107 we are not sure of it. There is Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja, which can be distinctly read but the name is missing.

This inscription, the date of which is uncertain, although DV has read 109, goes without the king's name. The next inscription is that of Śivadeva but if DV's date is accepted there is not a long gap between the two dates. It is likely that the inscription is that of Narendradeva who enjoyed a long reign of more than 30 years.

It appears that one Nālavarmā donated lands in a village for certain religious purposes.

The inscribed stone is not a part of the pedestal of the image which is locally known as Chikandeo as well as Balarāma. But it is difficult to identify the image. The local name can be wrong.

ŚIVADEVA

It is much difficult to say when actually Śivadeva's reign started. This is in view of the fact that inscriptions earlier to the Nala inscription of S. 118 go without any ruler's name due to damage on stones.

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Narendradeva's records are available from S. 67 to S. 103. The Chikaṅdeo Image Pedestal Inscription (No. 130) shows the date but not the first royal name so that we are apt to read anything, Śiva or Narendra. Thereafter we have no inscription and then the Nala Slab with date S. 118 appears showing Śivadeva's name. The absence of records, and dated records at that introduces confusion as to the beginning of the regnal period of Śivadeva.

Śivadeva is a dūtaka in the last two inscriptions of Narendradeva (No. 127, 128). He is given the title Bhaṭṭāraka. He would be the third son of Narendradeva to survive at the time of his death. Earlier the dūtakas are Skandadeva (No. 121) and Śauryadeva (No. 126) both as Yuvarāja.

Jayadeva in the list of his genealogy in the Pasupati Inscriptions claims himself to be the son of Śivadeva who had married a Maukhari princess by name Śrīvatsadevī, daughter of Śrīvarmā and daughter's daughter of Ādityasena, king of Magadha. Śivadeva on his part does not say a word about the marriage nor there is any reference to Vatsadevi in his inscriptions.

Śivadeva is known as Narendradeva's son only from Jayadeva's genealogy but not from his inscriptions.

131. Nala

This is the inscription on a stele forming a part of the platform of the famous temple of Bhagavatī in Nālā, north east of Bhadgaon outside the valley. It commemorates the occasion of inaugural ceremony performed in the opening of a water conduit built by Huṁ Dhruvaśila and his brother Huṁ Anaṅgaśila in the reign of Rd Śrī Śivadeva on Jyeṣṭha, bright fortnight, 10th day of Samvat 118. The name of the present day Nala is Nālaṅga grāma in the inscription.

We do not know what Huṁ used as prefix to the two brothers' names really means. Is it some official title?

This is the first inscription showing Śivadeva's name. It is not possible for us to say that Śivadeva had started his regnal career from this date, for that would give Narendradeva an unnecessarily long period of reign, 50 years. We know that Narendradeva was in power in S. 103. But there is a gap not only of inscriptions but also of dates. The GR cannot enjoy reliability. So we do not know as to the dates of Narendradeva's death and Śivadeva's accession to the throne. It so happens that exactly a similar situation we face at every stage and regnal career of every king is subject to speculation.

132. Lagantol, Kathmandu

The lost stone but inscription reproduced from Bhagwanlal Indraji belongs to Śivadeva II who has issued a charter addressed to the family heads of Vaidyagrāma with their chiefs in the front. It declared the grāma free from the entry of chāṭa and bhaṭa for eternity as the grāma had attained the status of Śarirakoṭṭa. It also announces the creation of an agrahāra in order to earn the merits for himself and his parents in favour of Pāśupatāchāryas directed to the worship of Lord Śivadeveśvara set up by himself, the Vasa Pāśupatāchāryas were charged with the task of repairing the temple whenever it is needed. The term समुचित भागभोगकर हिरण्यादि सर्वप्रत्यायान् occurs here in the same form as in contemporary North Indian inscriptions to denote tax on the produce of land, orchards, jewels, gold and other items. The people were to live fearlessly paying these taxes and performing their respective duties. The agrahāra was donated in accordance with the practices following bhūmichhidra nyāya.

The boundary of the agrahāra was like this: to the east, the wide thoroughfare (bṛhatmārga), to the south east, the water conduit by name Sibi, following its water channel, passing a small footpath towards the south, Teṅkhu and west of Teṅkhu and going to the north, a canal by name Chisimandā, to the north east, land of thousand maṇḍala and upto the same bṛhatmārga, the highway.

Within this agrahāra the men engaged in trade with Bhoṭṭa are entitled to hiring 5 load bearers annually who were to work free of payment.

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The Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi

Referring to Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi one author[11] says that it was a practice in those days to use labour free of charge for any work done to promote the good of the people or such as required by the king to run his administration. He thinks that when the inscription states about 5 load carriers doing their job free of charge, it must have been there in connection with the government work conducted with Bhoṭṭa. He identifies Bhoṭṭa with Tibet and argues that Nepal's relation with that country at the time was very cordial and was getting more and more intimate. He interprets the word Vyavasāyī as government employees who were charged with the task of promoting Nepal's relation with Tibet. He links it with Rājakulīya Vyavasāyī of the Thimi inscription (No. 135) and argues that the advantage was enjoyed by those on government business in relation to Tibet to draw 5 load carriers without payment of wages.

Literally Viṣṭi means forced labour exacted by the state or by highly placed individuals or landlords from the people in general. The theory behind the concept of Viṣṭi was that everybody had to render it. But one could escape it by payment of money. The practice of Viṣṭi had continued until the beginning of the present century. At a later stage viṣṭi was banned in respect of private individuals. However the government continued the practice in one form or another but in a much limited sphere. Viṣṭi in general was not regarded as a commendable practice.

It is not true that the government or any other agency or person got works of public welfare done by way of Viṣṭi. The word viṣṭi is never in evidence until the Yangubahi and Vajraghar inscriptions, where people of a particular village are shown having been exempted from viṣṭi, while they had gone out of the country. This obviously established the fact of compulsory forced labour. But it may be realised that forced labour came to be exacted at a later period in ancient Nepal and it was so done in certain conditions.

We have yet to establish if all vyavasāyīs could be treated to have been connected with the Royal Palace or collaterals. The Thimi inscription does not provide a ground to think on that line without regard to the qualifying word, Rājakulīya. The Lagantol inscription has no qualifying word, and so we cannot jump to conclude that those who were provided forced labour were all men of the king. There is one thing more and this is suggested by the Thimi inscription. This is a reference to money given to the labourers by the villagers, in which connection the Royal Palace asks the king's men to abstain from interfering with the act of payment. The term Rājakulīya obviously brings the Royal Palace into the picture. Another factor emerging out of this statement is the payment in cash made to those who rendered Viṣṭi.

It appears that a Viṣṭi was realised collectively either for the king or for a widely respected body of religious importance like the Buddhist Sangha or a Brahmanical agrahāra or temple. It was not one individual who rendered viṣṭi but in this act the whole village was involved, and it was the duty of the villagers to send men to render viṣṭi and obviously these could be men of their choice. The village as a whole was also subjected to collective payment in lieu of labour.

As for the Vyavasāyīs they were more of traders than those engaged in other professions. The word Vyavasāyī in ordinary sense means a person of certain occupation. A Vyavasāyī also means an energetic and adventurous person. But by and large it means one who was engaged in commercial profession and this meaning is more pronounced. If the Lagantol inscription has talked of the Vyavasāyīs it is to stress the fact that they were by all means businessmen and traders. The five Bhārikajanas carried their loads of goods and other materials meant for sale. The true meaning of the Rājakulīya Vyavasāyī of the Thimi inscription was that the traders concerned were probably engaged in trade to meet the requirement of the palace. It is next to impossible to imagine that the traders belonged to the royal family. So we shall have to take care that there should be no attempt to give a wrong interpretation to the word Vyavasāyī. But it might so happen that the government itself had taken foreign trade in its hand and conducted commercial relation with countries outside its border.

But where is the Bhoṭṭa with which Nepal had developed trade relation? Bhoṭṭa might mean a refererce to Tibet as the name Bhoṭ applying to this country still is in popular use in Nepal. But this

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might also apply to Bhutan. However, the Bhutanese, the Drukpās, lived far away from the traditional frontiers of Nepal in the far east. But so was situated Tibet across the northern border. But in view of the contiguity the term is more acceptable if we mean Tibet by Bhoṭṭa.

Tibet was originally called Bod-yul. Later it came to be called Bodh. Thereafter the name To-Bodh followed by Tu-Bodh and still further To-Bodh came into use. In modern times it became Tibet from Te-bet.

By Bodh one understands to mean the northern plateau (chāng-chang). Some Indian scholars think that the classics called Tibet by the name Kinnarakhanda or Kimpuruṣa Khanda. But now it has been established that this name applies to the area covered by Lahaul, Spiti and surrounding places. But Tibet itself can be a corruption of Triviṣṭapa, which according to Amarakośa is one of the paryāyah of heaven (Svarga). Since the time of Mahābhārata the Indian scholars believed that heaven lay to their north, and it is no wonder that as a geographical entity Tibet was in their mind when they thought about its location.

Call by whatever name we are used to it, the reference to Bhoṭṭa in this inscription is surely to Tibet then called Bod, literally an upland or plateau. It is not unlikely that the Nepalese had pronounced it as Bhoṭ in a corrupt form and later sanskritised it to appear Bhoṭṭa. The word is a corrupt form of Bod, the name by which Tibetans call their country even today.

After this discussion we are now to conclude that there was a trade relation subsisting between Nepal and Tibet, and tradesmen enjoyed some concessions to promote this trade. Although as it stood the trade was limited to loads of goods carried by 5 men for the entire period of a year, we have to think in terms of a larger volume routed through other points and all this was of vital concern to Nepal's economy.

Bhūmichhidranyāya

In the Lagantol inscription of Śivadeva a grant of land in the form of agrahāra by way of Bhūmichhidranyāya was made to the Āchāryas (monks) of Pāśupata school.

The Bhūmi here involved is a fallow land, and as the maxim goes it is free from tax for some years since it is cultivated.

The agrahāra was granted according to bhūmichhidranyāya. D.C. Sircar says rightly in this connection, bhūmichhidranyāya (IE 8-5, EI 30, CII, 3.4), literally the maxim of the fallow land; the principle of the rent free enjoyment of land by the person who cultivates it for the first time . . . . . bhumichhidra gradually came to mean 'uncultivated land'.

The reclaimed land i.e. land brought under cultivation for the first time was inherited by the successors. Tax was not levied for a few years. But when it yielded crops which was regarded more than sufficient for the tenant to compensate, it was no more tax free. The state levied taxes.

Often the grants of land made in Bengal were so done by the procedure of Bhūmichhidra.[12] Kauṭilya is the first author to mention Bhūmichhidra in his Bhūmichhidra vyavadhānikā, II.I.

We are unable to find out where Vaidya grāma was situated. Probably it was in the vicinity of Kathmandu. The boundary lines, however, do not help us in identifying the village with any area.

The dūtaka is Rājaputra Jayadeva who is given the title of Yuvarāja in the Balambu inscription. The inscription is dated Samvat 119 Phālguna śukla 10.

What is the Śarirakoṭṭa, the mryada (status) of which had been obtained by Vaidya grāma? This word has occurred in several inscriptions, and this might need further explanation. The Śarirakoṭṭa means a strong fort.

Viṣṭi

Viṣṭi generally means labour rendered without any payment in return. It figures in several inscriptions in Nepal as well as India, which talk of forced labour.

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The Thimi inscription talks of viṣṭi, the advantage being enjoyed by those who carried commercial transactions on behalf of the Royal Palace.

But viṣṭi in this inscription is to enable private traders to acquire forced labour in lieu of privileges granted to the village which was to supply such a labour in return.

133. Bhṛṅgāreśvara

Śivadeva's inscription of Bhṛṅgāreśvara in the Sonaguthi village is addressed to all the offices of Nepal, who earned their living at his feet and others. The banner of the Lichhavi family Pbh Md Śivadeva calls himself to have been graced by the feet of Lord Paśupati and meditating upon the feet of his father. He was a king who had maintained the customary laws of the caste system (varṇāśrama dharma).

As the stone is damaged at many points the marginal letters from 5-17 lines on the left side and 14-17 on both sides are preserved. So, the full idea of the statement could not be obtained. But it is clear that a large tank and (perhaps flowing out of this) a canal somewhere near the temple of Bhṛṅgāreśvara was involved and as distribution of water under the administration of devakula pāñchālikā, the body which managed the affairs of the temple was entrusted with the task of taking its care. For repair work some land was also granted (1.17) and in case of encroachment a fine of puraṇa 3 was imposed.

The king was advised in this matter by Kṣepajīva, and the canal was built for the use of Pānchālikās who were headed by the Brāhmanas. Kṣepajīva's identity is not available.

This is the second inscription of the area. It addresses all the state servants within the frontiers of Nepal. Its aim is to dig a canal out of a large tank, an unlimited source of water by itself, for the use of the inhabitants of Bhṛṅgāreśvara pānchālikā as well as the people around the temple of the lord. Śivadeva as the Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭāraka claims to have strengthened the system of varṇāśrama. The canal (tilamakam) is left to the care of the Pānchālikā who were to use the donations for the repair of the canal and the temple.

The order was issued by the king's own order (Svayamājna). The dūtaka is Jayadeva and the date 125 Bhādrapada śukla 5. The attention of the king to the need for the construction of the canal was drawn by one Kṣemajīva.

It is addressed to all the offices within the frontiers of Nepal. The objective is to build a channel probably drawn through an unlimited water source nearby for the use of those living within the precincts of the Lord of Bhṛṅgāra. The task of maintenance was left to the charge of the Pañchālikā. The inscription is damaged in the margin in vital points and creates difficulties in understanding the real intention of the charter but words like praṇāli and tilamaka are mentioned. Therefore the grant was to be used for the repair and maintenance of both.

Jayadeva who is styled as Rājaputra is a witness. The date is 125 according to Gnoli and 121 as read by DV. But the figure seems to be 122.

Why Jayadeva is here called Rājaputra and not yuvarāja?

In the date symbol the letter for (5) is much confusing. It is so shaped that it is unlike the symbol for 5 used in the Nepalese inscriptions of the time. The 5 we have read here might not be quite correct. The symbol looks even like 4 or 6.

The reader will have a look into the photograph to understand its complex character.

It gives intercalary Āṣāḍha. But if we read 5 or 6 and refer the date to the epoch of the Śaka era according to Sūryasiddhanta the reading might be wrong, for we do not have an intercalary month in these two years. We have intercalary Bhādra in Śaka 394.

134. Gorkha

One of the two steles of Gorkha, which is extremely damaged and marginal letters are read with strenuous effort (M. Naraharinath, Itihāsa Prakāśa, Pt. I, first published—followed by Dhanavajra).

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The inscription seems to have been issued by Śivadeva II from Kailāśakutabhavana in Samvat 122 (?). This is a record of land grant for the worship (kāraṇapūjā) of . . . . . Bhairava bhaṭṭāraka.

According to DV the deity belongs to Mahayana sect. H.R. Joshi thinks that it is associated with the Śaiva sect as he finds one of the 64 Bhairavas of Rudrayāmala tantra is called Vajrahasta.

The word Vajra cannot be read correctly. We have to argue on a sheer hypothesis, that Vajrayana is mentioned here. One of the Vākāṭaka rulers of India Md. Rudrasena had Mahābhairava as his supreme deity. He called himself the devotee of Mahābhairava (Chammak).

135. Thimi

This inscription of Thimi first published by Levi (n.19) and later by Gnoli (LXXXII) and yet later by DV is in a much damaged condition upto the 8th line. The few lines seem to describe the boundaries of a concerned village. Probably there was a tax to be paid by the villagers, the amount being 100 puranas, in connection with the persons who had to do labour without wages; but to whom the tax payment was to go is not at all clear. The royal tradesman for the palace should not pay. The year symbol is worn away, but the month of Asvayuja kṛṣṇa 6 is there, while the appointed agent is Rājaputra Jayadeva. This is svayāmājnā in line with the other statements of the age since Amśuvarmā. Svayamājnāpanā is used rarely in the inscriptions of other rulers.

136. Balambu

This inscription of Śivadeva with all his epithets like Bhagavat Paśupati pādānugṛhita bappa pādānudhyāta Lichhavi kulaketu Pbh Md and maintaining the rules of Varṇāśrama is issued from Kailasakuta Palace and is addressed to the members of the royal family, each enjoying authority assigned to him and their salaried servants of Nepal bhukti (country) to inform them that having come to know that the Dāvākota village which was formerly associated with Putti Nārāyaṇa and later attached to the royal palace for its own use for some time uninterruptedly was now handed over to the inhabitants of Sitāṭi draṅga including the talas for their benefit. The Dāvākota grāma was elevated to the status of a strong fort accompanied with all privileges going with this elevation.

Dāvākotta

After obtaining as a result of royal favour the status of a fort, Dāvākotta is being also freed from the interference by chāṭa and bhaṭa and from the forced labour connected with Phalanju.

In return the people of the dranga while getting the incomes from the said village were to do the works of repair, perform worship (karanapuja), and the balance money to be utilised annually to offer a good umbrella to Lord Pasupatinath and to celebrate the occasion and the left over is to be divided. The Dāvākotta villages should conjointly touch the boundaries of the villages of Phabadrang in south west, of Gaprongpring in north west, of Gamding in north east and of Nupung in south east in a place called Satvamalamba.

In the delimitation of boundaries, first the line traverses through a beautiful mango tree in Aramakhara place and from there to the south east the deposit of white earth and from there again to the south west getting down as far as the source of Dhima rivulet and with a little ascent circuiting its own the boundary should proceed to the spot where salt is placed to feed the cattle.

West of it we come across some rivers and their sources Putti being one of them. Perhaps the temple of Narayana was somewhere near this river. The mango trees are quite often mentioned and it seems that a section of the allotted villages fell in the hills across the river Balkhu. Salambu rājavāsaka is another in the line, but we do not know as to which king's residence it refers. The sources of flowing water are also repeatedly mentioned under different names. From this it appears the area was a hill. The confluence of rivers, where Gautamāśrama (hermitage of Gautama) lay, can-

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not be located. Then the inscription talks of Champaka tree, south of which we are back to the mango tree, from which we started.

In this inscription the kingdom of Nepal is called Nepala bhukti (l. 4). But bhukti in Indian inscriptions of the contemporary period is a part of the kingdom or country although this is a bigger part consisting of viṣayas, which formed an administrative unit of the state. According to D.C. Sircar a bhukti means 'a province including a group of districts called viṣaya or maṇḍala'. He quotes some inscriptions. Pundravardhana includes the present Bogra, Rajshahi and Dinajpur districts and areas around. What is now middle Bengal is called bhukti by that name in two copper plate inscriptions of Damodarpur of S.124 and 128 belonging to Kumāra Gupta's reign. The same inscriptions name a viṣaya by name Kotivarṣa within the bhukti which was ruled by Kumārāmātya Vetravarmā. The Indore C.P. of Skandagupta's reign with date GS 146 shows a viṣayapati in Indrapura. Two C.P. inscriptions of Budhagupta's time are available at Damodarpur, which call the area to have belonged to the bhukti of Pundravardhana of the Gupta empire. The first with date 163 shows one Uparika (Viceroy) Mahārājā Brahmadatta as a ruler and the second, date year eroded, shows Uparika Mahārājā Jayadatta[13] and a viṣaya administrator Śaundika.[14] Elsewhere the title Mahārājā is missing but there is a viṣayapati. It appears that some time the Governor (viṣayapati) became a de facto ruler, while the Emperor only wielded nominal suzerainty. Pundravardhana continued to be a bhukti of the Gupta empire and Kotivarṣa as viṣaya for a long time, which is shown by the Damodarpur C.P. of GS 224 issued by Mahārājā rājaputra Deo bhaṭṭāraka with viṣayapati Svayambhudeva.[15]

The area is full of mango, michaba, champaka (bearing yellow flower) and teak.

While the inscription was being recorded, Sitati with its tala had not only a fort but had become a trade centre and maintained a custom house.

The date symbols here are not very much clear as these are damaged. Gnoli read 109 while DV read 129. The symbol 100 though not clear can be read as it belongs to the reign of Śivadeva. The 9 is there but the symbol for 2 as read by DV is not much in evidence although there is a place for symbol 10 or 20. The dūtaka is Śrī Jayadeva bhaṭṭāraka.

In two places including the present inscription we found reference to Varṇāśrama in relation to kings who had upheld it. Undoubtedly the social system was based on the caste divisions. Such a reference is also found in some of the Indian records of 5th and 6th century.

Varṇāśramadharma is emphasised in the prasasti of Mahārājā Sankṣobha of the Paribrājaka dynasty,[16] and of Mahārājā Sarvva Varman of Maukhari dynasty. Mahārājā Hastin also of the Paribrājaka family in his Khoh CP of GS 209 calls himself ever engaged in establishing the system of varṇa (varṇāśramadharma sthāpana niratena). Sarvva Varman Maukhari whose approximate date according to Fleet was a little later than the reign of Kumāragupta is described as one who was habitually used to maintain the customary laws of Varṇāśrama (varṇāśrama vyavasthāpana pravṛtta).[17] The Sonepat CP inscription of Harṣavardhana refers to his father Prabhākaravardhana who is called the one engaged in maintaining the laws of the varṇa system (varṇāśrama vyavastha sthāpana pravṛtta).[18]

The Institution of Varṇāśrama

The inscription on the pedestal of Chaṇḍeśvara contains 4 lines, where the expression varṇāśramodbhāsita[19] occurs. Śivadeva's stele of Sonaguthi (within the temple premises of Bhṛngāreśvara) qualifies the king with the expression subihita varṇāśramasthiti. The Balambu inscription also gives him the credit of having enforced the custom of Varṇāśrama (Varṇāśrama samyagvirachita sakala varṇāśrama vyavasthāh). This meant that the society was based on the concept of varṇas, which were four, within which there was a plethora of castes. Anantalingeśvara inscription mentions also Chāndālas. So there were also castes outside the 4 varṇas, who were untouchables and outcastes. This is confirmed by Manu who says that he knows of only 4 varṇas and of no more. Those outside the 4 varṇas were pariahs or untouchables.

The concept of *dharmasankara* is based on the system of professional castes constituting the

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varṇas. We can imagine from the Bungmati inscription that the varṇas and professions (dharma) going along with them had become rigid and were enforced by the state to the extent that nobody could depart from his traditional course of conduct. This was Amśuvarmā in the early 7th century, who had openly exposed the dangers of abandoning one's occupation dictated by Varṇa concept. The Bungmati inscription indicates that Varṇāśrama was very ancient.

The Varṇāśrama, a society of varṇas, is always associated with the dharma. We cannot conceive of a varṇa without its dharma to be defined in the next few passages.

The dharma i.e. the system based on the varṇas was known as varṇāśramadharma. The dharma contained a set of rules under certain categorical assumptions with classifications and its own hierarchy of castes within each varṇa. There were castes and subcastes within a varṇa, high or low. Among the 4 varṇas, the Brāhmaṇas occupied the highest position, the Kṣatriyas came next, the Vaiśya the third and the Śudra the 4th. Their duties are the same as described while considering the state of dharmasankara.

The concept behind the varṇas was functional in essence. It continued to be functional until it was crystallised. Even while occupation had become hereditary, castes had not assumed the character of rigidity which however became a regular feature in the later ancient period. It this period caste hierarchy emerged, and while some occupations came to be taken as sacred and high others became lowly and impure. High and low castes and castes outside the varṇas were formed and consolidated in accordance with the character of functions and occupations.

Historically the varṇas came into existence as early as the Rigveda. The society of varṇas was varṇāśrama. The Yajurveda says that the Brāhmaṇas were born out of the mouth of the Lord, the Kṣatriyas out of his arms, the Vaiśyas out of his thigh and the Śudras out of his feet.[20] Allegorically the Brāhmaṇas performed the work of the mouth, which was chanting, reading and all that was done with its help. The Kṣatriyas were endowed with the strength of arms and were the protectors. The Vaiśyas did the work mainly using their legs. This was either trade requiring movements to far off countries or agriculture. The Śudras were also employed to do agricultural work but they mainly served at the feet of the upper caste master.

We have already suggested how the four varṇas were associated with colour in the Veda (Rigveda, I.73.7, II.3.5, IX.97.5, IX.104.4, 105.5, X.124.7). The Āryans were of fair colour and the dasas or Asuras were black. The former comprised of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. Rigveda (I.130.8) says that Indra punished dāsas to protect money. He killed dasyus of dark colour and broke cities. Indra helped the Āryas. The dāsa was called asura varṇa i.e. colour of asura, the dark skinned.[21] The dāsas and dasyus are identical. They were opposed to Āryans who were invaders. If the Āryans had been divided into warring groups later, they were nevertheless distinct from dāsas or dasyus. According to P.V. Kane the word varṇa was always applied to the dāsas, because they were a coloured race and never to the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas. The conception of high and low was born as in a society where the victors and the vanquished lived. So when war ceased and the Āryans settled down in friendship the dāsas were adopted as their servants. In course of time conjugal ties grew as the Āryans married dāsa girls, and a mixed populace came into being.

When varṇas and castes appeared with the human group, the occupation was the principal factor, but castes by birth became normal when birth on account of extraordinary bravery and later accumulation of wealth raised the status of a person perhaps not once but in course of time. However, the occupation factor has still stuck to the core but caste distinctions within a varṇa or distinction between two varṇas in terms of high and low superseded every other distinction, the result of which was the birth of a rigid caste system based on birth.

What is Dharma?

We have defined dharma already before we took up the question of dharmasankara. This is because a dharma carries a different meaning in regard to the dharma of each varṇa in terms of

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occupation. But not always dharma is associated with occupations. The meaning is different according to the context in which the word dharma is used. But all that we write here is to differentiate dharma from a sectarian concept of religion without reference to occupation or profession of each varṇa, as well as to emphasise the dharma aspect of different varṇas and how it differed from one to another. We must know that our society was based on the existence of 4 varṇas so loudly proclaimed by sages including Yājnavalkya, Manu and other smrtikāras including Kauṭilya. The last, however, is the only authority to talk of dharma sankara, while others talk of varṇa sankara, which has nothing to do with one's deviation from traditional concept of dharma with reference to one's profession or aspect of duty to be performed in the society in respect of occupation. Kauṭilya is of the opinion that the dharma is an established fact (1.3.4.) and each varṇa has one's dharma called *svadharma*. This is the occupation of a man as he pursues his dharma.

While dealing with the subject of dharmasankara as talked about in the inscription, our attention was automatically drawn to Kauṭilya. But here we are talking of a dharma in the Varṇāśrama system. Manu rather than Kauṭilya is of help to us in interpreting and understanding the concept of dharma in the context of varṇāśrama. Manu though at one time defines the dharma of a varṇa as Kauṭilya does it (V.77-90) but at another instance he links the same to customs followed according to birth. A varṇa was the criterion, and customs emanated from it. Thus dharma was such as was predetermined and related to the family rather to an individual. Thus the functional aspect is a little altered to make it vulnerable to interpretation, which might not look just the same as a varṇa's occupation. The dharma of Manu includes many things such as eating, drinking and observing rituals. These are prescribed by the sūtras. They could not be changed except when in extreme distress (āpadharma). Manu goes to details when he describes the customary practices. There is yet one more important factor in Manu. He emphasises the Samskāra aspect of dharma (110/X). Manu also differs from Kauṭilya in the sense of deviation from occupation. There is no concept of dharmasankara in Manu, but the word used is Vrātya. The latter is used not strictly for deviation of caste functions but denotes a sense of 'fallen' because of leading an impure life in respect of social and cultural pursuits. Manu is contradictory here because the Vrātyas include the tribes on the periphery and races living outside the frontiers, who, all of them, are placed in the Kṣatriya category, whatever their occupations. As we take Manu's concept of dharma it is always safe not to insist on the occupation of a varṇa.

Unlike Kauṭilya the smṛti of Manu talks of 'pure and impure' in relation to each varṇa and castes within it. Then the question of superiority and inferiority is also as important for Manu. It is not to suggest that the meaning of the Varṇāśramadharma had changed from the time of Kauṭilya to that of Manu. But the concept of the purity of castes by birth is now made with greater emphasis by the latter. We write all this just to explain the complex nature of the dharma as conceived in the Varṇāśrama system. The readers also might understand that Varṇāśrama is mainly concerned with one's birth, meaning to which varṇa he was born and whether after samskāra he does the forbidden things. We should not overlook the occupation aspect of the system but this becomes secondary by virtue of the fact that one's birth in a caste is more important than anything else, for as Manu allows choice of a profession to the person of a particular varṇa other than what was ordained for the varṇa. But it is better if the choice fell on the occupation of the varṇa next to his own (81, 82/X). Of course the change is for the sake of livelihood. But which occupation is not meant for livelihood? Manu suggests that of the six functions of a Brāhmaṇa, the three are for subsistence (76/X). The Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas were no exception to this general scheme, not to speak of the Sūdras who always had to work for a pittance. The smṛtis do not take into account avarṇas, those who are out of the caste hierarchy, and as such they could be dismissed out of consideration. Why should those whose place is below human be included in the society?

The varṇas were originally created on the basis of occupation. In the Gitā Lord Kṛṣṇa is made to state that he created the 4 varṇas according to one's qualities and occupation (Chāturvarṇyam mayāsrstam guṇa karma bibhāgasa). The Gitā also says that everybody is born a Śudra, and becomes twice-born on going through samskāra, ceremonial observance (janmanājāyate śudra samskāraddvijamu-

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chyate). But the Varṇa system was based on the most odious distinction between man and man belonging to different varṇas. It was based on the conception that while some Varṇas commanded respectability others were destined to live in servitude and all this was so because of one's birth. The occupation aspect of the varṇa had become so rigid in course of time that none whatsoever could change the links, yet the classical writers have been read to observe that the system had got to be preserved by means of a daṇḍa of divine character. Kauṭilya has the following line in this connection: Chāturvarṇāśramo loka rājñah daṇḍena pālita (I.4.16), In Dharmasthiya the same sense is repeated by Kauṭilya who states 'the society is based on 4 varṇas, and it is there because of the protection given to its character. The king saves it from being destroyed and therefore he is dhamapravartaka. The king's government is essential for dharma, vyavahāra and charitra' (37, 38). Here Kauṭilya uses dharma in a different sense not to connect it with a varṇa. The dharma is dictated by Śāstras and goes along with nyāya and it rests on truth. But Kauṭilya does not say what satya and nyāya are (40, 41). To Yājnavalkya and other lawgivers the Varṇāśrama is most sacred and not only the individual but the state was also committed to maintaining it with all its might. Yājnavalkya thinks that the king obtained his daṇḍa from Brahmā and the 4 varṇa system was also created by him. Manu talks of dvija and ekaja and of those who are outside the system. The dvijas were twice born because their second birth was due to initiation ceremony they had to undergo at a certain age, which raised them to a higher status from the ordinary human being.

But all dvijas were not of the same status, though all of them were superior to the Śudras, a non-dvija group. However, the fate of those who did not come within the Varṇa system can only be imagined. They were treated as below human.

Manu speaks of these people with derision. He would assert that he was not prepared to take notice of them, which obviously means that there is no place for them in the society. There are only 4 varṇas and there is no fifth. Manu states: Brāhmana Kṣatriya Vaiśyas chaturtha ekajatistrayo varṇa dvijatayah Śudra nāsti (4/X).

To Manu the Śudra is a jāti not even a Varṇa. As a jāti he came lowest in the order. The dvijas had also 3 divisions each with its own status in the order. Of these the Brāhmana was the highest. He commanded highest respect from every other varṇa due to his distinctive qualities, the superiority of his origin and his keeping to his yama and niyama and the peculiarity of his sacrament:

Vaiseṣyātprakṛti-sraiṣṭhyān niyamasya chadhāranāt
Saṁskārasya viśeṣāchcha varṇānān brahmanahprabhu (3/X)

The varṇāśrama system was dominated by the Brāhmanas. They were a class of people, who monopolised knowledge which to all intents and purposes is power. With this power at their disposal they led the society and controlled the entire social system:

Sarveṣām brāhmaṇo vidyād vrttyupāyānyatha-vidhi
prabrūyād itarebhyaścha svayam chaivatathāchavet (2/X)

The Brāhmaṇas are above every caste. The varṇa who handled weapons and the varṇa who traded and farmed became also subservient to the Brahmanas. The Brāhmaṇas made a rule that the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya could listen to Vedic mantras but no one except themselves should undertake the task of teaching the Vedas. Here, however, one thing extraordinary happens. Because of weapons in their hands the Kṣatriya alone could become king. The Brāhmaṇa lacked qualities of a fighter and therefore just advised them. They played the role of ministers and at times advisors over their head. The Vaiśya was subservient to these two classes but more to the Brāhmaṇas and the Śūdras were always suppressed. Considering that birth dictated the position of the varṇas, the arrangement in regard to class structure and position had become permanent and rigid and every one had to accept the situation as it came to him on account of his birth and heritage.

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We have in the beginning made it clear that the Varṇāśrama is based on the most obnoxious and inhuman type of discrimination between man and man. Because the whole thing is ordained by birth it becomes more objectionable from a human point of view. It goes against the dignity of man. There is gross inequality practised under the system so that all good aspects of human character, like love, mercy, charity, generosity, etc. are sacrificed. It is true that Kauṭilya and Manu preached 'abstention from injury, truth, absence of anger, restraint of the passions'[22] and these were to be practised by all the Varṇas. But all these belong to individual dharma for all the Varṇas. They do not affect the discrimination practised in the society by one Varṇa against another. Sometimes these might help the exploiting classes to continue the usual activity, because the downtrodden is under obligation not to retaliate, and reconcile to serfdom he is reduced to. The Varṇāśramadharma means to us, the modern world, that a huge majority of people are excluded from the social order, and are compelled to live the life of a being below human. I am talking here of the 4th Varṇa and Varṇetara, those outside the Varṇa system. The Chāṇḍālas as the latter were called lived like animals, without dharma and without saṁskāra, which was denied to a Śudra also. If the non-varṇa humanity lived in poverty performing all the unclean works, the Śūdra also without a Saṁskāra was prohibited to amass fortune. Manu says that he could not do so even if he had the capacity and opportunity, because once a Śūdra becomes wealthy he would use his wealth to undermine the status of Brāhmaṇas:

Śaktenāpi śūdrena na kāryo dhana sanchaya/
Śūdro hi dhanamāsadya brāhmaṇameva bādhate// (129/X)

The Śūdra's fate was a little better than that of an avarṇa (outcaste), He lived in extreme poverty, worked for the upper castes and was treated in the society as a slave. He could perform some works no doubt. But as Manu's commentator Bhāruchi states in this dispensation the Śūdra's fate was doomed, the upper castes saw to it that he was always suppressed. As it was said earlier the Brāhmaṇas got the lion's share in the dispensation of Varṇāśramadharma. The Jñāneśvara inscription of Śivadeva calls the Brāhmaṇas the 'gods of earth' (bhūmidevas). It is true that a life of abstention was preferred for him and this was the life which earned high regards from the other varṇas. For a Śūdra service of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya was recommended as a means of subsistence but if he could be of service to the Brāhmaṇas, the Śūdra reserved a seat in heaven along with subsistence. Manu categorically states: vipra-sevaiva śūdrasya viśtam karma kirtyate yadaito myāddhi kurute svargārtham ubhayārtham vā brāhmaṇānamabhidhārayet (121/X) and all this whatever it means will agree with the tenets of dharma. The commentator Bhāruchi adds, śūdrasyedam brāhmaṇārdhan vrttyārthamapi sad. A Śūdra got a maintenance allowance but this was limited to the remnants of food in the kitchen, worn out cloth of the Brāhmaṇa family, etc. We are to know from this how the Śūdras were treated in the society. To add, the jobs they were allotted like ploughing, carpentry or smithing, various mechanical arts including painting, etc, did not bring him sufficient food and dancing, singing, theatrical acting were considered to be too heinous for the dvija to perform. The Śūdra provided entertainment to the latter but he was all the more pushed down in public esteem. But where does he get his esteem? He was of a caste that was fallen because he was not allowed to enjoy the bliss of Saṁskāra.

The Chāṇḍāla is worst treated. He does not even partake of the dharma of a Śudra. He is just suffered to occupy a space on the periphery of the village. He could only enter the village by causing sounds to announce his approach. Fa-Hsien who was in Magadha in 412 A.D. reports that he had seen a number of people wailing by the sides of the street with a bell on ears ringing. This was to let the passengers know that they belonged to inferior castes of untouchables. A more heinous situation could ever be conceived to exist under the so much lauded Varṇāśramadharma.

Varṇāśramadharma is emphasised in the prasasti of Mahārājā Sankṣobha of the Paribrājaka dynasty and of Mahārājā Sarvva Varman of Maukhari dynasty. Mahārājā Hastin also of the Paribrājaka family in his Khoh CP of GS 209 calls himself ever engaged in establishing the system of varṇa (varṇāśrama-

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dharma sthāpana niratena). Sarvva Varman Maukhari whose approximate date according to Fleet was a little later than the reign of Kumāra Gupta is described as one who was habitually used to maintain the customary laws of Varṇāśrama (varṇāśrama vyavasthāpanā pravrtta). The Sonepat CP inscription of Harṣavardhana refers to his father Prabhākaravardhana who is called the one engaged in maintaining the laws of the caste system (varṇāśrama vyavasthā pravrtta).

As we quote passages from Kauṭilya and Manu it must have come to our knowledge that the Varṇāśrama was strictly followed in India as in Nepal. The above paragraph dealing with the practice followed in India during the Gupta period amply proves this fact.

Castes

Castes came within the Varṇas which are often mentioned in the inscriptions. But Varṇāśrama dharma, which is a more comprehensive term to cover castes might convey the idea of Varṇas (colours) and castes (Jāti).[23]

As Varṇas belong to antiquity so is the caste system. In fact castes were the layers within a Varṇa and they came into existence simultaneously.

There were castes born of marriages within the same varṇas and castes born of the union of two kinds of varṇas, the upper and lower as well as born of a caste and non-caste union. The latter were outside the Varṇa system and were outcastes. They were called Chāṇḍālas. Similarly issues born out of the union within the prohibited degree of marital union were regarded as Chāṇḍālas. These are anuloma and pratiloma unions, which created castes. In the case of anuloma union the issues were kept outside the varṇas because the father belonged to a higher caste and the mother to a lower one. So also the pratiloma union, i.e. union in the reverse order, gave birth to Chāṇḍālas. Manu (10/X) observes viprasya tṛṣu varṇeṣu nṛpate varṇa yo dvayoh vaiśyasya varṇa chaikasmin ṣaḍ ètè pasadah smṛtah. The verse sums up what was stated earlier.

But actually the children born of anuloma union are polluted only in theory but they are not placed outside the Varṇa system. By apasadah a sense of 'fallen' is meant but this should not be regarded as to have pushed them down outside the fold of Varṇas and castes. It is so in theory no doubt but in practice they were treated as Śūdras. We know that the classics talk of 36 castes in Nepal, and these existed within the Varṇas, and most of them belonged to Śūdra varṇa or avarṇa. It is so because a vast majority of people in the society belonged to these categories.

The varṇāśrama is a multiple and complex structure and its patterns are equally comprehensive. Its many essential features are beyond our ability to understand outmoded as they are. We are not, however, dealing with castes in detail here, because this is superfluous. We may just count them in order following Manu, who is the only authority to discuss the castes in more than ordinary way. The following will show how castes stood:

(1) Sūta born to Kṣatriya by a Brāhmaṇa woman
(2) Māgadha born to Kṣatriya by a Brāhmaṇa woman
(3) Vaideha born to a Brāhmaṇa woman from a Vaiśya father
(4) Āyogava or Chāṇḍāla or Ksātra is born of a Śūdra father and Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya woman

There are many such other statements, but these contradict each other and it is also not possible to produce a list of castes as Manu does. I think that it is the stage we stop with the Varṇas and castes here.

From our inscriptions we come to know that there were varṇas and castes. The Brāhmaṇas are often cited as leaders of the community, to whom the royal address was directed. There is a reference to Kṣatriya and Vaiśya communities. The royal names belonged all to Kṣatriyas. Our inscription in the name of sārthavāha Ratnasaṅgha is suggestive of merchant community, the Vaiśyas.

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According to Brahmavaivarta purāṇa Kh. 10 chapter there follow numerous castes. But the Purāṇa says that the castes are all born from the 3 Varṇas. It is also said that out of the four Varṇas the Brāhmaṇas come first and the first 3 are called twice born. All the jātis are created because of a woman mixing up with a man of higher or lower caste as the case may be. The jātis thus are castes within a Varṇa and born of two Varṇas.

Uśanasa is the author who gives a very exhaustive list of castes. His list surpasses in number all other lists including those of ancient lawgivers and Purāṇas. They also seem to cause the scheme of the present system of castes.

So does Manu. He enumerates many castes. Chapter X describes the entire caste structure including their names which existed within the varṇa system.

The classical concept of the caste system was that the Brāhmaṇas were normally most sacred and highest in the order and also fathered all castes of the 4 Varṇas. Even the Chāṇḍālas were born of Brāhmaṇas but in a fallen condition.

137. Narayana Chaur, Naksal

This is a 12 line inscription but out of 12 lines, 3-8 lines are totally damaged. The beginning shows Kailāsakūṭabhavana and Mahārājādhirāja Śivadeva kuśali.

Obviously this is a charter issued by Śivadeva. But the gift is not known. The dūtaka's name is Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Jayadeva. The year is missing. But the month Pauṣa śukla (5th) is there. We do not know what year it is.

138. Musumbahal, Kathmandu

The two line inscription speaks of an image of Buddha made for the welfare of all the living beings by Bhikṣuṇī Saṅgha, a congregation of female monks, which donated some panas and puranas for the repair and worship of the deity concerned.

The place has another stone with the script in late Brahmi. But only a few letters are visible on the stone as it is totally damaged.

The existence of a Saṅgha of female monks is established by one more inscription in view of the reference to Bhikṣuṇī Saṅgha.

The date of the Balambu inscription of Śivadeva is confusing because of the damage in the date figures, the symbol shows 100 in the beginning and 9 at the end. The middle portion however is missing. Other things being equal the middle symbol could be imagined. The gap could be filled with 10 or 20. This would bring out S. 119 for certain, but even S. 129 may not be disputed. Because the clearly expressed date of Śivadeva is S. 125 as shown by the Sonaguthi stele, this much is certain that Śivadeva was ruling in that year. But what after that? We cannot with certainty suggest 129 as the date of the Balambu inscription, though we may do so at some risk. However, as the Chyasaltol inscription shows Jayadeva definitely started his reign about S. 137. Because his Pasupati inscription is dated S. 157 and if it is a fact that Śivadeva had died much earlier to S. 137 and Jayadeva himself had died much later than S. 157 then his reign was a long one.

JAYADEVA

The Chyasaltol Inscription under consideration brings out for the first time the name of Jayadeva, who is unique in providing a long genealogy of his dynasty in the Pasupati stele of S. 157 (No. 142).

I do not know how we shall take the earlier part of genealogy. But the second part coming after 11 unnamed kings contains royal names who have to their credit numerous inscriptions. Jayadeva gives names from Vṛṣadeva to Vasantadeva, but leaves out Gaṇadeva whose records are no less numerous. Instead of filling the gap by Rāmadeva and Vāmanadeva, predecessors of Gaṇadeva and Gangadeva,

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successor of Gaṇadeva, king Jayadeva who claims the Lichchhavi origin for all the rulers of Nepal omits 12 names, among which there is Śivadeva I with so many inscriptions to his credit.

The genealogy he gives is much confusing. The only reliable portion is the last one, as the line of successors from Udayadeva to Jayadeva is presented without any error. Actually speaking Jayadeva's genealogy would be useless had it not been for his own direct line. From him alone we learn that Udayadeva was his great grandfather.

But this is an insufficient account of Udayadeva coming as it does from the great grandson who figures one hundred years later.

One thing which seems to be not at all understandable is the lack of any information about Narendradeva's adventures in Tibet, his home-coming and circumstances of his restoration to the throne. Jayadeva has devoted quite a few words to his father's marriage relation with the kings of East India. He mentions Bhogavarmā of Maukhari family, his mother Vatsadevi's father and then her grandfather (mother's father) king Adityasena of Magadha. The king of Gauḍa, Kalinga and Kośala was his own father-in-law and he takes more than ordinary pride in mentioning these names. But why nothing is being said about his great grandfather's ouster, the coup d'etat by his uncle, Dhruvadeva with the help of Jiṣṇugupta and then his father's coming to throne with Tibetan help? This is puzzling but at the same time interesting too.

Jayadeva was all along a dūtaka in Śivadeva's inscriptions. But he never comes to be called yuvarāja unlike his father, and Skandadeva and Śauryadeva in Narendradeva's inscriptions. Jayadeva is just Rājaputra in the earlier 3 inscriptions, and Bhaṭṭāraka in the later two inscriptions, where his name as dūtaka figures. Why he is denied the title of yuvarāja and is just addressed as Rājaputra is a riddle. Bhaṭṭāraka in the Balambu (No. 127) and Narayanachaur (No. 137) inscriptions seems to be normally correct. But the title of Rājaputra for yuvarāja looks a little more out of sorts.

Literally a Rājaputra is the son of the king. But the title Rājaputra is quite often assumed by a king's kith and kin, the collaterals, who have no claim to the throne. We know of Rājaputra Babhruvarmā of the Sikuvahi inscription (No. 48) and Rājaputra Nandavarmā and his father Rājaputra Jiṣṇuvarmā of the Ādeśvava inscription (No. 100).

We understand this position but why should a successor to the throne be given the title of Rājaputra? This is something unknown and unheard of in our history as well as the history of India.

The title Bhaṭṭāraka, however, is apt and this might go to compensate the omission of the proper title at the earlier stage. Bhaṭṭāraka as we have suggested earlier is an epithet used with divine being or a king or a son of the king.

139. Chyasaltol, Patan

This inscription in the courtyard of the water conduit of Chyasaltol is issued by Jayadeva with the usual epithets Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānugṛhita and bappa pādānudhyāta.

As 4-11 lines are destroyed, we cannot say what the gift was. The later portion is a delimitation of the boundaries obviously of a village, which had attained Koṭṭamaryādā (l. 24). As the 23rd line is damaged at its end portion, the letter available to us in the 24th (beginning) is *laprāsādamaṇḍalābhyāntre.*

It could be recast as Devakulaprāsāda, etc, which would mean that the fort was so created within the boundaries of the temple site. The reference to Reṭā and Lopring pānchālī occurs in the delimitation of boundary section. Lopring pānchālī has a garden (vātikā). The boundary line runs through this garden to the top of the hill of Dolāśikhara (l. 19), then going north east to Punu panchalikā kṣetra (field) and to the north west again coming to fields of Lopring Pānchālī, then reaching the fields of Nārāyaṇa temple's Goṣṭhikā, which managed the celebration on the 10th day (daśamī), and coming to the field of Indra Gauṣṭhikā of the Lopring pānchālī, thereafter to the field of Umātīrtha and this ended in the field of Puṣpavātikā vihāra. The land thus delimited fell within the . . . . . maṇḍala and was given the status of a Koṭṭa by the procedure of svayamājnā through the appointed agent dūtaka Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Vijayadeva on Samvat 137 Jyeṣṭha śukla pānchamyām. The word

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bhaṭṭāraka indicates he was a crown prince. His identity will be discussed later.

The inscription belongs to Jayadeva II. Vijayadeva is regarded by some as a vicarious name of Jayadeva. But no king as yet figures as dūtaka in his own record. Perhaps Vijayadeva was the son and successor of Jayadeva. But no inscription of Vijayadeva is available.

Where the grāma was situated is difficult to imagine. The reference to some places might lead one to think that it must be somewhere near the present day Changu. The reference to Dolāśikhara is enough for this conclusion. Lopring grāma also figures in another inscription, the Vajraghar stele of Narendradeva, where it is associated in the same way as Indra Gauṣṭhikā, which had a field through which the line of demarcation passed. There is also a reference to the path leading to Puṣpavātikā vihāra (l. 23). Ambutīrtha also finds mention in the Vajraghar inscription, where its field is joined with that of Dakṣiṇeśvara at the boundary line. The Vajraghar stele mentions also Vāgvatī so it might be the agrahāra demarcated in this record was somewhere near Vāgvatī (Bagmatī). But Vāgvatī is missing in the present inscription. However, the location of the Koṭṭa might be close to the agrahāra enjoyed by Śivadeva vihāra.

Parameśvara

Besides the divine title of bhaṭṭāraka or paramabhaṭṭāraka our kings also addressed themselves as Parameśvara. Such a title, however, is missing in ancient inscriptions of Nepal. It is only in medieval records that a king without exception is given the title of Parameśvara. Jayadeva, however, in his Chyasaltol inscription calls himself Parameśvara.

But in North and North Eastern India, this title is adopted by monarchs since the 7th century A.D. This is evident in the inscriptions of some Gupta Emperors and succeeding ruling families.

Śrī Harṣa in his Banskheḍā copper plate is called 'Maheśvara iva sarva satvānukampayat' (like Maheśvara shaking the whole world).[24]

The Pāla rulers never abandoned this title. Dharmapāla in his Khalimpur inscription calls himself *Parameśvara*,[25] Devapāla takes the title of Parameśvara in his Monghyr C.P.[26] As it is found all the Pāla rulers adopted the title of Parameśvara. This was so also in the case of Narayanapala.

Why the medieval rulers of Nepal called themselves Parameśvara can be explained by the fact that they learnt the practice from the contemporary rulers of Bengal in the 11th century A.D.

140. Minanatha

This inscription was first published by Bhagwanlal Indraji. It is one of the two inscriptions standing on a platform in front of the main gate of Mīnānātha, the monastic area being called Tangabahi. The central few lines have disappeared and the marginal letters of both sides are eroded further. But the date Samvat 148 shows that it belongs to Jayadeva who had issued a charter regulating the distribution of a channel for the purpose of irrigation. Going to the damaged lines it appears that the *tilamaka* (canal) was a gift of the king to the people of Yūpagrāma (modern Patan). Some meaning could be imagined out of certain lines in the record. If the canal is disturbed due to fresh digging by somebody, and he escaped, then the eye witness should report the matter to the executive body of the Koṭṭa and it was also necessary that the original structure had to be restored. For drawing their share of water nobody should be prevented whether it is night or day. The men who interfere . . . . . catching hold of them, should be surrendered to the Palace. If any dispute arises regarding the canal this should be settled by the procedure of antarāsana (Paramāsana). The water of the canal should be divided into 7 parts for irrigation. Of the 7 parts one goes each to Gigvala pāñchālikā, Jājje pāñchālikā, Tegvala pāñchālikā and Yugvala pāñchālikā but 3 to . . lla pāñchālikā.

The dūtaka is Yuvarāja Śrī Vijayadeva.

The word antarāsana in the 10th line is our conjectural reading. This is Dhanavajra's reading as well. I have introduced within brackets the other version paramāsana as another conjectural reading.

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Nobody is sure what actually was the expression because of the damage. However, it should make no difference as to the meaning any one of these conveys. As we shall understand later, the two words mean the same thing.

Distribution of Water for Irrigation

The Minanatha inscription is conspicuous for the decree the king issues to distribute canal water to different villages. The state had taken great responsibilities. The king had made dispensation to the effect that the water was to be used in 7 equal parts, one each by Gigvala Pānchālikā, Jājje Pānchālikā, Tegvala Pānchālikā and Yugvala Pānchālikā but 3 parts were to go to the share of lla Pānchālikā (the name is not clear). The water was to flow uninterruptedly night and day, and none could interfere with the assigned share. If there was any obstacle then the person responsible for it was arrested and surrendered to the Royal Palace. The king personally intervened whenever some controversy relating to the distribution scheme arose.

It appears that the state was involved in various fields of social and economic activities and distribution of canal water was one of such fields, which was charged to its responsibility. This is a responsibility of secular character, which the king had undertaken.

141. Jaisideval Water Conduit

This inscription on a dilapidated conduit was first published by Bendall. The conduit is lying in a street near Jaisideval. It has a date 151 Vaiśākha śukla 2. The jaladroṇa (water conduit) supplying drinking water was built by Bhogamatī, wife of Atitatambha. In the 4 line inscription the last line loses 2 letters between jaladroṇa saha and mā 2. But it appears that mā 2 was the share of produce from the field allocated as a grant for the maintenance of the water conduit.

142. Paśupati Stele

This is the longest inscription of the period first published by Bhagwanlal Indraji. The stele is kept within the compound of the temple of Paśupati. It is dated 157. There is no dūtaka. The first 2 verses invoke the blessing of Lord Paśupati.

The most important part of the inscription is the genealogy of the Lichhavi kings it gives. It starts with the Sun God, grandson of Brahmā, whose son was Manu who gave birth to Ikṣvāku. The genealogy after Ikṣvāku was as follows:

Ikṣvāku, his son
Vikuksi, his son
Prithu, his son
Kakutstha, his son
Visvagarva

Then there were 28 kings one after the other. The 29th king was Sagara whose son was Asamanjasa and then

Amśumān, his son
Dilipa, his son
Bhagiratha, his son

and after some kings appeared Raghu, then his son Aja, his son Dasaratha and his son Rāma. After 8 kings, the 9th was Lichhavi. The dynasty onwards adopted the name after king Lichhavi.

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Twelve kings passed, and then came Supuspa, the 13th descendant of Lichhavi. Then after 23 kings had expired, Jayadeva became famous in the line. Thereafter 12 kings ruled one by one.

Vṛṣadeva, a follower of Buddha's doctrines, was the 13th. His immeditate successors were as follows:

Vṛṣadeva, his son
Śankaradeva, his son
Dharmadeva, his son
Mānadeva, his son
Mahideva, his son
Vasantadeva, whose 13th successor (after 11+1) was
Udayadeva, his son
Narendradeva, his son
Śivadeva, his son
Jayadeva

Śivadeva married Vatsadevī, the daughter of Bhogavarmmā of the Maukhari dynasty and granddaughter (daughter's daughter) of Ādityasena, the great king of Magadha. Bhogavarmmā was the jewel of the crest of kings.

Jayadeva was the issue of this marriage. He on his part married Rājyamatī, daughter of Harṣadeva, king of Gauḍa, Odra, Kalinga. She belonged to the line of Bhagadatta.

There are altogether 34 verses highly poetic, 5 of which (20, 25, 27, 28, 29) are composed by the king and the rest by Buddhakīrti. Jayadeva offered a large silver lotus with gold at the centre to Lord Paśupatinātha and the stele was set up on that occasion.

Vatsadevī, the king's mother, performed Padmapūjā by offering a number of silver made lotuses with eight petals for the welfare of her ownself and her late husband.

The lotus is compared with the lotus associated with various deities, one of them Bodhisatva Lokeśvara.

As Jayadeva mentions his relation through his mother with the Maukhari king and Ādityasena and with Harṣadeva, king of Assam through his wife, he does so to show to his people his enhanced prestige as a result of these marriages. But none of the inscriptions of the Maukhari kings or Harṣadeva of Assam talk of any marriage relations with the Nepalese kings.

At one place Jayadeva is given the title of parachakrakāma. According to the poet the title came to him because of his courage and because he had maintained his kingdom by the valour of his hands. Parachakrakāma literally means one who desired to defeat a hostile foe or army. In verse 16 Jayadeva's poet uses expressions carrying double meaning:

अङ्गश्रिया परिगतो जितकामरूप: काञ्चिगुणाढ्य वनिताभिरूपास्यमान: । कुर्व्वन्सुराष्ट्र परिपालन कार्यचिन्तां य: सार्व्वभौम चरितं प्रकटी करोति ॥

Ordinarily it would mean a description of Jayadeva as commanding a graceful body (angaśrī), more beautiful than Kāmadeva (jitakamarupa), served by women wearing a band round their waist, and who wanted to rule his country flourishing. By all these King Jayadeva exhibits qualities of a sovereign conqueror of the world. The occurrence of Anga, Kānchi, Kāmarupa and Surastra might mislead people to think that Jayadeva had conquered these territories. But this was an impossible task, which could not even be imagined.

But this is just a playing of words by the poet. King Jayadeva was neither a conqueror nor ruled over a large kingdom. The words Anga, Kāmarupa, Kanchi and Surastra are no doubt names of countries but in the verse they do not mean kingdoms of such names.

Metres: The inscription consists of 34 stanzas in 35 lines divided in the following metres (chhanda):

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stanzas 1, 3, 5, 19, 20, 22, 23, 30, 32, sragdhara; stanzas 2, 4, 6, 7, 12-15, 17, 21, 25-29, 33, 34 sardulavikridita; stanzas 8, 11, 16 vasantatilaka; stanzas 9, 24, 31 upajāti, indravajrā and upendravajrā; anustup 10, 18.

Poetry

The entire inscription appears in verses and the man who composed them shows himself off as a poet of stature. In fact this composition is unparalleled in the inscriptional literature of Nepal and it can well compare in excellence with poems of quality in Sanskrit poetic literature. The same quality pervades in the Changu Narayan Pillar inscription of Mānadeva but lacks in others.

The poetic verses are attributed to Buddhakīrti who must have been a court poet of the day except 5 of them (20, 25, 27, 28 and 29) composed by the king himself, who claims to be a good poet himself but as it did not become one to sing a praise of his own and his family, he had left the composition to another person and was himself content with writing only 5 stanzas.

Altogether the inscription has 28 stanzas, and of these the half is devoted to describe the lotus of silver in all aspects. The lotus was offered by the king's mother Śrī Vatsadevī to Lord Paśupatināṭha in course of a Pūjā (worship) called Padmapūjā.

The silver lotus with 8 petals was given to Vatsadevī by Jayadeva. The eight petals conformed to the name *aṣṭamūrti* of the Lord.

The lotus is described in different ways and compared with so many other lotuses. In the poet's words 'Is it the lotus which stood out of the nether world or is it one which sprang from the navel of Padmanābha (Viṣṇu) and became the seat of the four faced Brahmā in the resemblance of 4 faces appearing in the lotus as well as in the god of creation?'

The poet further says 'Is this lotus spread out as a typical symbol of the divine procreative energy while the Lord was dancing or is the ray of the moon obtaining the beauty as if was the autumn season or is it a piece of snow detached from the Kailāsa mountain appearing here in obeisance or is it an accumulation of the nectar juice which has come to keep company of the poison in the throat of the Lord, as if it came in normal course having been born together out of the milk ocean?' (Now the king himself) writes, 'Does it look like the white coloured hood of Śeṣa serpent, full of brilliance, resembling the ray of the moon, who had come to bow to the Lord? or is it the tide of the milk ocean sprung out of the rasātala (nether world) rising to help perform the bath of the Lord by His grace?' (verse 21) Could it be that the same snake had come to worship the Lord, the conqueror of Tripurāsura, with the fully blooming lotus in Lakṣmī's hand, by the order of Viṣṇu who is enjoying his sleep lying in petals upon it? Thus the wives of the sages, overwhelmed with joy at the sight (of the lotus) started arguing. But the lotus says 'I have surely a nāli, a hollow stalk of lotus but I am made of silver. I am lotus made by the king and I can provide a seat. How can I resemble in my new brightness Lakṣmī's lotus or the lotus on which Brahmā sits? Even in Manasa lake which on this earth delights the world, there is no lotus like me, and the bright sun, and the bright day or the bright lake (māne) are not different from me. The same silver lotus like the gold coloured filaments of lotus with vermilion-like red brightness is laughing over other lotuses because of its beauty?'

The words used in this long description of the lotus form at times alliteration ad infinitum, which mars the excellence of the poetry in them and it is so much exaggerated that it amounts to gross falsification of historical truth. As if this was not enough more verses about the lotus are added later. In the king's own composition verses 26, 29, 30 are directed to this end.

In the verse 26 the lotus is equated with Brahma's lotus, with widespread and large petals. In the 28th verse the composer compares it with the lotus of the river Mandākinī, wet with water, seated over the head of Śambhu, one blooming in heaven but now come to covet the earth with a desire to see the new lotus and says 'or was it just the line of excellent air carriers or is it lotus of Lokeśvara's hand, which came to witness?' The 30th verse which is the composition of the king pushes the exaggeration of the description to its climax. The lotus is compared with the beautiful current of the

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heavenly river flowing downwards and also with the lotus through which Brahmā came along with it out of Viṣṇu's navel come here to have a glimpse of the nice lotus on the earth. He further states 'Is it the moon, clean and shining, on the head of the Śiva descending?' People gazed in wonder with delighted eyes.

It was a simple silver lotus with eight petals he had presented to his mother to enable her to offer the same for worship to Lord Pasupati. The presentation of the narrative in ornamental phrases reflects vulgar exaggeration.

But kings in those days resorted to such methods to highlight their deeds, however small they might be.

In this way the poet uses the word parachakrakāma. Jayadeva ruled over a small tract of land, yet he wanted to show that he had a keen desire to conquer and annex foreign territories. He could not give the names of the countries he wanted to conquer. Therefore he satisfied his vanity by presenting idea before his people that he was anxious to add new territories to his small kingdom.

The vedi has been described as a place surrounded by snow-capped hills. But it is a reference to the valley of Nepal and it must have a different location from what it has now, because the valley does not face snow on the hills around it.

Marital Relation with North Indian Royal Houses

Jayadeva claims that his mother Vatsadevī was the daughter of the Maukhari King Bhogavarmā and a grand-daughter (daughter's daughter) of the Magadha King Ādityasena. He also claims to have married Devī Rājyamatī who was the daughter of Śrī Harṣadeva, King of Gauḍa, Odra, Kalinga and Kośala.

Indian sources are quite reticent about Vatsadevī and Rājyamatī. The marriage of Ādityasena's daughter to the Maukhari King Bhogavarmā is unknown to the inscriptions of the period. Ādityasena's later career coincided with the initial years of Śivadeva of Nepal, so the marriage could not be improbable. But this applies only to Śivadeva.

However, Ādityasena never mentions anything in his inscriptions about Vatsadevī's mother who was married to Maukhari King Bhogavarmā. The latter should not be confused with Bhogavarmā of Amśuvarmā's inscriptions. This Bhogavarmā was the officer of state, and was a Nepalese serving in Nepal.

According to the inscription Bhogavarmā was born of Bhogadevī, a sister of Amśuvarmā and his father was Rājaputra Śurasena.

Bhogavarmā was certainly a supporter of Amśuvarmā. Bhogavarmā is a Mahāsāmanta in the inscription of Na-bahil. He enjoyed the favour of Amśuvarmā and was his supporter, and therefore was promoted to the high rank.

Is Bhogavarmā of Jayadeva's inscription the name of a Maukhari prince? Bhogavarmā is missing in the Maukhari records so far available to us. Ādityasena never gives information of his daughter in his inscription. The Deo Bārānak inscription of Jīvitagupta II while mentioning Ādityasena and his queen has nothing to say about a daughter and her marriage with a Maukhari king.

Bhogavarmā's name is discussed by historians but they doubt if he was a sovereign ruler, the discussion, however, is based on Jayadeva's reference to him in his inscription and not on his own records or any records of the kings of the Maukhari dynasty.

But Jayadeva paints a picture of an illustrious ruler of the Maukhari dynasty who was strong and who bore the epithet 'Śrīvarmachūḍāmaṇī', crest of the jewels of Śrīvarmans.

We could only suggest that all these high sounding epithets are there because Jayadeva was anxious to raise the status of the image of his wife by painting a picture of glory about his father-in-law.

We have to take Jayadeva's statement with a grain of salt as the very position of Bhogavarmā as king is doubtful and it is also well nigh difficult to accept his Maukhari lineage.[27]

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As for King Harṣadeva's daughter Rājyamatī it is yet difficult to trace his identity. If he was the king of Gauḍa and at the same time of Odra, Kalinga and Kośala. Rājyamatī is described to have been born in the line of Bhagadatta, king of Kāmarupa, who fought in the great epic war (Mahābhārata). Jayadeva's father-in-law Harṣadeva is claimed as a ruler of Assam by P.C. Chaudhary, who in his book 'History of Civilisation in Assam' identifies him with Harṣavarmā of Haynthal grant and Śrī Harṣa of the Vanamala inscription. Harṣadeva of Jayadeva's Pasupati stele is not mentioned as king of Kamarupa (Pragjyotiṣapura). It is for this reason and because Jayadeva mentions him as king of Odra and Kalinga (i.e. Orissa of today) historians of India try to identify him with the prince of that name who ruled over the delta of Mahānadī as a contemporary of the Nepalese ruler Jayadeva. Harṣadeva is said to belong to Keshari dynasty of Orissa.

R.C. Majumdar takes a safer course. If Gauḍa goes without a king of the name of Harṣadeva he argues that the man acceptable in that capacity could be the ruler of a tiny principality of that region. But this does not answer to the tribute paid to Harṣadeva said to be ruling over the three large countries by his son-in-law.

The question of ascertaining marital connections of Jayadeva with the so-called Maukhari royal family and Harṣadeva of Gauḍa might be left here at this stage without settling the main issue as to who these princes were and how they were drawn to give their daughters in marriage to the kings of Nepal.

Could Harṣadeva of the Apsad inscription, who was an associate of Ādityasena's father, be called the prince of Gauḍa and as such be identified with Jayadeva's father-in-law? If it was so, the inscription would not have failed to notice his identity but there is nothing of the kind in the inscription. This Harṣadeva is identified by some scholars with the famous Harṣavardhana. This may be true or may not be true. If he is not Harṣavardhana can we suggest that he is a prince of Gauḍa, father-in-law of Jayadeva and the conqueror of Odra, Kalinga and Kośala? However, there is a generation gap even supposing that Harṣadeva is the earlier contemporary of Ādityasena. If the gap was narrow it could be bridged by placing Jayadeva as a later contemporary of Ādityasena's successor. But he happens to be the great grandson of Ādityasena on his own statement. The marriage of Jayadeva with this Harṣadeva's daughter, therefore, is a remote possibility. Jayadeva's father-in-law remains still unidentified in the chronology of the kings of North-eastern India.

143. Narayana Chaur

This is a large stone originally standing atop a mound in the lawn called Nārāyaṇa Chaur in Naksal (the eastern suburb of Kathmandu). The first few lines are worn away. A few letters here and there are readable from 10-17 lines, but they carry no meaning except a word *adhikaraṇa* meaning an office and some words in the 18th which mean 'these should be considered by the keeper of the East gate according to their worth . . . . and 10 paṇa puraṇa . . . . . be given to Śrī Purvvadhikaraṇa'. The 20th, 21st, 22nd lines are partially damaged. In the 20th line . . . . putraka kāryana, the word relating to the son (?) but may be the putraka has some more letters before pu. Then Śrī Western department and Eastern department southwards . . . . . of the office . . . . . the gate keepers should always abide by the rules of scriptures . . . . . the entry of all the offices including bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa is prohibited within the limits of this place (which we do not know), the pānchālīs should pay due judgement to anything that arises or that is of local importance, the Western office . . . . . In the case of deliberate error and not avoiding concealment . . . i.e. openly doing a crime the punishment was 5 paṇapuraṇa. I there is a transgression in the case of a grant of property or an assignment of cattle or money, the fine would be 4 paṇa puraṇa and tampering with witnesses will involve a fine of two and half paṇapuraṇa. If by signs (mudrayā), an indication to distort the evidence is made then a fine of 20 paṇas was prescribed and 400 paṇas would be imposed, if anything to that end is found in writing the fine was 100 paṇas, on admission or concurrence of guilt 2 paṇapuraṇas and 2 paṇas . . . . 25 paṇapuraṇa are imposed, annually 80 paṇapuraṇa. For the tax on cloth, the payment was 6 paṇapuraṇa and 2

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paṇas. In order to purchase 22 jars the gate keeper himself was to pay 5 paṇapuraṇa. During the maṇḍapi (?) festival a pair of diadems with cloths and 5 most excellent ornaments were to be offered, and for this the *sthāna* gate keeper on the station was to get 1000 paṇapuraṇa annually from the Pāñchālīs. The villages of Tamrakuṭṭaśālā, Māneśvara, Sāmbapura, Hyaspring, Puthampring, Jamayaṁbi and Pundaṭṭaśālā have been granted the status of dranga and announced as the king's gift to this effect through this stone slab carrying the inscription. Here as well incorporated the orders notifying the special gifts in favour of venerable (Śrī) Saṅghas.

The order runs to say that the concerned officers aware of the above writing will not even think of having courage to disobey the royal orders, and knowing that any act of disobedience or disregard will not go severely unpunished will desist from doing anything. Future kings also will not condone any act of destruction.

This is followed by a verse which says that kings devoted to the welfare of their subjects will maintain the rules framed by past rulers. They will enjoy results of conquest in this world and heavenly bliss like Indra in the next.

There is a long passage delineating the boundaries (47 to the end). The date portion at the end is totally lost.

The villages mentioned above which had received the status of a dranga appear in the demarcation of boundaries. So the king's declaration must have been addressed to their inhabitants.

Ajikavihāra, Jīvavarmāvihāra and other vihāras are mentioned. Māneśvara rājāngana certainly signifies the existence of a palace and a courtyard. It had its eastern and western gates. There is a reference to Taittariya śākhā Gosthi, obviously a vedic school of Brahmanas. Mahapatha, brhanmarga, rathyā—all roads of different kinds, figure in the line of delimitation.

As the translation portion has covered the entire boundary line and areas in it, we may divert the reader's attention to that section.

The inscription gives us a glimpse of the working of the judicial system, which has been described in our book 'Ancient Nepal'.

This inscription also brings into focus for the last time the king's judicial powers, a description of which follows in the following pages.

As there is a reference to Paśchimādhikaraṇa and Pūrvādhikaraṇa, let us say something about these adhikaraṇas. The Na-bahil slab is the first inscription to bring out one more department of state called Paśchimādhikaraṇa. The office assumes importance because of the fact that the name suggests the meaning of direction. In the next few passages we have made an attempt to explain its functions and to make clear why the adhikaraṇa is called Paśchima after a particular direction, here the west. Did it look after affairs of the administration of the western districts or it was so called because it was situated in the western section of the Palace.

Paśchimādhikaraṇa

Like the Bhaṭṭa, Māpchoka, Liṅgval, Kuther and Śolla the department called the paśchimādhikaraṇa did an essential work in the overall administration. We have not been able to ascertain what functions the Śrī Pūrvādhikaraṇa rendered. But because Śrī Paśchimādhikaraṇa is mentioned in some inscriptions in relation to specific works done by royal favour or otherwise we come to know the matters handled by this adhikaraṇa though to a limited extent.

The Paśchimādhikaraṇa figures in the Na-bahil inscription of Amśuvarmā (n. 67). The stone is damaged. But it appears that the management of Mirmeli Nārāyaṇa was freed from the jurisdiction of Paśchimādhikaraṇa. The meaning is not so clear because of the damage. But we can gather that the Paśchimādhikaraṇa was entrusted with the work of looking after temple affairs. This is confirmed by another reference to this office in the Deopatan crossroad inscription (n. 80). Those who earned their livelihood (being employed) in the Paśchimādhikaraṇa are addressed not to interfere in the affairs of the temples of Śurabhogeśvara and two other Śivalingas, the management having been handed over to

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the Pānchālikās. The Narayana Chaur (Naksal) inscription gives the name of Paśchimādhikaraṇa along with that of Pūrvādhikaraṇa but the functions of these departments are not available to our knowledge because of the lines on the stone being damaged.

It is suggested by the writer that the two offices, Paśchimādhikaraṇa and Pūrvādhikaraṇa, had their headquarters in the royal palace. This suggestion is made on the basis of a line in the Narayana Chaur stele, which talks of both the offices and the dauvarika. But letters are so blurred that it is difficult to say anything on such matters. And then we have a problem of allocating quarters to the offices from where they functioned. Another question is as to what places other offices occupied for assembling and functioning if the royal Palace provided space only to these two offices. I do not think that the king's secretariat constituting various offices was not a concrete whole and was divided officewise. There was nothing like modern administrative machinery in those days and it was absurd to think of the royal secretariat on modern lines.

The 'Śrī' added before the two adhikaraṇas in some cases shows their importance. Probably they commanded the greatest respect and might be of superior status in their respective spheres of work.

The Paśchimādhikaraṇa gets 'Śrī' only in the Nārāyaṇachaur inscription and not anywhere else. The same case applies to Pūrvādhikaraṇa.

Does the 'Śrī' prefix give any more importance to these adhikaraṇas at this stage? I do not think that it does.

The Witness in the Court

Here we have a pertinent passage regarding the witness and his evidence. The passage runs: the Bhaṭṭa office was prohibited from entering the area. The pāñchālikās themselves will look into the justice of the case. They will see that any breach of agreement will be punished with a fine of 4 paṇapurāṇa. If there is any attempt to direct the witness the fine will be two and half paṇa and purāṇa. If by signs or voice it was tried to persuade the witness to give a biased evidence, this action met with a fine of 20 paṇas and the witness present was also fined paṇa 400. If this is a written agreement, the fine is 100 paṇas. Concealing evidence is also punishable. On confession of guilt the fine was 2 paṇas. If anyone does not abide by the decision the fine is 150 plus 25 purāṇas. The Pāñchālikās are to receive 1/6 of the total income thus realised. He who does not part with his contribution a local person or an outsider should not be allowed to move freely. If the decision was made with ill motive the appeal was to be made to the king through the Rogamachau gate keeper, who was to report the matter to the palace within a month.

The statement on the witness in this inscription looks very much like the one made by Yājnavalkya and Manu.

Yājnavalkya has a special chapter called *Sākṣī prakaraṇa* in his scripture. Manu devotes half a dozen verses in a section of Chapter VIII and all that the inscription has to state in this respect is widely discussed by these authors.

The most important part of the inscription is the one that affects the conduct of the witness and the evidence he tenders. We have seen that if any breach of conduct rules laid down for the witness occurs he gets sentence in the form of fine.

The consequence of tendering false evidence is a heavy fine for the man who is liable for such action and he is fined paṇa 400.

Once an evidence has been taken it should be strictly observed and if it was not carried out by the party concerned they were fined both in puraṇas and paṇas, 100 and 50 respectively. The fines were realised by the state but the Pañchalikas received 1/6th of the total.

Whether he was a local person or an outsider he was subjected to similar treatment.

It appears that the statement here on the witness is very similar to what Yājnavalkya and Manu have said in that connection.

According to Manu the Sākṣī is so called because he was either an eye witness or he had heard

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about the case (samaksya darśanāt saksyair śravanaśchaiva siddhyati tatrasatyaṁ bruvansākṣīdharmābhyām na hiyate—8/79).

Yājnavalkya thinks that the proper witness would be one who is of high lineage, dedicated in spirit, liberal views, truthful and honest and who has sons and wealth:

Tapasvino dāna śīlah kulinah satyavādinah dharma pradhāna ṛjuvah putravanto dhanānvita //68//

He is also always engaged in performing the duties as dictated by classical laws and Vedas.

Yājnavalkya does not allow women, children and aged, gamblers, drunkards and criminals and all those who have lost the knowledge organs and are crooked in temperament to give evidence. Manu makes a parallel observation (8/66-68) and adds that one who suffers from hunger, disease and fatigue to deliver evidence. The witness who gives false evidence is called kuṭa sākṣī and is punished from 250 to 1000 paṇas. Manu recommends even death sentence or deportment if he is not a Brāhman. The kūṭa sākṣī is influenced by the offer of money or other promises. Manu (8/93) threatens dire consequences to a person committing perjury (8/93-95).

Nārada is very particular about nirnikta vyavahāra i.e. admitted evidence. He says if such an evidence is withheld and is of no consequence deliberately so manipulated then the witness should be punished.

However, all that the inscription has suggested in regard to the question of influencing the witness is not said by Yājñavalkya, Manu, Nārada, Bṛhaspati and others. This is the additional precaution taken by the kings of Nepal to prevent the witness committing perjury.

Manu and Yājnavalkya as well as Bṛhaspati and Nārada recommend punishment to people who under temptation give false evidence or intimidate witnesses to give false evidence. If under any circumstances anybody is trying by signs or voice to make the witness give false statement, both the witness and the person advancing temptation were punished severely in Nepal.

Manu adds that when witnesses differ the king himself should give a verdict without reference to the parties concerned.

Briefly speaking we know from the inscription that the ancient scripture was the basis of the judicial system. We do not know how the trial was conducted. But punishment was determined with reference to the prescription of Manu, Yājnavalkya, Bṛhaspati, Narada and Yama, all named in Anuparama's Harigaon pillar inscription. In the present inscription the royal statement confers judicial powers on the Pānchālikās at the same time guaranteeing them independence from the interference of all departments of state. Punishments are provided for disobeying written regulations in regard to judicial process such as to influence the witness who was also punished with fine if he allowed himself to be influenced by gesture or words and on admission of guilt by the accused punishment came forthwith. Admission of guilt was the most important factor. The breach of a settlement or something agreed upon also invited punishment. Punishment became harsher if there was an attempt to conceal evidence. If there was a miscarriage of justice, the appeal lay to the crown through the dauvārika (door keeper) or chamberlain.

It appears that there was a procedure of conciliation wherever there was scope for it. People in litigation could have the matter settled with mutual consent. This applied to cases of criminal assault. In such matters if there was a settlement to mutual satisfaction, the breach was frowned upon. The person who breaks already settled arrangement or adjustment is to be fined 100 purāṇas with one paṇa and 75 paṇapurāṇas. As for the remainder after the completion of the legal procedure or contest at law 1/6 of it should go to the pānchālikās. Any person who refused to part with the fixed share whether of this locality or another will be subjected to arrest at the place (?).

The people also had recourse to higher court if the party felt aggrieved. In the case of improper judgement, the Rogamachau Dauvarika, the gate keeper, was to be approached, who would then place the matter before the king to be decided by the antarasana of the monarch (Sripadanam) within a month for redress of grievances. When a pregnant woman dies, the fine would be 100 panas, when a

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case of suicide occurs and then it is declared impure, and also in case of death during a quarrel, the matter should be referred to the gate keeper for purifying, and the fine would be 6 panapurana and 2 panas.

Attitude to Animals

If as a result of injury a cattle dies in the shed without being medically treated the concerned owner will be awarded 3 purāṇa and 1 paṇa as fine but the offender will escape other punishments. This is also stated in the Yangubahi and Vajraghar inscriptions of Narendradeva.

The passage considered along with those of the above mentioned other two inscriptions is indicative of the fact that animals were treated with consideration and they were not allowed to be neglected in times of sickness or distress.

The merciful treatment of the domesticated animals is also stressed by the Bungmati inscription of Amśuvarmā. Here it is suggested that the ruler having been satisfied with the kindly treatment the people of Bugayumi were giving to fowls, fishes, pigs and the malla (?) had given them certain privileges, one of which was to debar the entry of the Bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa into the area.

No cases of animal sacrifice are in evidence. But we also do not get the information that the people abstained from violence.

Punishment for Kāya or Kāyikā

The inscription talks of Kāya in 3 forms—uttama, madhyama and abara. It is just like uttama sāhasa, madhyama sāhasa and prathama or abara sāhasa as described by Yājnavalkya and Manu.

Kāya or Kāyikā in Monier William's Dictionary means the interest consisting of any capital stock pawned or pledged (by one person to another) or (according to some) the interest of which the payment does not affect the principal.

Nārada states that the increase of the principal is kāyikā (काया विरोधिनी शश्वत् पण वृद्धातु कायिका).

The ancient lawgivers have also to say much about Kāya or Kāyikā. Monier Williams has drawn our attention to Manu and Gautama for their views on the subject.

Manu says:

नाति संवत्सरीं वृद्धिं न चादृष्टां पुनर्हरेत् ।
चक्रवृद्धि कालवृद्धिः कारिका कायिकाचयः ॥ (8/153)

Until year has elapsed, no wheel interest, no time interest and no stipulated interest are allowed. This is what Manu says.

Commenting on the recommendation of Manu the Bengali scholar Kulluka Bhaṭṭa explains that instead of realising interest month to month the creditor should collect it in two or three months. It is always good of the creditor to realise it collectively once in a year. The monthly realisation goes against the established rules and never should a creditor ask for a return if it has not been contracted otherwise. Not until the year has passed the increase of interest over the interest is permissible. One should not go against the injunction of the śāstras, which forbid such an interest realised from month to month. The interest realised on monthly basis is called Kālikā, the increment over increment due to interest is Chakrabṛddhi, and all this is called Kārikā. As Chakrabṛddhi the creditor can accept more than the doubled amount but this could be done with the consent of the debtor. However, in general cases if with Chakrabṛddhi the amount is two fold, and one tries to get more than that, the practice should be condemned.

Kāya is mainly connected with wheel increase (Chakrabṛddhi) which Nārada defines as interest over the interest (वृद्धेरपिपुनर्वृद्धिश्चक्रवृद्धिरुदाहृता).

Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana condemn the practice of usury in the form of wheel interest. Bṛhaspati thinks that to take Chakrabṛddhi i.e. interest over interest when the debt has gone up twice the amount borrowed is not justified. Kātyāyana on his part does not permit chakrabṛddhi unless the debt was incurred in times of extreme distress. A chakrabṛddhi interest means an interest which goes on increas-

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ing like a wheel, which revolves and revolves i.e. in terms of increasing the principal. The increment of principal occurs in a way that the interest becomes a part of the principal. If it is a monthly realisation of 10% the principal is doubled within a year. This is the worst kind of usury.

According to Bṛhaspati the interest with Kāya is Kāyikā and it is realised on monthly basis. The accumulated interest goes on increasing the principal if it is not paid. No increment should be paid off if the amount had doubled. Any interest on interest collected out of debt incurred in times of distress is permissible but not debts contracted otherwise. Nārada thinks that there were four kinds of Chakrabṛddhi in ancient law, which are Kāyikā, Kālikā, Kārikā and Aparā. Explaining the practice the author states that considering chakrabṛddhi as interest on interest, the increment occurring during the period after the amount has doubled should be declared invalid.

Nārada also discourages the practice of chakrabṛddhi. He makes a similar statement like Kātyāyana:

ऋणि केन कृता वृद्धि रधिका संप्रकल्यिना ।
आपत्काल कृतानित्यंदातव्याकारिता तथा ।
अन्यथा कारिता वृद्धिर्नदान व्या कदाचन ।।

The Kāyikā is further explained as paṇapada paid uninterruptedly and all the increment called Chakrabṛddhi is increment over increment.

Yajnavalkya in Vyavahārādhyāya prakaraṇa 3 himself prescribes 1/80 part increment to be paid on monthly basis when there is a security deposit. Otherwise, it is ½% or 1/3 or ¼% but this is applied according to the varṇas (v.37). The higher the varṇa the lower is the interest.

The Kāya used in the case of chakravṛddhi if realised unjustly invites a fine of cash payment on the lender which is as follows.

In the case of uttamakāya the fine is 10½ paṇapuraṇa, ayaksayankā coins (without the Yaksas). In case of madhyama and avara kāya the fine is 6 paṇapuraṇa and 2 paṇas and also one paṇa and 3 paṇapuraṇa respectively. The person who breaks already settled arrangement or adjustment is to be fined 100 puraṇas with one paṇa and 75 paṇapuraṇa. As for the remainder after the completion of the legal procedure or contest at law 1/6 of it should go to the pānchālikās. Any person who refused to part with the fixed share whether the person parting with the amount belonged to locality or outside he was subjected to arrest at the same place.

The Dauvārika

The Dauvārika and pratihāra are synonymous as we have already suggested. Dauvārika occurs in the Naksal Narayanachaur Inscription while pratihāra appears often as the title of a person in different inscriptions. Literally, Dauvārika means a person who sits at the guard to guard the Palace. He actually performs the task of the king's chamberlain. We are not talking of mahāpratihāra here, because we have already described what it means as the word has been always associated with sarvadaṇḍanāyaka in previous inscriptions. One pratihāra Dhruvasaṅgha vārta was the donor of lands to Śivalingas in the Bhaṣmeśvara inscription of S. 455 (n. 30). Bhavagupta who seems to be an important functionary was a Brahmuṅ in the Thankot-Balambu area and holds also the rank of a pratihāra. These two persons in a different capacity were rendering the same function as a dauvārika performed.

The Dauvārika in the Nārāyaṇachaur Inscription is called by different designations. There is Rogamachau Dauvārika whose duty was to approach the king's court (karaṇa) when there was an appeal against a malicious judgement of an officer at the lower rung. He also dealt with cases of death of a pregnant woman, suicide and murder involved in scuffles wherever the question of purification after mortuary rites arose.

There was a Sindrira dauvārika and his responsibility was defined. He had to supervise painting of the palace and chariot at the time of the festival concerned. Then came Vetra dauvārika who had to supervise the drawing of the chariot of the deity and allied matters from year to year.

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For all this they were paid and the Vetra dauvārika obtained 6 paṇa puraṇas with 2 paṇas out of the tax on cloth.

He had also to part with some money at the time of purchasing jugs (for what we do not know). During the time of Mandapīyātrā (festival) the Pānchālīs were to provide to Sthāna dauvārika 1000 paṇa puraṇa.

A Vetra dauvārika was the chief chamberlain. But the Rogamāchau dauvārika also played a very important role in carrying the preferred appeal of an aggrieved party to the king. But what does the word Rogamāchau mean? Similarly the word Sindrira remains unknown to us as this is not available in the lexicon. A Sthāna dauvārika was probably in charge of matters affecting a small part of the kingdom, and his jurisdiction was limited to that part only. As in late medieval period a locality of the size of a subdistrict but with more than one village had a dvare to look after a matter of local interest the dauvārika in similar conditions fulfilled similar duties.

The gate keeper had other sources of income. For decorating the palace chariot with illustrations the Sindri (?) gate keeper should receive 800 panapurana. For erecting the chariot of the palace, for cleaning and repairing the palace and for all other works of decoration including the fixing of royal insignia, the Vetra gate keeper was to get paṇa puraṇa. The Vetra dauvārika was nobody other than a chamberlain.

There are more than 73 lines but they are all worn away with the result that the date line is not visible.

We have seen how a dauvārika has to play an important role in many spheres of influence.

A Dauvārika is a person who guards the palace, sitting at the gate (dvāra). In other words he is appointed to look after the gate (dvāri niyuktah ya sah dauvārika).

The dauvārika is known by different names. The Sabdaratnāvalī gives pratihāra, darśaka, dvārastha, dvārapālaka, dvāri, dausādhika, vartarudha and garbbaṭa. According to Halayudha the synonyms are dvāstha, daudi and vetra dhāra. The Rajatarangini (5/28) gives a verse to express the sense 'Rajadauvarikah Śrīman Śurasyasinmahodayah'. Śura with the honorific 'Śrī' must have been an important person. In the words of Matsyapurāṇa a dauvārika must be handsome, clever, sweet speaking and charming. He should not be impertinent:

प्रांशु सुरूपो दक्षश्च प्रियवादी न चो द्धतः ।
चित्तग्राह्श्च सर्व्वेषां प्रतिहारो विधीयते ।।[28]

Chāṇakya as quoted by Vāchaspatyam emphasised similar qualities:

इङ्गिताकार तत्वज्ञो वलवान् प्रियदर्शनः ।
अप्रमादो सदादक्षः प्रतिहारः सडच्यते ।।

and then he should be a person who knows well the art of polity (auśanaṣa nīti śāstra viśārada).

I think that it will be relevant to quote verses from Rājatarangini and other dramatic and poetic works to explain the function of a pratihāra or dauvārika who is acting as a liaison between the king and the minister or a high ranking person. Dhanavajra has also quoted the passages from Harṣa Charita and Rajatarangini.

Niyogādhikṛt

This authority is mentioned in the Naksal Narayana Chaur Inscription (n. 143) of our collection. The Niyogādhikṛt is obviously an executive officer asked to carry out the command of the king in respect of the favour above mentioned, and subjects of royal favour along with the subordinate authorities entrusted with similar tasks. They were warned of dire consequences even if they intended to distort or disobey the order. Because a part of the gift was made to Āryasaṅgha a greater sanctity was attached to the whole of the royal favour.

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The Niyoga seems to be a department entrusted with the task of implementing all that was granted as royal favour to the people by the charters. The Director of the Department was called Niyogādhikṛt who had under him several adhikāris, officers. The Niyogādhikṛt with his officers (adhikāris) always helped in the due implementation of the provisions of the charter.

The Niyoga here should not be confused with the classical concept of Niyoga, which is a marital relation duly performed between a widow and her husband's relations.

We do not know of the person who issued this charter. The damage to the initial portion prevents us from collecting any information about the authorship of the charter. The placing in the chronological order of inscriptions should not mislead us. Its correct position would have been available to us if the dates and the king's name had been preserved. Epigraphy might help us. But it is difficult to make a distinction between two or more reigns of the late Lichchhavī period. Thus the record might belong to any of the rulers of three generations, Narendradeva to Jayadeva.

As we found the inscription is full of information about the social condition of the age and thus is the most informative document on the subject.

Āli

Āli in our context means 'a ridge or mound of earth or a line of slightly raised ground of a lower level made for crossing ditches or dividing fields'. The āli might be natural in a terrace or made by peasants in the even ground. But it might as well represent an abbreviated form of *ālaya*, a house or an assemblage, as in the case of Pāñchālī. Perhaps in the latter sense the Pānchālī is used in our inscriptions. In the previous sense the word is formed by आ+अल-इन् ङिपूप्रत्यय becoming āli, which means 'a ridge to prevent flowing water from falling into the plot of land'.

आगन्तुकस्य क्षेत्रस्य च जलस्य निवारके ५ सेतौ यथा शतालि परिषेवितेति तोयन्नर्भास्करालीव रेजेमुनि परंपरा
(कुमारसंभव—कालिदास)

अथवा

लीनामालीव तरवो विभ्राणाः (शिशुपालवध—माघ)

The Yangubahi and Vajraghar inscriptions have word āli coming often, which is found in the passages giving boundary lines of an *agrahāra* granted to the Bhikṣu Saṅgha of Śrī Śivadeva Vihāra by Śivadeva, son of Narendradeva.

We shall herewith show how and where such words are in use. Obviously as their place is on boundary line they occur generally to indicate the direction and side of a certain place, through which it passed. As it occurs only in 3 inscriptions it is easy to put the relevant passages: (1) From the Yangubahi inscription (n. 127): . . . . . vihārasya pūrvvadakṣiṇa koṇa pārśvali mārgena (l. 15), bṛhat mārgasya dakṣiṇavatikāyā dakṣiṇālyā (southern āli) nusāreṇa (l. 22). (2) The Vajraghar (n. 128) . . . . . tasya kinchit pūrvvana bṛhadālyā dakṣiṇānuṣrtya, pūrvottarena śrestadul mūrdhni, pritibrumadhyamāli (middle āli) (l. 12), kinchit paśchimaugatva mitambu puvalya (east āli) (l. 17, 18) . . . . . pānchālikā-kṣetra paśchimalyā 6 daksinamenusrtya (l. 20). (3) The Narayana Chaur inscription (n. 153) Māneśvara rājāngaṇāli dakṣiṇena (l. 50) . . . . . vātikāyā dakṣiṇāli paśchima (l. 60-61), Pānchālī bhūmiścha pūrvvāli tatonusāreṇa (l. 67).

We have an idea of what meaning the word āli carries with it. It certainly corresponds to what we have called a line of raised ground natural or peasant made. The āli was a device to control water for irrigation and route it through or create a barrier to divide the plots. The āli points to direction or side as it runs in the demarcated area. But in the case of Pānchālī, the āli means a group or an assemblage of people.

Art

There are dated and undated images belonging to our period. They are all sculptures on stones. They have a religious theme, and they represent the very excellence and refinement of art forms. We

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want to take up the consideration of such images to describe form of art of the period under review.

The image of Narayana at Changu should be the earliest of our sculptures if it is the same one as referred to in the inscription of S. 386. Of course, the victory pillar with the capital Garuḍa (now broken) might have been Mānadeva's creation. But the image certainly preceded him. Mānadeva's Trivikrama images with a panel of sages and deities and king of the nether world, Bali, follow them. The image of Sun God is lost except the pedestal carrying the date of Mānadeva's reign but we fail to see how the sculpture would look like. The Garuḍa image in the centre of the pillar of Satya Nārāyaṇa belongs to the time of Vasantadeva, grandson of Mānadeva but represents the same style and comes in the same category as the Changu Pillar.

The original four faced Phallus of Paśupati is lost. But Nīlakaṇṭha images of sleeping Viṣṇu at the foot of Śivapurī mountain and Bhandārkhal section of the old palace complex are still extant. We can give a description of these images to the benefit of scholars for their appreciation. There are other images which can concern the art historian. If it were not for a new head, the Lokeśvara image of Rāmadeva's reign would provide a real example of a simple and dignified art form of the age, which will be evident from the rest of the body and the drapery. Similarly we regret that Svāmivarta's Śankara Nārāyaṇa image is lost, although the pedestal is there with the inscription dated S. 487.

The Tīrthas or Centres of Pilgrimage

Apart from the temples and Viharas inscriptions give us names of places called Tīrthas. The names occur in the sections of inscriptions giving boundary lines of either land grant or agrahara, both Brahmanical and Buddhist.

The Tīrthas mentioned are (1) Ambu Tīrtha and Brahma Tirtha in the Vajraghar inscription lying in Patan and (2) Umā Tīrtha in the Naksal Narayana Chaur inscription.

144. Inscription of Jnanesvara

The 37 line inscription is damaged on the margin. Probably this belongs to Jayadeva as the dūtaka is Vijayadeva as in his earlier inscriptions.

This is a charter addressed to the inhabitants of Neṗāla maṇḍala. Perhaps the addressees are Brāhmanas who are called the greatest of varṇas (varṇottama) and divinities of the earth who were fully conversant with the śāstras. The expression shows Jayadeva's deep regards for the Brāhmanas whom he regarded as divine. From this we know that the society was Brāhmana dominated.

It appears that the king had granted a land for the purpose of agrahāra to be enjoyed by the Brāhmanas.

People were asked not to transgress its boundary and the king's orders to prohibit any kind of action against individuals which was likely to cause trouble to them. If anybody is found molesting those going outside the boundary, they were entitled to be treated not in the ordinary way. Even the rich were bound by this rule. If they had committed crime they should be surrendered to the king with all the evidence. The Pānchālikā had to perform this task. It was their duty to arrest any person committing an offence and surrender him or her to the palace. The Brāhmanas, by this decree, had their share of donations increased by 40 mā.

There is a reference to Dakṣiṇa rājakula with which Pūrvādhikaraṇa is associated but it is difficult to say as to how to interpret the line in the text.

The charter probably had exempted some kind of forced labour in the area except for the 3 Karaṇas demanded by the Pūrvādhikaraṇa. The sense is not clear as letters are damaged.

There is a line which says that in respect of crimes a suitable punishment is to be awarded to those who deserve it (daṇḍārharya). The punishment should be of the category of uttama sāhasa to be explained later.

There is also a line which says of punishment to parents causing injury to the person of children (?). But here also on account of damage the sense is not at all clear.

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The Pānchālīka is to receive some contribution for the Kāraṇapūjā of a deity. But again because of the damage we do dot know which deity it is. The contribution to the Pānchālikā was compulsory, because it is laid down that a fine would be imposed on a person who withholds his share of contribution.

There are references to 2 paṇas and 6 paṇa puraṇa. But we do not know how and who gets the amount.

The charter talks of a grant of an amount and we do not know about the recipients. We also do not know what the charter drives at when it speaks of donations by Sthānacheti and Karaṇikavāha.

The contribution was to be made in cash and kind. In a damaged line (32) the charter refers to the contribution of 2 manikas.

The end portion of the charter expressly asks people to refrain from causing trouble to anybody except in cases where one's right was involved. Because of the damage the charter fails to give us full information on the subject raised therein.

The stele is damaged at the margin on both sides which renders it difficult to grasp the main purpose of the charter. The king is called 'enjoying a virtuous rule without any diminution of his authority to any degree'. The Brahmanas who are also addressed are called gods of the earth, best of the varṇas and possessing profound knowledge of Dharmaśāstra (laws of religion and virtues).

The charter probably deals with some grant involving tax exemptions. To whom and to which place it was meant is not known. Perhaps it was aimed at stressing the social laws preached by the Brāhmanas, learned in ancient scriptures. The place was not to be approached by the inhabitants to cause harm and nobody should allow those gone out of the area, even rich men cannot do so in respect of those who had crossed the limits.

The line विषाद सापराधकारिणं स्वराज्य followed by line 12 . . . . पाञ्चालिकै रेव गृहितराज कुलस्यार्पणीय (l. 13) might mean offenders should be arrested by the Pānchālikās and surrendered to the Royal Palace.

It is said that people deserving punishment for dastardly act should get uttama sāhasa as fine i.e. 1000 paṇas.

There is a reference to South palace, and fines in paṇas to be paid to Eastern office (Pūrvvādhikaraṇa). In the area . . . . parents should be punished if they cause injury (to their son) and commit a crime . . . . . for the worship . . . . . the contributions and again whatever the Panchalikas have to obtain should be given . . . . .

The sāhasa will be explained in detail in the next few pages.

The Sāhasa[29]

In the Jñāneśvara inscription the expression *uttama sāhasa* occurs and we have to explain what this means.

Kauṭilya, Yājnavalkya and Manu have spoken of Sāhasa. It is a punishment for unseemly and reproachable conduct in terms of fine. We have 3 kinds of sāhasa—the uttama involving a fine of 1000 paṇas, the madhyama sāhasa 500 paṇas and prathama sāhasa 250 paṇas. The fines here stated conform to what Manu prescribes.

First, to quote Kauṭilya who is the earliest writer to speak of Sāhasa daṇḍa, In the third adhikaraṇām and its 71st prakaraṇam, chapter 3 and 17 section of Arthaśāstra we have Kauṭilya's statement on the subject. He shows his difference with Manu and Bṛhaspati and says that the punishment should conform to the nature of crimes. He classifies the daṇḍa into pūrva sāhasa, madhyama sāhasa and uttama sāhasa. The sāhasa is mainly concerned with forcible seizure of property. The fine imposed is between 46 and 96 paṇas in the case of theft of articles of copper, steel, bronze, glass and ivory and of violence causing minimum injury. This is called pūrva sāhasa. The madhyama sāhasa is for the acts of violence causing more than ordinary injury and for seizure of articles like big animals, human beings, houses, fields, gold, fine cloth. To invite uttama sāhasa or a fine involving an amount of 500 to 1000 paṇas one has to commit a crime causing injury to another man's eyes resulting in blindness and release of a woman or women in bondage by force. This is purely a crime physical in nature.

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Kauṭilya, however, is not so precise, and we know from the next paragraph that the fines recommended by Kauṭilya are moderate and the statement is also confused.[30]

Yājnavalkya and Manu whose opinions Kauṭilya gives by implication are precise. They define the crimes, and recommend fines without creating confusion. Yājnavalkya mentions among punishments scolding, using harsh words, imposing fines and death sentence. But these are to be implemented according to the spirit of time and condition of the country. In his view 1080 panas fine is imposed as uttama sahasa, 540 panas as madhyama sahasa and 270 panas as purva sahasa (13.366-68). But Manu recommends 250 panas as purva sahasa, 500 panas as madhyama sahasa and 1000 panas as uttama sahasa. The verse 8/129 looks exactly the same as verse 13.367 in regard to vakdaṇḍa, dhikdaṇḍa, dhana danda (fines) and vadha danda (death). The sahasa danda is for crimes involving violence and theft. As opinions differ we do not know which of them is correct.

145. Minanatha II

The second Minanatha inscription is much damaged. The name of the king Md Pm Śrī Jayadeva kuśalī is readable.

This is the last inscription showing Jayadeva's name as a ruler.

It is difficult to say what the 4 letters, Śrī Vijaya, in the second line which is almost totally lost indicate. These letters form two words and appear like the name of a high personage. Could it be the name of Sri Vijayadeva, crown prince? Because of the extensive damage on the stone the inscription does not give any useful information.

The Last Lichchhavi Prince

In all the inscriptions of Jayadeva the dūtaka is Bhaṭṭāraka Yuvarāja Śrī Vijayadeva. Bhagvan Lal Indraji thinks that Vijayadeva is the vicarious name of Jayadeva himself. But it is not so. Vijayadeva appears in all the inscriptions of Jayadeva as dūtaka. Indraji's thinking was based just on the evidence of one inscription. But more of Jayadeva's charters have come to light, which mention Vijayadeva as dūtaka and Yuvarāja. In all certainty he was the son and successor of Jayadeva.

We have no records available in the name of Vijayadeva or any charter issued by him. It appears that Vijayadeva had no chance to become a king. What happened after Samvat 157, the date of the Paśupati inscription, none of us can say anything about the period following Jayadeva's departure.

There are more records which could be placed after the Mīnanatha inscription of Jayadeva II. These inscriptions are quite large in number. But except 4 or 5 they are not much important. Of these, however, is a colophon of a manuscript written in late Lichchhavi script.

These records are variously on slabs of stones, on water conduit of stones (Jaladroni) and on the pedestal of images and there is a colophon of manuscript just mentioned. Some are Brahmanical and some Buddhist.

Manadeva as a ruler is shown in the 3 line inscription on the pedestal of the standing image of Avalokitesvara. The date here is Samvat 180 Magha, dark fortnight, second day. We do not know whether the ruler of the same name on the pedestal of an image in Tanabaha (Kathmandu) was an identical person. Because of the damaged year symbols, the position cannot be ascertained.

The ms. colophon of Sahottaratantra not only produces Manadeva as a king but also gives a verifiable date of his reign with all particulars Samvat 301 Vaisakha sukla 13 pusya naksatra dasasata kiranavare siddhiyoge. His name is the last Manadeva appearing in Lichchhavi. He is perhaps Manadeva the fourth in ancient Nepal.

Varadeva who appears to have ruled in Samvat 271 Vaiśākha, bright fortnight, fifth day, is known from a water conduit inscription of Changu. His identity however is obscure. But he is called Mahārājādhirāja.

But one thing is very certain. As Mānadeva of Yangubahi Lokeśvara image pedestal goes without

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the epithet and no king thereafter appearing in the inscriptions claims Lichchhavi descent, the Lichchhavi dynasty had ceased to rule, and some other dynasty had replaced it. But what this new dynasty was called we are not aware of. The V[1] carries the list without a break even after kings ruling in the period when the Nepal era had already started. But the 4th of Manadevas who is known from ms. Sahottaratantra ruling at a time one year before the founding of the Nepal era might be identified with Mānadeva coming before Rāghavadeva in V[1].

The Lubhu inscription of Samvat 250 shows intercalation in Āṣāḍha. But we shall deal with it when we discuss the problem of intercalation.

146-154

These are minor inscriptions and there is nothing important in them. The Mangal bazar water conduit inscription brings out a date, S. 170, and it records the construction of a water conduit. The inscribed lines are on both sides of the conduit.

155. Tanabahi

The Tanabahi inscription, however, is important, because it has a name of the king who is called ..... rāja Parameśvara Śrī Mānadeva and his reign (rājya). It is a five line inscription on the pedestal of an unidentified deity. There is no date and it is difficult to suggest whether this Mānadeva can be identified with the king of that name in the inscription that follows.

156. Lokeśvara Pedestal

This is the inscription of 3 lines on the pedestal of the image of Avalokiteśvara enshrined in a small temple situated in Yangubahi (Patan). Its importance lies in the statement of the record that the image was made by one Humdharmajīva living in the village of Hugvala during the reign of Mānadeva on the second day of black fortnight of Magha of S. 180.

This is the first time we are told of the man who had carved the image and placed it in a temple for worship.

157-161

Of these 5 inscriptions while 158, 159 and 161 carry some weight the other two are not at all important. The inscription no. 157 shows a date and the name Amrita Varmā who had built a water conduit. The date is S. 207. The water conduit was dedicated to Lord Viṣṇu. The Motitar roadside water conduit inscription on the water carrier stone (n. 158) is important for the reason that it shows an intercalary month of Āṣāḍha in S. 250. The date is actually verified with the Śaka year 749, in which the month of Āśvina is doubled and by the Bhāradvāja system the month of Āṣāḍha is said to be intercalary. The Changu inscription (n. 159) in 2 long lines has Mahārājā Varadeva reigning in the year 279. The last of these is the colophon passage of Sahottaratantra, which is also important because we have a date S. 301 with all particulars and the name of the king Mānadeva but without any epithets.

The date can be verified and might give us a clue to the epoch year of the second group of inscriptions issued in the Amśuvarmā or Mānadeva era.

There are more inscriptions, mostly of 1-2 lines, which are not important and might be ignored.

These names do not show Lichchhavi lineage of the kings. The phraseology 'the banner of the Lichchhavi family' (Lichchhavi Kula Ketu) is missing, obviously they did not belong to the Lichchhavi dynasty.

It appears that the Lichchhavi dynasty had ended with Jayadeva II and from this time history enters into the dark period. Kings came and passed away but nothing of the links between different kings could be traced. This is indicative of a chaotic situation prevailing in the valley.

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Mānadeva of the Sahottaratantra comes near to the era of 879 A.D. i.e., Saka 801 expired (Kartikadi). His reign with Samvat 301 = 801 Saka is the last of such reigns. The new era must have started under circumstances of a new order. But sources of information are vague, and except for the founding of the era, nothing is known. At any rate, the history after Jayadeva II is dark and remains dark for another three centuries.

We are now at the end of the text. There are a few inscriptions left. The Lichchhavi kings are no more in picture after the Minanatha stele.

There are more than 160 inscriptions in the present collection. The last few, nearly twenty of them, are short and non-descript. No inscription is lengthy enough to cover more than four lines. The textual matter is not of significance and very little information of the situation then prevailing exists in them. From historical point of view they are practically useless.

These carry us to the end of the era of Saka 498. The last inscription is of Saka 800 i.e. 878 expired and 879 current in terms of the C.E. These stray inscriptions coming after this record should not be given chronological importance. It does not matter where they are placed in our order. All these are contemporary records of no meaning, which do not need any elaboration because of the little fact brought out by them.

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13. CIB, n. 8.
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20. मुखतो ब्राह्मणात् वाहुतः क्षत्रियाः उदतो वैश्याः पादतः शुद्रा जाताः।
21. ब्राह्मणश्च शूद्रश्च चर्मकर्ते व्यायच्छेते। देव्योनै वर्णो ब्राह्मण असुर्यः शूद्र : Tai. Br. 1.2.6.
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Part VI

MISCELLANEOUS ASPECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND THE ERAS

Royal Palaces and Secretariats

THE structure of the royal palace has been described by the Chinese in their annal. The description shows that it was a grand edifice built in the most elegant style.

Here we have passages from the Chinese annal on the subject. "In the capital of Nepal there is a construction in storeys which has more than 200 tch'en of height and 80 peu (400 ft) of circumference. Ten thousand men can find place in its upper part. It is divided in three terraces and each terrace is divided in seven storeys. In the four pavilions, there are sculptures to make you marvel. Stones and pearls decorate them" (see also Watters, II, p. 83).

"The king, Na-ling-ti-po (Narendradeva) adorns himself with the pearls, rock crystal, mother of pearl, coral, and amber, he has in the ear-rings of gold and pendants of jade, and a breloc belt ornamented with the figure of Buddha. He seats himself on a seat of lions. In the middle of the hall one spreads flowers and perfumes. The nobles and the officers and all the court are seated to the right and to the left on the ground; at his sides are ranged hundreds of soldiers having arms."

"In the middle of the palace there is tower of seven storeys with copper tiles. Its balustrade, grills, columns, beams, and everything therein are set with fine and even precious stones. At each of the four corners of the tower there projects a water pipe of copper. At the base there are golden dragons which spout forth water. From the summit of the tower water is poured through tunnels which finds its way down below, streaming like a fountain from the mouth of the golden Makara."

In two inscriptions Kailāśakūtabhavana is lauded with high sounding epithets.

The Sanga inscription calls it . . . . . which meant that it was an object of fleeting gaze by the eager people and the mark on the forehead of the earth. As some letters in between are damaged, quite a few more epithets are not readable. The beauty and grandeur of the palace is also praised by the Chinese. We have marked in the account of the Chinese historian. Although the royal palace is not mentioned by name, there is no doubt that the Chinese account refers to Kailasakuta, because this was the palace from which almost all charters of Narendradeva are issued.

The description of Managrha is not available either from the inscriptions or from foreign sources. But it continued to be maintained as the residence of the kings until the time of Bhimarjunadeva. There was only one seat of the ruler up till the time of Amśuvarman when he completely overshadowed. He functioned from Kailasakuta, although the monarchy continued to eke out its existence in Managrah.

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Managrha was totally closed towards the end of his career. In the time of Jisnugupta and Visnugupta Kailasakuta played the chief role as the seat of the powerful Regent but Managrha continued to exist as a seat of a weak monarch. From Narendradeva's time Managrha was either totally destroyed by accident or was neglected, because Narendradeva lived in Kailasakutabhavana. There is indeed a place with a pond even today to the south east of Patan, now a suburb of Kathmandu but for long the capital of the kingdom till the 15th century in the medieval period. It is not improbable that Pou-lo-ton is the same as Patan more as Lalita Patan or beautiful Patan.

From this identification it may follow that the Royal Palace was situated somewhere within Patan. This is not improbable. But as we found the identification of the capital is not final and similarly we cannot say with certainty where the Royal Palace was situated.

There are three inscriptions issued from Bhadradivasabhavana. In two date figures are read 95 and 103 respectively. These happen to be the last inscriptions of Narendradeva recorded towards the end of his reign. All the records of his successors are issued from Kailāsakūṭabhavana. The Bhadrādivāsabhavana appears to have been a stop gap arrangement of a chancery for these dates.

We have no idea of its location. Even the remotest impression of identification is lacking.

These were the main palaces, and here the rulers maintained their secretariat. In addition to these there were other royal palaces called *rajakula*. Pundrarajakula and Daksinarajakula are mentioned in Changu charter of Śivadeva. Pundra is a name of a mythical city between the Himavat and Himakuta mountains. The rajakula had been given a name to recall that city. The Daksinarajakula is literally a royal palace of the south. To the two royal palaces belonged cultivated lands (ksetram), and they came to notice in that connection. The Jyabaha (inscription n. 66) mentions Daksinarajakula on the boundary line of the delimited area. The rajakula as the main palace is mentioned in the Bungmati stele. This palace is probably the Kailāsakūṭabhavana. Similarly the Rājakula in the Yangahiti inscription of Viṣṇugupta (n. 108) refers to the same palace and wherever expression like Rājakula bhogyam occurs as in Narendradeva's Yangahiti inscription (n. 117) it will mean 'absorbed into the possession of the king'. This Rājakula here will be the palace where the king resides and maintains his secretariat i.e. the government. In the same way *śarīramātram rājakulābhyām* will imply that the person of the accused will be seized by the government. The idea of government is conveyed by the Rājakula when the Mīnanātha inscription (n. 140) mentions that anybody who will interfere in the affairs of the canal will be seized and taken to the palace. The Rājakula and Dakṣiṇarājakula in the Jñāneśvara inscription of Jayadeva mean palaces of different functions. The Rājakula as in other cases is the seat of the government, where the man who committed the said offence was to be presented whereas the Dakṣiṇarājakula comes to receive some donations. We do not know about the nature of the Dakṣiṇarājakula. Nor we know anything of its occupant. But it is obvious that there were more than one Royal Palace.

The royal palace from where the ruler functioned had several dvaras, literally gates. Amśuvarmā's first Harigaon inscription mentions south gate (daksina dvara), middle gate (madhyama dvara), north gate (uttara dvara), and west gate (paschima dvara). There is Managrha dvara, the gate of Managrha. Obviously the four gates were those of Kailāsakūtabhavana from where Amśuvarmā functioned. These gates were the offices which functioned in their own way according to their functions. For example the Bhatuwal inscription talks of visayapati gulmika saulkika connected with the west gate. This means that the west gate dealt with cases of the provincial or district governors, customs officers, junior army officers and officers performing similar functions.

King as Court of Justice

Antarāsana and Paramāsana

These were the king's inner courts distributing justice and at times giving the last executive decisions either as the appellate authority or in respect of other matters requiring quick disposal as the supreme agency to give an executive decision.

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The word antarāsana was always used in inscriptions up till Viṣṇugupta's time, while paramāsana replaced it in many cases after Narendradeva's restoration to the throne. But even while the practice of using paramāsana was prevalent for such an authority antarāsana also is in evidence in a few cases.

The following present the objects where the court intervened.

For the first time antarāsana occurs in the Deopatan crossroad stele of Amśuvarmā dated S. 39. The Adhaśālā Pānchālī was entrusted with the task of maintenance of the shrines and worship of 3 deities, (1) Śurabhogeśvara set up by his sister Bhogadevī, mother of Bhogavarmā, in the name of her departed husband Rājaputra Śurasena, (2) Laḍita Maheśvara, set up by his niece Bhāgyadevī, daughter of Bhogadevī and (3) Dakṣiṇeśvara set up by the ancestors of their family. All these 3 deities lay in the Paśupati area. In the work of the Pānchālikā the western department (Śrī Paśchimadhikaraṇa) was not to interfere, and whenever there were some issues before the Pānchālikās, which they could not settle, or if they were found guilty of embezzlement, the kings themselves were to consider the issue by the procedure of antarāsana.

For the second time antarāsana appears in the inscription of Kasaintol, Deopatan with date S. 71 (Narendradeva's charter). Here also is laid down the stricture 'if any serious matter arises and the task could not be decided by Pānchālikā the procedure of antarasana was to be applied to consider the issue' (*svayam vā tadantarasanena vichāraniyam*). This suggests that only matters of importance came under consideration of the king or king in council.

In the Gairidhara inscription of Narendradeva S. 83 a *dhārmikagaṇa* is said to have been created to look after Lord Vajreśvara's temple and its precincts. Narendradeva decrees that in the act of pūjā (worship) and regular feeding of the Pāśupatas and Brāhmanas if there is any irregularity, and if the donors try to take more than their allocations in times of stress against the provision laid down earlier, the matter should go for consideration through paramasana. The last time antarāsana is mentioned is in the Naksal Narayana Chaur inscription. It is said 'if there was a complaint against the punishment awarded, then the appeal should go to the king's antarāsana' (Śrīmatpādīyāntarāsana karaṇa) through Rogamachau, door keeper (dauvārika) who will submit the case to the king in a month's time.

All these give us the clue to the character of the antarāsana or paramāsana. They had both judicial and executive functions and were the king's instruments to decide important cases, *mahat kāryam* (Ins. n. 71).

But is antarāsana or paramāsana a type of king's privy council? One author suggests that it is a privy council (*rājasabhā*). The *rājasabhā*, however, is not a deliberating body only meeting in times of crisis. But antarāsana gave final verdict on judicial, quasi-judicial and decisive issues demanding executive order. Literally *āsana* means a seat and as in two inscriptions it is laid down that the king himself should consider it by antarāsana, it seems to be a body not like privy council or rājasabhā but the king sitting himself in judgement. The Bhārādari Kachahari of His Highness Chandra Shamsher's time is a distant parallel but here the head of the government did not attend. Rather after a decision by Bhārādari the case was referred to him for a final verdict.

Whether it is antarāsana or paramāsana its exact meaning or procedure is not easily known as it is not explained in any of our inscriptions. The task becomes all the more difficult as these terms are absent in Indian records, which could have thrown more light on such terms. The king himself used the procedure of antarāsana or paramāsana whenever he thought it necessary to intervene in matters raised in different spheres of social life. Antarāsana or Paramāsana surely means the king himself. If he thought it proper he could demand advice from important officials of the state or act on his own if such advice was not wanted. In Yājnavalkya's *Rājadharmaprakaraṇam* (13) of *Āchārādhyāya* the king is asked to consult wise and honest ministers as well as the Brāhmanas in the affairs of state (samantriṇah prakurbita prājnān maulān sthirāśńuchīń taisārdhaih chintayat rājyam vipreṇasaha tatah paraṁ). If he was not absolutely dictatorial the king followed the advice as tendered by Yājnavalkya. Otherwise the āsana might mean only the throne and nothing but the throne and its occupant.

It is being argued about antarāsana and paramāsana that though both carried the same meaning and performed the same functions the latter term conformed to the practice of calling everything

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parama by the Lichchhavī rulers after restoration. It is said that Narendradeva and his successors had added *parama* to bhaṭṭāraka in that course. But *parama* is absent in other contexts, and there are instances of the expression antarāsana also being used, and all this refuted the projected arguments.

The Yangahiti (n. 126) and Vajraghar (n. 127) inscriptions of the time of Narendradeva, dated S. 103, while announcing certain privileges to Āryasaṅgha in Gullatanga and (Pa)nchagarta grāma respectively lay down that whatever matter Āryasaṅgha felt incapable of settling within limits of agrahāra would be placed under consideration through paramāsana. It appears that the procedure of antarāsana or paramāsana was applied in all cases as the king wanted and they referred to the same body or individual as we interpret the word.

Pānchālī

Quite often since the Budhanilakantha inscription of Śivadeva we have been noticing the occurrence of a Pānchālī, sometimes as a village Pānchālī or other times as just Pānchālī or Pānchālikā. The Narayana Chaur inscription is the last of these but this mentions a number of Pānchālīs though by implication. The first Minanatha inscription talks of several Pānchālīs which had been assigned due share of water for irrigation. There are some other inscriptions, which also show a Pānchālī or Pānchālīs.

As grāmas or villages have also been treated in the same way as Pānchālī like bodies we propose to start the section with a list of inscriptions, which show a grāma or Pānchālī may be both of the same character and functions. The name pānchālī is probably more of a honorific or there is a difference in status and nature of work. I think that we shall have to discuss this problem, and with this also the different kinds of social work performed by a Pānchālī. It will be a mistake to suppose that their function was limited to deciding judicial cases. They were entrusted with all sorts of social work of both religious and secular character.

Pānchālī: Character and Functions

The name pānchālī is derived from the word pañcha. The word ālī in the present context might denote a sense of a collective body. Pañcha means five and ālī means a row, thus a Pānchālī can be a group of five people sitting in a row. They are a collective body to deliberate on issues of local importance.

A Pānchālī did never go without geographical connotation, which means that the pānchālī must have an area and it must be understood there would be no pānchālī or pānchālikā without an area. Even as we take the temple it definitely means the whole precinct with land donations. The latter may not be strictly a pānchālī or panchalika in the sense of a village pānchālikā. However the essential character cannot be dissimilar.

The Pānchālīs rendered different kinds of functions. They not only dealt with cases of local importance affecting the people in their social and cultural activities but also handled criminal cases sitting in judgement over the offenders.

The Naksal Narayanachaur inscription states that a primary function of a particular Pānchālī was also to look into cases of justice (Nyāyāvalokana). The inscription is categoric and there is no doubt that a Pānchālī dealt with cases of judicial nature.

But the judicial cases involved were also crimes which invited severe penalties. We have several inscriptions which by implication suggest judicial functions of the villages or Pānchālīs.

The inscriptions of Gaṇadeva's time in the Śītaṭīkātala (Balambu-Kisipidi-Satungal) prohibit the entry of officers of certain departments even by way of handling cases of crimes (i.e. on the plea of dealing with such cases). It obviously follows that when the departments named in the records are not to handle cases involving these crimes they had been made the charge of the villages concerned. The Pānchālī does not figure as yet because in this situation only a village to which royal favour is extended plays the role.

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The present and coming generations of inhabitants in the Maṭingrāma addressed in the inscription of Sundhara (Patan) have been entrusted with the task of restoring and preserving a fallen temple by providing a donation. The temple was destroyed with all its doors and windows because of woods growing old and mongoose and mice free at play (n. 76). The people of Guṇḍimaka village get a charter from the Changu inscription of Śivadeva (n. 53) allowing them to collect pine woods and charcoal freely. These privileges to the householders of certain villages were not to be interfered with by the forest officer. The inscriptions of Bhimsenthan in Patan, the two inscriptions of Bhadgaon (*Mākhopring satalalanivasinah and Khupring grame ā sūrya vidhvadyāgra nivasinoh*), and the inscription of Dharmasthali addressed to the respective village households are charters granting the same privileges as those by the Budhanilakantha to the Pānchālīs. The inhabitants of Kādung grāma were assured of non-interference by those of Ferong kotta in their work of collecting wood pieces, grass and leaves from all the forest areas by the inscription of Satungal dated 519 intercalary first Pauṣa śukla 12. The inscription of Tokha of Samvat 519 talks of a canal but it is so damaged at places that nothing particular can be understood. The canal (Tilamakam) occurs at a site in the delimitation of a boundary of the land of probably a fort. The Khopasi inscription addressed to the inhabitants (Kurpāsi grāma nivāsinah) grants by the charter (dated S. 520) immunity from any interference of all the departments whose entry is prohibited. The villagers are advised to submit to the judgement of the Talasvāmī. Any reference to the Palace will be through only one gate. The Dhāpāsi inscription of S. 526 addressed to Praṇālīdimaka village is also a charter prohibiting the entry of Kuther and Lingval offices for dealing with 5 great crimes. But the offices could enter to collect the 3 taxes. This is just in line with the inscription of Budhanilakantha. The Lele inscription of the year S. 526 is addressed to the inhabitants of Lembaṭi grāma. It talks of Gosthis mostly and allocations of annual cash grants to them. A Pānchālikā called the Pānchālikā of (?) figures in the 16th line. All the inscriptions above noted do not mention Pānchālī or Pānchālikās.

The Bhaṭṭa office is prevented from entering the village of Bugayumi by the inscription of Bungmati dated S. 29. There are other inscriptions of the type where villages come into the picture as agencies obtaining privileges either exemption from official interference or payment of taxes and there is no panchali or panchalika. The following inscriptions show no panchalis or pānchālikās but indicate only villages or other bodies. The stele of (1) Sanga (Sanga grāma) granting exemption of duties on certain articles, (2) Nabahil Patan, where the entry of western office is banned, (3) Taukhel inscription of S. 37 which is a charter granted to the householders of Chustung to shift to another village in view of their being constantly harassed by she-buffaloes, and (4) Gairidhara (Naksal, Kathmandu) inscription which addressing the inhabitants of Jonjondigrāma declares that having been pleased with them for preserving the water conduit of Nīliśālā, the king bans the entry of Lingval, bulls, chariots and carts.

I think that a vast majority of charters are addressed to villagers without mentioning Pānchālī or Pānchālikās. But we should not think that they carried less significance.

The Budhanilakantha stele (n. 59) provides the first record which talks of two Pānchālīs, Anglalakasapita and Narasimha. The word used is Pānchālī. In some cases the Pānchālī is accompanied with grāma but here it is just pānchālī. The people addressed are those living in these two Pānchālīs. As no office is to enter in connection with the proceedings of 5 crimes and written agreements (lekhyadana) it is implied that these subjects fell within the jurisdiction of the pānchālīs. Of course, the last authority in this sphere was the king himself who took decision on his own through antarāsana. Further information about the character and function of the Pānchālī comes from other inscriptions. The Pānchālī did not function in a single capacity. If it functioned in a judicial or quasi-judicial capacity in some inscriptions its task was to do a job in cultural and social fields of both secular and religious nature.

The Harigaon stele n. II mentions Sapelā pānchālī and Sāmānya pānchālī, but which affairs they looked after we do not know.

The third time we hear of a Pānchālī is in the Deopatan crossroad stele of Amśuvarmā (n. 60). It

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is to look after certain temples as the western department is prohibited to do the management job in that connection.

The fourth time a pānchālikā is found being mentioned in a record is from the Malitar (n. 98) inscription, where Magvalgrāma Pānchālī figures.

The Bhairavadhoka inscription of Kathmandu talks of Giṭā pānchālikā in Dakṣiṇakoligrāma. The Pānchālikā was to manage the affairs of the distribution of canal water for irrigation purposes and perform repair work of the channel as the occasion arose.

Jiṣṇugupta builds a water conduit to provide drinking water facilities to the Jolpriṅ grāma also constructing a garden rest house in Ginuṅ area (bhūmau). The grāma pānchālikā is freed from the payment of cloth tax, but they were asked to repair water conduit and manage temple affairs, which are entrusted to the care of Jolpriṅ grāma pānchālikā.

The address is to Ginuṅ and Digvāra brttibhuja and not to the Pānchālī (n. 102). They were the people who received their maintenance out of the revenue of these areas. The Bhṛngāragrāma Pānchālī (n. 109) was to receive a part of the overall contribution in respect of fines imposed on the offenders committing one of the 5 crimes in lieu of the services they rendered in supplying labour free of charge to draw the image of Jalaśayana Viṣṇu. The Deopatan (Kasaintol) inscription of Narendradeva (n. 119) prohibits the entry of chāṭa and bhaṭa and other officers into Navagṛha (Deopatan area). They were also not to interfere in the works of the Goṣṭhis relating to Navagṛha. The Pānchālīs enjoyed other powers, and a member, Madhusudanaswāmī, resident of Vṛjjika Road was appointed for its maintenance (vyavastha). If the Panchalika is not capable of solving any important problem by itself the matter should be deferred for the consideration of the king through antarāsana. We have a second inscription of Bhṛngāra of date S. 122 (n. 138), which talks of Devakulapānchālikā, the Pānchālikā which managed temple affairs.

The praṇālī and tilamaka figure in the record and it seems that these were built by Śivadeva and handed over to the Pānchālikās for maintenance.

The Patan (Chyasaltol) stele has several Panchalikas figuring in the delimitation of boundary (n. 139). They are Reṭā Pānchālī and others. The Pānchālīs maintained garden and fields and it is known from the expressions Lopriṅ pānchālī vātikā and Punu pānchālī kṣetra and Lopriṅ pānchālī kṣetra.

From the Mīnanātha inscription (n. 140) we come to know that the king had directed to divide the canal water into 5 parts, 1 to Gigvala Pānchālī, 1 to Jājje Pānchālī, 1 to Tegvala Pānchālī and 3 to . . . lla Pānchālī.

I think that enough has been said about the Pānchālī or Pānchālikā. But before concluding I would like to devote some lines to the observation of some writers on the subject and to describing its constitution, jurisdiction and responsibilities in local affairs.

I noticed a mistake in L. Gopal's statement on the Pānchālīs of the Budhanilakantha inscription. He thinks that they are joint Pānchālī. However, they are undoubtedly two pānchālīs functioning in separate areas, one in the north of Budhanilakantha shrine and another in the south of it.

We now take up the subject of the constitution of the Panchali or Panchalika and throw light on the nature of its functions. L. Gopal thinks that its function was generally 'associated with the affairs of religious temples' (p. 19). Then he says 'even when pānchālī is a suffix to the name of a place its function was the same viz. religious. The reference to a temple was omitted because it was thought to be redundant.' To support his view he puts forward a reference to adhaśālā pānchālikā of the inscription (S. 39 of Amśuvarmā, Deopatan). He states that a śālā is ordinarily a building or hall being used for a religious, charitable or educational organisation. He ignores the fact that adhaśālā was the name of a village but thinks that it was a temple or similar institution so named because of its being situated on a lower elevation of land. It is surely a literal translation of the word but conclusions will not depend on it.

L. Gopal in support of his argument cites instances from the inscriptions of (a) Patan Sundhara, (b) Otutol, Kathmandu, (c) Malitar, (d) Kathmandu south gate, (e) Balambu, (f) Bhṛṅgāreśvara and (g) Mīnanātha temple. In all these inscriptions the pānchālikās or pānchālīs are asked to preserve the

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temples and all auxiliary services through the aid they receive from donations.

This does not, however, exhaust the entire number of inscriptions. We have seen how the Pānchālīs involved themselves in works of secular character. The instances of secular themes the Pānchālīs handled are available from the Budhanilakantha and preceding inscriptions, which seem to undertake responsibilities for judicial cases in respect of 5 crimes and lekhyadāna (written document). A grāma was as good as a pānchālī. That way it had the responsibilities and functions of a pānchālī and enjoyed certain privileges too. Jiṣṇugupta's Tavajhya charter (n. 97) makes a gift of a canal for irrigation of lands in 3 villages Thambu, Gangsul and Mulavatika and it was further stressed that the benefits would be enjoyed only by these villages and none else. The Māgvala grāma Pānchālī received a grant of a water conduit constructed by Jiṣṇugupta (n. 98). Jiṣṇugupta informs the people of Giṭā Panchalika situated in Dakṣiṇakolī village that Mahāsāmanta Jīvadeva had constructed a canal for the use of the people living within limits of the Pāñchālī. They were asked to complete the canal with 1/10th of the revenue collected. This amount also was to be used for the worship of the deity and to feed the Pāñchālīs (pāñchālī bhojanam) and for regular repair of the canal. The Jolpriṅgrāma pānchālikās obtain a favour of a water conduit to supply sweet drinking water for the area according to Balambu stele of Jiṣṇugupta. The grāma pānchālī was also exempted from paying duties on cloth as well as Digvāra vastu (revenue to those who lived on the income derived from its land).

The Yangahiti inscription of Jiṣṇugupta addresses all the Panchali householders (Kutumbinah) inhabiting Daksinakoligrama to inform them that more amount of paṇas than what was previously granted by past rulers were to go to them. Here the basic structure of grāma or Pānchālī is not disturbed (n. 103). The Bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa was not allowed to enter into the village. It is not known what services the people had rendered to the ruler to earn this favour because of the damage on the stone.

I think that what we have said about the secular nature of gift made to the Pānchālikās is enough to disprove the opinion of L. Gopal in this respect.

We have, however, yet to find out if the Pānchālī was a self governing unit at the lowest level. That the Pānchālī was based on a village is proved by the fact that every time a Panchali is mentioned the name of the village is attached to it. Whenever a village is not mentioned we can presume one. It is always associated with a grāma (except the two Pānchālīs of the Budhanilakantha inscription, where a grāma is not mentioned but here also it could not be separated from the villages). As it managed its own affairs in many spheres the idea of self government is there. But Pānchālīs derived their powers from the Royal charters and their functions were strictly defined. Also subjects allocated were not of the nature coming under the category of political administration, which was solely the outlook of the centre. As we have seen elsewhere a local administrator appointed by the king was always there to administer the village or a larger area concerned in that regard.

How was a Pānchālī constituted? This question remains unanswered in view of the data being absent in the relevant records in this connection.

Tax System

As we dealt with the contents of Vasantadeva's first inscriptions, we had the occasion to say something about the taxation as it obtained in Nepal of those days. But this was too brief.

It was also difficult for us to talk of a taxation at that stage because we had no prior knowledge of taxes till then in view of the fact that no inscriptions before Vasantadeva ever spoke of taxes. We had to start with something of a blank, and it was essential that we make no attempt to enter into details in that line.

But as we come to the end we have quite a large source of materials at our disposal and we feel that the time has come when we can discuss the problem with confidence. However, I must warn the readers that the materials are still of limited nature, and if anybody expects of elaborate tax measures to be treated here, he will be disillusioned.

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The following are the inscriptions where taxes are mentioned:

1. Thankot, Narayanathan, Samvat 428 भागभोग कर पिण्डक दानादिभिरूप कुर्वद्भि ।
2. Kisipidi village, Samvat 449 समुचित कर ददन्तः ।
3. मल्लकर करणीयाङ्कषापणा दुर्ध्व in Budhānilakantha, Viṣṇumati river, Samvat 372.
4. Bhimsenthan stone of Patan, Samvat 376 लसुन (garlic), पलाण्डु (onion), कराभ्याम् प्रतिमुक्तः ।
5. समुचितस्त्रिकर मात्र साधन यैव प्रवेशो Bhadgaon, Golmadhitole stone, Samvat 516.
6. समुचितस्त्रिकर मात्र साधन यैव प्रवेशो Bhadgaon, Tulachchhitole.
7. Dharmasthali village stone, Samvat 517 समुचित्स्त्रिकर साधन यैव प्रवेशो ।
8. Budhanilakantha temple stone, Samvat 517 the same as above त्रिकर मात्र साधन यैव प्रवेशः ।
9. Dhapasi stone, Samvat 526 the same as above.
10. Bhatuwal village stone, Samvat 31 *prathama Āṣāḍha* शुल्कतापनादि यथा देयम् प्रति मुक्तम् ।
    Exports mentioned are लोह (iron), चामर (flywhisk), मृगरोम, कस्तुरिक (musk) and ताम्रभाण्डानि (copper utensils). There was a ban on the exports as laid down in the inscriptions of Bhatuwal and Tistung, both belong to Amśuvarmā's reign.
11. Sanga village stone, Samvat 32 *Bhādra sukla 1* talks of tax on oil and other articles (Hamhu and Kumhu) (meaning is not clear).
12. Taukhel village stone, Samvat 37 जंग शत त्रय देयम् (300 jangas are to be paid to certain offices. But what is janga is not clear).
13. Otutol (Kathmandu city) date 38 ···व्रंशामल्ल पोत सूकरकर मल्लपोत (a baby domesticated animal), सूकर (pigs), kara (tax), mallakara is a tax on a domesticated animal.
14. गोयुद्धे गोहले यद्देयमासित्ततस्यार्थं सिँतुकरेच···मल्लकर··· Sintukara is known. Mallakara is a tax on a domesticated animal (?).
15. Yangahiti (Kathmandu) date line peeled off also has मल्लकर...मल्लपोतकानामपि मर्यादा ।
16. Lagantole stone, S. 119 समुचित देय भाग भोगकर हिरण्यादि सर्व प्रत्याय ।
17. Yangahiti stele of Jiṣṇugupta date missing.
18. Paśupati inscription of Narendradeva *Samvat 103 Jyeṣṭha śukla* आपण करो अधिकमास तुला डण्डा दिश्च a tax on shop or market and a punitive measure for a false weighing scale or measuring instrument.
19. *Chelakara* (a tax on cloth). For the second time it figures in the Naksal Nārāyaṇachaur inscription. In this inscription many contributions to be made by Pānchālikās are mentioned, which are said to go to the upkeep of festivities associated with deities or occasions. Fines as punishment for crimes also were part of the state income.

The siñkara stated by Dhanavajra is only a figment of imagination. There is a letter in between siñ and kara (सिँ-कर). His reading is erroneous because he has omitted to read a letter between सिँ and कर. We have to understand that this kind of compound between a word of Mongoloid origin and Sanskrit was not known to lexicons. Today we have Head Pandit or Head Guru. This cannot have a parallel in those days.

From the above it appears that our inscriptions show certain kinds of taxes such as

(I) (a) *Bhāga*, (b) *bhoga*, (c) *kara* and (d) *hiraṇya* all called *pratyāya*
(II) (a) taxes on garlic and onion, (b) *trikara* (three taxes)
(III) *Śulka* (customs), *tāpana*, *āpanyākara* (tax on shops or market)
(IV) *Chelakara* (tax on cloth)
(V) *Mallapotaka sukara kara* (taxes on baby goats or sheep, pigs)
(VI) *Āpaṇakara* (tax on shops)
(VII) *Mallakara*, *Mallapotakara*
(VIII) Entertainment tax to pay for witnessing a dual between two bulls, plough tax in farming (*Gohale gohale goyuddha*)

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(IX) Contributions realised for Agrahara from the houses, market and commodities as well as from land and orchard, all this called *pindakam.* But pindakam was also regarded as a tax, e.g. the expression Pratyāya in the context always means a tax or contribution.

As the *pratyāya* follows *bhāgabhoga kara hiranyādi kara* in our inscription it definitely means a tax on commodities. It may not mean a tax in general otherwise *kara* would be superfluous when *bhāga* and *bhoga* by themselves carry the sense of tax and then *pratyāya* covers everything in general terms.

Pratyāya after *kara* and *piṇḍaka* might give a clue to understanding their meaning.

Fines as Contributions to Revenue

The inscription of Viṣṇugupta, S.57 traced in Hārigāon, talks of fallen women and their property being confiscated after death without issues.

The rules in the form of a charter in regard to this case and allied cases were issued by Viṣṇugupta, son of Jiṣṇugupta, in collaboration with the man on the throne king Bhīmārjunadeva and they deal with women.

The charter in the beginning notes Bhīmārjuna's name and also that of Viṣṇugupta, but all these are damaged and cannot be deciphered. Then it goes to state conditions in which a woman can accept another husband. There seems to be quotation.

Principles of Taxation

In both ancient India and Nepal the principles of taxation were the same. They were not as of today aimed at the creation of a welfare state based on equalisation of property, social justice, full protection and guarantee of fundamental rights, the citizen's person and individual property including the right to employment through methods which induced the rich to contribute to the exchequer to attain its objective. Social justice would include free education, health services, housing facilities at proportionately low cost and insurance against old age and other calamities. But in ancient times the state whose powers were vested in the king was concerned only with the defence and protection of the country and its people. All the exactions from the citizens were made to meet this end. The king extended favours and charity to the Brahmanas and the poor, but the people in general except Brahmanas could not enjoy them as rights. The protection against robbers or anybody within the state and against the invaders from abroad was held in such high importance that any king failing in his duties met with dire consequences including the penalty of dethronement and sometimes death.[1]

The protection principle was the only element in public finance. This is supported by Gautama[2] as well as Nārada.[3] The people paid the tax because they received the king's protection in return. The latter not only conducted the administration but also maintained an army to defend the country against external aggression and his own people against internal disorder, bad characters, plunderers and murderers. Tax payment was a quid pro quo for meeting the expenses of the state which guaranteed maintenance of law and order and the country's independence. As it was the obligation of the people to pay taxes it was the duty of the king to protect his people and country. But without tax i.e. money he could not meet the challenge of foes internal or external. A heavy taxation, oppressing the people, was, however, out of question. The question was like that of a milkman tendering the milch cow. He could get the maximum amount of milk if he gave proper and adequate nourishment to the cow. The subjects of the king must be prosperous if they contribute money sufficient for conducting the administration, both civil and military. In modern times Adam Smith suggested taxes and levies with reference to taxable capacity and help the king to strengthen the defence potential of his country so that he could give adequate protection to his subjects. But we should not think that the ancients ever thought of a citizen's capacity to pay. Sometimes the king proved so exacting that he never left any one untaxed. Even a beggar was taxed. The system of taxation was arbitrary, and

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though often leniency was recommended by lawgivers, the citizen was hard pressed and his difficulties could not be seen in proper perspective.

It would be absurd to claim that all we have argued here on the basis of the recommendations of the ancient lawgivers could have held ground in Nepal of those days. Much depended on the situation in which the rules as laid down by these learned people were practised with reference to the requirement of the society as dictated by its development. It is true that strictly as source materials we depend on the inscriptions or any texts available in Nepal. But there are many things left untold, and our discussion will not be complete if we do not assume that even though these are not available from the statement of our only source, the inscriptions, the many taxes mentioned by the sacred texts did exist in Nepal. Even a few references to water tax, grain tax, cloth tax, forced labour etc indicate that the tax framework conformed to what the classical texts commended.

Identification of Sites Mentioned in the Inscriptions

Place names figure in inscriptions. Here we can see how far they can be identified with the sites existing at the moment. The Changu pillar inscription can be identified because of Dolāśikharasvāmi yet called by that name, the deity Changu Narayana (n. 1).

Early identified place names are found in Gaṇadeva's inscriptions in the area of Balambu-Kisipidi. Balambu is not definite, but Ku . . . grama might not drop a hint (n. 39). The present Kisipidi is certainly a corrupt form of Kinchipriching (n. 47). Satungal cannot be identified but Balambu with Satvāmalamba in another inscription might be. Sitāṭi is mentioned in these inscriptions as Sitāṭikatala i.e. the hill with the valley of Mudikhu or Balkhu Khola (Dāṅgrākusi).

Śītātī figures in the Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva, S. 428 (n. 20). It commanded a Gulma. The Bhadgaon inscriptions were addressed to the inhabitants of Mākhopring draṅga and Khṛpring grāma (n. 55, 56). One name of Bhadgaon at the present time is Khopva. I think that the same can be identified with Khopring or Khṛpring. The Narasimha pāñchālī can be identified with the northern part of the village in the vicinity of the Nārāyaṇa Buḍhānīlakaṇṭha as the name Narasimha referring to a deity is still there (n. 59). Tokha and Dharampur do not find any mention even for a guess as the stones are severely damaged but Khopasi of the present day is definitely Kurpāsi of the inscription (S. 520) found in that area (n. 68). Another easily identifiable site is that of Lele called Lembati in the inscription (n. 65). The Bugāyumi village of the first record of the new era can be identified with the present day Bungmati. The present day village of Tistung is Testunga in the two inscriptions of Samvat 31 belonging to Amśuvarmā (n. 70, 71). Sanga is Śanga grāma in the inscription of that stone (n. 75). Near Testunga there was Chustung and the latter can be identified like the former. The Naksal Gairidhara stele refers to Nīliśālā, which is easily identified with Naksal, a suburb of Kathmandu, still existing in that name. Obviously Nīliśālā is Naksal (n. 79). The premises around Pasupatinath were called after the name of the god. By Pasupatinath was also meant a village around the sanctuary (n. 80). The Malitar inscription of Jiṣṇugupta mentions Māgvala grāma, and this might help to draw a parallel between Māgval and Malitar. We are not aware of any identifiable site for Nupunnadranga of the Kevalpur inscription (n. 101). But could Thencho of Viṣṇugupta's inscription of the Thankot village be identified with Thankot? Possibly there is a ground for such an identification. The present shrine of Bhṛṅgāreśvara was then in existence and the village was known as Bhṛṅgāra in the inscription of S. 65 (n. 109). So there could be no doubt about the identification of the site.

As it appears the stones are scattered in different villages, which are situated in close proximity to one another in a larger locality called *Sitatikātala* (valley). Perhaps the area now covered by the villages of Thankot, Satungal, Kisipidi, Balambu and Chowkitar with the river Balkhu flowing from west to east on the northern side below the hills, the river itself forming a bed outskirting the hilly bases, was known as *Śītaṭikā* and because it was an expansive belt the name *tala* was given to it.

We know that the Chowkitar inscription was addressed to the inhabitants of *Tegvala grāma*. But

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two others are not known fully because of the first letter missing. However, the Kisipidi inscription gives a very meaningful name, Kichiprinchinchi grāma. The present and past names look similar and one cannot doubt that the present name is derived from *Kichiaprainchigrāme* but the names appearing in the Satungal and Balambu stones do not provide a clue to their past names judged from the nature of the present names.

Śītaṭīkātala

Sitaṭi was the name of the locality where a gulma i.e. a police outpost was stationed figuring in Vasantadeva's Thankot inscription. It is one of the points which was touched as the boundary of the village Jayapallikā elevated to the fort status was delimited. It probably lay in the upland above the valley of Mudikhu or Indramati as the rivulet Balkhu is known in the upper reaches.

Sitāṭi had two divisions, one a hill and another valley, an even ground called *tala*. All the inhabited villages in the lowland were situated between the Dahachok ridge in the north and the Thankot hill in the west and south-west and Naikap in the east and Kirtipur in the south. This was Śitāṭikātala so prominently mentioned in Gaṇadeva's inscription of S. 482. The villages named in Sitāṭikātala are Tegvala grāma (Chowkitar), Kichaprinchi grāma (Kisipidi), bu . . . . . n grama (Balambu), and Kadung grāma (Satungal).

It is wrong to think that Siṭāti was divided on the basis of administrative structure. The different areas in Sitāṭi did certainly not represent administrative units. Śitāṭi was itself a very small area and divisions or subdivisions cannot be entertained. But Śitāṭikātala was a populated and developed area. The hill where a gulma was stationed was not a suitable place for a human settlement on a large scale. The tala where the villages were situated was not in picture because of development taking place since S. 428. The tala and villages existed since the very early times. As the number of human settlements indicated the tala was certainly a developed area in the whole of Sitāṭi. Sitāṭi with this tala was one of the most developed areas in the Nepal Valley. As such it had also a big market from the very beginning as the place lay on the route leading to the south. There was a customs post in Tistung. Sitāṭi was a producing area by itself and articles of export from other areas were also collected here before being despatched to the customs outpost. Sitāṭi had its own importance. I do not think that Sitāṭi had gradually developed from gulma to dranga and expanded to embrace one area after another in course of development.[4]

According to the writer Sitāṭi was different from Śitāṭikā tala, where tala has been used as a plain area where group of villages were settled, and it has an administrative sense. According to him Sitatika was just a village, then it became tala and then a dranga, a commercially developed area. For the last meaning he cites an expression satala Sitati dranga interpreting the same as dranga in Sitati with tala. In support of his argument he cites similar expressions used in the inscription of the Lunjhya courtyard of the Patan Royal Palace, Yangahiti inscription of Kathmandu and Golmadhitol stele of Bhadgaon. The writer also suggests that as the word Talaswāmi occurs in the Khopasi inscription, there cannot be more definite proof of tala being an administrative unit whose administrator was the talaswāmi. The writer also thinks that the modern word Talsing (landlord) and talaswami connote the same meaning but Talsing is the proprietor who collects his rent from the tiller, and he has nothing to do with the administration of the area. I do not think that the grama had changed into tala in Sitati as far as our inscriptions point out. All that it means is that the villages were situated within the Sitatikatala in a low ground (tala) of Sitati. But a village could have been changed into a dranga as a result of growing economic activity, usually the older settlement was called grama and the more developed one a dranga and when the writer used the expression Sataladranga, he meant dranga with tala. He did not say within tala because he wanted to emphasise dranga.

Reference to the area was made according to necessity. When the recorder felt that a gulma has to be referred he used the expression Sitātigulma. From this it does not follow that Sitāṭi then embraced just the area where a gulma was stationed. Later a necessity arose to mention Sitāṭikātala as the

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villages situated in the plain had to be referred to. When something to do with the dranga in that area came for consideration, the Sitāṭikā draṅga was there in the inscription. Sitāṭi came in different form as the situation demanded. I do not think that this is due to expansion and development.

The So-called Mongoloid Influence in the Language of the Inscriptions

The names of the departments of state and for that matter names of many villages, hills and rivers are taken to belong to non-sanskritic Mongoloid dialects barring a few of them, which have the imprint of sanskritic character. But by and large non-sanskritic features are predominant.

Among the Adhikaraṇas the exceptions are said to be the adhikaraṇa of the bhaṭṭas (bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa), the Pūrvādhikaraṇa, the Paścimādhikaraṇa. Maybe there are adhikaraṇas after the north and south directions, which are not visible to us because of damages on several stones. The sarvvādhikaraṇa applying to all offices of authority is sanskritic.

Bhaṭa or bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa is much mixed up with other offices. So the whole of the administrative machinery becomes incongruous. But its sanskrit character is indelible.

Are the non-sanskrita words of Kirāta family? A writer says that it is so. But what does he mean by a Kirāta language or dialect we are not told. Perhaps he means the Mongolian group.

Some words other than the names of the four offices might be mentioned to give an idea of their main features so as to draw a line as to their group. We shall cite names of the villages as well as those of the Pradeśas they were called in the age of Mānadeva:

	Villages	*Pradeśa*	*Inscription*
(a)	Brahmuṅ sulham Tepula		n. 20
(b)	Testuṅga In Inscription n. 24 we have a hill called Hārāguṅ. In n. 28 Dakṣiṇakolī grāma figures for the first time, but this is sanskritic.	Pikaiṅkula Lendu Subrum	n. 32
(c)	Vempā grāma (Abhirī Gominī's)		n. 33
(d)	Tegvala (Sitatikatala)		n. 38
(e)	Kichapriching within Śītāṭikātala		n. 40
(f)	Kāduṅ (Śītāṭikātala) (Satungal)		n. 42
(g)	Thanthuri draṅga (Budhanilakantha area)		n. 49
(h)	Stharu draṅga (Chapagaon)		n. 50

All these do not seem to be sanskritic words.

The Changu inscription of Śivadeva shows on the boundary line villages, rivulets and hills, whose names are by and large stand in non-sanskritic vocabulary. The village is called Guṅdimaka, the forest of Dolaśikhara, Udulmaka bridge, Satuntidul, Śilagriha, the confluence of the rivers Burdumbradul, Vagvati and Maṇimatī, then the joining of the channels of Ripsiṁko bridge, Projnambu prongniproṅ, Pronprovang, the current of Bilhinko, the path of Bilhing and some other places lie on the boundary line.

In the Banepa inscription we have a river Dhelanti by name and a śrota by name Tekhundul. Makhopriṅ dranga with the even ground (satala) appears in the two Bhadgaon inscriptions, and Khripriṅ village in the second. Kadung grāma again makes its appearance in the Satungal stele. Ferong koṭṭa is a name of another place in this inscription. The Jnatikhriṅ river is given by the Tokha inscription. Modern Khopasi is called Kurpāsi village in the inscription (n. 63). But Praṇalīdimaka grāma is a sanskritic name in the Dhapasi inscription (n. 74).

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The Gauṣṭhikas in Lele inscription have all sanskritic names but the name Lembaṭi does not appear to be so. In the Harigaon inscriptions not one word is of non-sanskritic origin. The Sanga village is called Sangā grāma. It might be a corruption of Śṛṅga (n. 75). The Matiṅ village figures in the Gairidhara stele (n. 76), Jonjondiṅ is a name of a village in the Gairidhara (Kathmandu) stele. The three villages Thambu, Gaṁśul and Mūlavātikās are inhabited by people who are addressed in the Tavajhya inscription of Jiṣṇugupta (n. 97). Māgvala is the name of the village whose Pānchālikā figures in the Malitar inscription. The Ādeśvara inscription of Jiṣṇugupta gives the names of Chhoguon, Yubisāmā and Talanju villages. Nupunna is not found in Sanskrit lexicon (n. 101). Ginuṅ and Digvāra, two places, mentioned in Balambu stele (n. 102) also do not seem to be sanskritic. So also are Nhagu (margakhataka), Tando (sthala) and Natidul in evidence in another inscription. The word chokheparā, a name of a tax on cloth which occurs in the Thankot inscription (n. 106), looks like sanskritic but is not found in the lexicon. This inscription produces names like Yubramkhara, Thambdul, Surisiṁbatti and Lunbancho.

Although Dakṣiṇakoli grāma and Yūpa grāma applied to Kathmandu and Patan respectively in the inscription of Yangahiti (n. 117) and Lunjhya (n. 115) are certainly sanskritic, the three agraharas brought out by the former viz. Vilvamarga, Konko, Husprinduṅ, at best the latter two do not appear sanskritic. The old name of Deopatan as it appears in some inscriptions (n. 119) is Navagṛha. Navagṛha is doubtlessly Sanskritic. In the Yangubahi stele (n. 77) names like Dhencho (pradeśa), Kharebelgāncho, Parigepulli and Kambilampra do not sound sanskritic whereas other place names do.

The delimitation of boundaries of the agrahāra in the Vajraghar inscription shows place names like Sresthadulmurdhni, Prtubrum madhyamāli, Chulhang bhūmi, Mhuprṅg, Nimbru, Lopriṅ, Mekandidul and Phansimpral appear side by side Śaśikṣetra, Brahmatīrtha, etc. (n. 128). The name of the village Nālaṅga in the inscription of Śivadeva S. 118 (n. 131) is definitely not sanskritic.

The Balambu stele of Śivadeva coming a little later has grāmas, villages, named in non-sanskritic words viz. Phabadraṅ, Gamproṅdiṅ, Ganiduṅ and Nupuna. The name of the river Puttiyāvadu, on whose bank the temple of Puttinārāyaṇa had been built also looks odd. Nārāyaṇa is highly sanskritic. The word Putti does not also seem to carry any meaning. There was a place where the three lines of boundary demarcated met and these were Dāyaṁbi, Gaṁproṅ, Dāvākoṭṭa and now a question arises as to how these names are to be interpreted and we have also a different area consisting of Siṣṭikhoṭṭa, Gollaṁsrota and Dandaṅjum. However, Gautamāśrama (the abode of Gautama), Sarit (river) and bṛhatpatha (large avenue) could be distinguished as purely sanskritic.

We have exhausted the list and it is for scholars to recognise which names and words belong to Sanskrit and which do not. Everything is so mixed up here, sanskritic and non-sanskritic in the place names, that it is impossible to separate and put them in a scale as to definitely pronounce their familial identity. What one will have to say about Tāmrakuṭṭa śālā (Sanskrit), Māneśvara (Sanskrit) and Sāmbapura 3 villages, so mixed up with Hmyapriṅ, Puṭhampriṅ, Jamayaṁbi and Pumdaṭṭa, all villages with non-sanskritic names in the Narayanachaur Inscription (n. 143)? This is how place names had gone. But the most pertinent question is whether the non-sanskritic names are of the Mongolian family of languages or they belonged to a different family. What is the standard by which to judge their character? The mere fact of familiarity and identity both in the positive and negative sense is not enough. One must judge them by the structural pattern and meaning of the linguistic form concerned. But here none of the words we have mentioned show characteristics of Mongoloid strain by structure or meaning. They can be a corrupt form of dialects of the people who spoke a non-sanskritic but non-Mongoloid or Austric (Mundā) language. It is virtually impossible to assign a place to such words to a particular group. They may be Austroid or proto-Austroid. They may be Kirātic or non-Kirātic. They might be anything between them with sanskritic influence pronounced.

Verification of Astronomical Data of the Inscriptions

Here we shall deal with the subject of astronomical elements in all the aspects in an attempt to fix

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an epoch year for each of the two sets of inscriptions and to verify the various data involved in regard to the intercalary months and some other dates with necessary particulars in terms of these. The astronomical elements were thus far neglected by scholars but since someone has made a start to think on that line, which should be appreciated in spite of faulty arguments and comeout with his own solution it is imperative that we discuss the subject in its entirety as far as the space allows, thus at least to give a general idea of the main currents involved, which will take us to our own finding. The astronomical elements in the Nepalese inscriptions of ancient times deserve a specific and lengthy treatment and we have yet to produce a picture in that regard, which we shall do in the next volume, but I hope that what follows in the next few pages will go to meet our requirement for the present.

The Intercalated Pauṣa and Āṣāḍha

In ancient Nepal it was a practice to intercalate two months only and they were Pauṣa and Aṣāḍha. But the intercalated months were lunar and these were worked out in the context of solar months and asterism.

As we go through the date figures of the period, we find that there were 4 Pauṣa and 7 Āṣāḍha doubled months. Records show no other months intercalated. One of the inscriptions giving Āṣāḍha intercalation with date S. 479 (Brahmatol, Kathmandu) as given by Dhanavajra does not find place in our collection.

The intercalated inscriptions are:

Inscriptions	*No.*	*Date*
Bahalukha (Patan)	22	S. 435 dvitīyā (second) Pauṣa śukla diva 5
Inayatol (Bhadgaon)	72	S. 31 dvitīyā (second) Pauṣa śukla 8
Sundhara (Patan)	76	S. 34 Prathama Pauṣa śukla dvitīyā
Stele of Satungal	60	S. 579 Prathama Pauṣa śukla 12
Stone on a hillock near the river Viṣṇumati (to the west of Budhanilakantha)	6	S. 395 Prathamāṣāḍha śukla diva 12
Kisipidi	25	S. 449 Prathamāṣāḍha śukla 10
Harihara Pedestal (Deopatan)	45	Prathamāṣāḍha śukla 2
Dharamsthali and Budhanilakantha steles	58, 59	Prathamāṣāḍha śukla diva 12
Lubhu-Motitar	159	S. 250 Prathamāṣāḍha dvitīyā

The inscriptions under collection are chronologically placed and divided into two groups, one group beginning from S. 386 and extending to S. 535, and the second beginning from S. 29 and ending with S. 301. Both the groups are complementary and supplementary in chronological order. The first precedes second in the chronological arrangement.

The Pauṣa-Āṣāḍha intercalation was first adopted during the Vedāṅga astronomical period. In the Vedāṅga astronomy the theory of intercalation is the 5 yearly yuga system. The yuga started from Māgha śukla, had an intercalated Aṣāḍha at the 30th month and ended with Pauṣa at the end of the 5th year, which was also intercalated. But all this worked under certain conditions.

The condition was that while the yuga started on the first day of Māgha bright fortnight, when both the sun and moon were at Dhaniṣṭā asterism. This was the winter solstice point. At the summer solstice point the sun was at half Aśleṣā. However, the position in regard to the Nakṣatra at both the points, while it came to the sidereal year. The sun figured from a point a little further south, so that it was not the same point at Dhaniṣṭā, a year earlier. Similarly, the position changed in regard

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to half Aśleṣā. The change was very slow and gradual so that it took hundreds of years to show a difference of a Nakṣatra at the turning point. To quote Varāhamihira of the 5th century A.D.:

> At one time the sun was at Dhaniṣṭā while he turned to north from the south, and while at Aśleṣā he took a northward movement. But now (at Varāhamihira's time) the sun turned northward from the initial point of the zodiac of Cancer, instead of a point at half Aśleṣā.

Varāhamihira claims to have observed this phenomenon by himself.

It so appears that the constellation of stars at that point was so placed after a lapse of about a thousand and five hundred years.

When we talk of the Indian calendar we have to take into account five elements: (i) The tithi (luni-solarology), sāvana day (sunrise to sunrise) which is solar, month lunar (of 29½ days) and solar (of 30 and some ghatikās on an average), and year (lunar of 354 days and solar of 365 days 15 ghatikās) according to the Sūrya Siddhanta. The Vedānga and Paitamaha years are of 366 days. (ii) The year is sidereal as well as tropical. The sidereal year changes with reference to the tropical year which agrees with the modern system. The divergence between the two systems is seen from one fact that the first day of the solar month (movement from one sign of zodiac to another) shifts forward in the European calendar as time passes. To take an example, the Meṣa Sankrānti fell on the 10th of April in 1722 A.D. but today it falls on the 14th or a day later or earlier. Now a few words about intercalation. There is a difference of nearly 11 days between a solar and lunar year, which amounts to nearly a month within a period of 3 years. Today, in ordinary course, the intercalation of a month comes after 2 years 8 months and 17 days. If the divergence is allowed to continue it would amount to 3 months within 9 years. But this would affect the time of all festivals regulated by lunar calendar, which are seasonal in character. Each festival must fall regularly in a particular season and there should be no large gap. If the Dasahera or Divalī festival is autumnal then the Holi is vernal. The difference in the time cannot be out of season. A period of 11 days to a maximum of 25 days can intervene between two ends but not more than that. Now to check it going out of bounds the calendar has got to be adjusted. This is best done by introducing an extra month once after 2 years and 8 months. The intercalary month is called the 13th month and no festival can be celebrated in this month. This is an automatic adjustment as the festivals which fell either a little before or after the beginning of the usual month are now pushed forward by a month to another point right in the middle or the fag end of it. This explains the adjustment effected by doubling a month in the lunar calendar.

If it was not for the intercalated month the seasonal character of the festival would have been lost and the Indian astronomy now called Hindu astronomy would have given the festival the nature of Muslim festivals occurring at any time without regard to the season.

Leaving this aside let us now catch the thread of Pauṣa-Āṣāḍha intercalation. I think that the Vedāṅga jyotiṣa was yet current in Kauṭilya's time, who also envisages a five yearly yuga system (Pañchasamvatsaro yugam). Kauṭilya is of the opinion that the sun takes away 1/60th part of the day, which amounts to one lunar day in a season, i.e. 6 days in an year of 366 days:

दिवसस्य हरत्यर्कः षष्ठि भागमृतौततः ।
करोत्येक महश्छेद तथैवेकं तुचन्द्रमा ॥ 65 ॥
एवमर्धतृतीया नामब्दानामवि मासकम् ।
ग्रीष्मेजनयतः पूर्वं पापञ्चाब्दान्तेतुपेश्चिमम् ॥ 66 ॥

It appears that in Kauṭilya's time the lunar year was of 360 days. In this way he found that the months at the end of two and half years and at the end of the 5th year were doubled.

Following Kauṭilya the Siddhānta period started. Varāhamihira in his Pañcha Siddhāntikā has enumerated 5 Siddhāntas including the Paitamaha and Sūrya Siddhanta (the others are Vaśiṣṭha, Romaka and Poliṣa). According to H.K. Deb the Paitamaha Siddhānta also accepts the 5 yearly yuga system and intercalation in Āṣāḍha (30th month) and Pauṣa (60th month).[5]

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But with the Siddhānta period the automatic intercalation of the Vedāṅga astronomy was replaced by the present system of intercalating any month where there is no Sankrānti. However, Jimutavāhana in the 12th century laid down that if there was no sankrānti (the first day of a solar month) in any month between Vaiśākha and Āśvina, the month of Āṣāḍha was doubled. He did not say anything about the Pauṣa intercalation.

This is followed by Sumatisiddhānta and by a stray passage in the late texts of the Dharmanirṇaya-tithi sārasaṅgraha, which quote relevant passages from Bhāradvāja and Nārada. To Bhāradvāja the two ayana periods count. Any months withouta sankrānti in uttarāyaṇa period would give Pauṣa intercalation and in Dakṣināyaṇa the Āṣāḍha. Nārada, however, takes the six monthly period one, beginning since Chaitra, and two, since Āśvina, the first causing Āṣāḍha intercalation and the second Pauṣa. We have to verify the dates in this light determining whether Bhāradvāja or Nārada held the ground. Intercalary years do sometimes help us to verify the dates of the inscriptions in identical terms. But this will depend more or less on the principles of Siddhānta which we follow in calculating intercalary years of the era adopted in the records. There are three Siddhāntas in the field, the Sūrya Siddhānta, the Ārya Siddhānta and the Brahma Siddhānta. The earlier two eras are older than the last one, which was composed in 628 A.D. and it may also be mentioned here that the Sūrya Siddhānta in use was the second treatise of that name.

We have already observed that a week day is absolutely necessary for verifying dates, and this is available in 2 records and 2 records only, and these belong to the later group.

The first datum is provided by Amśuvarmā's Changu Image Kavacha inscription, which has a date, Samvat 31 Māgha Śukla 13 Puṣya nakṣatra and Sun's day as the day of the week (vāra). The second verifiable date is from Sahottaratantra, Samvat 31 Vaiśākha śukla 7 puṣya nakṣatra and day of the sun for week day (vāra). These two dates can be verified on the principle of Sūrya Siddhānta, the first is verified for Sunday, February 4, 608, the tithi 13th lasting for the duration of the Nakṣatra Puṣya, while the second for Sunday, 23rd April, 878 A.D., the tithi (48=29 ghaṭi) and the Puṣya nakṣatra (56=33½ ghaṭi).

There are two intercalated Pauṣa months once in Samvat 31 and another in S. 34. It so appears that by Ārya or Sūrya Siddhānta there are intercalary months in Śaka 530 (expired) Jyeṣṭha and 533 (expired) Vaiśākha. The years being Kārtikādi started since lunar Kārtika and being an amānta month since the bright fortnight and in that light we have Śaka 529 and 532, in which years Jyeṣṭha and Vaiśākha show intercalation. By Bhāradvāja system the month of Pauṣa was intercalated in both the years. But the epoch year would be Śaka 498 because our years for such intercalations are S. 31 and 34 respectively. It is for us to add 31 and 34 to 498, which would bring out years 529 and 532 and this would exactly fit in the situation, the year Śaka 498 would be the epoch year should start since Kārtika Śukla. There is one more intercalary month in Āṣāḍha of S. 250. As the actual month doubled is Āśvina of 749, the doubling of Āṣāḍha in Śaka 749 is inevitable under the Bhāradvāja system. But then the year being Kārtikādi we are yet in Śaka 748 as the month Āśvina is the last month of the year. Now adding 250 to 498 it would show the same year for intercalary Āṣāḍha i.e. 748. But we must have intercalary Āṣāḍha in the year S. 250 for our purpose. However, the epoch year which was Śaka 498 had changed to Śaka 499 since Chaitra. So actually we shall have to add 250 to 499 and this by itself would be 749. We must remember here that all these are expired years and the years are worked out under the true or apparent reckoning. It would appear that reckoning according to the Brahma Siddhānta will also make the data agree correctly.

To establish the existence of the epoch year of Śaka 498 there is a text called Sumatitantra and we have a passage there which brings out several eras in the collection, one of which is the era of Śaka 498. The eras stand as follows:

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Yudhiṣṭhra-Duryodhana	2000
Nanda	800
Chandragupta	132
Śūdraka	247
Śaka	498
Mānadeva	304

We shall explain the system of eras in brief and we shall speak only with regard to the last 2 eras. This would be to say that when Śūdraka's reign had expired the Śaka era would begin and while in Śaka 498 the Mānadeva era would start. The Mānadeva era would yield to Nepāla Samvat originating in Śaka 802 (498+304=802). In fact 802 is the round number for 801 and 5 months, and this is because the era had started on 20th of October, 879 A.D. falling on Kārtika śukla pratipadā.

The era of Śaka 498 is supported by the Tibetan tradition. The tradition is given by several chronicles and in particular by Bu-ston.[6] According to the tradition Amśuvarmā flourished 242 years earlier to the Tibetan king K'ri-gtsug-Ide-brtsan Ral-pa-can (817-37). Bu-ston giving the date of Atisa Dipankara Śrijñana who visited West Tibet some 150 years before his time passes on to the chronology relevant to us. Bu-ston observes '137 years after the Buddha's death there was King Nanda and then after 108 years there was Chandragupta followed by one Tibetan king and then after him comes Ral-pa-can (817-37). It is suggested that Amśuvarmā's date should be calculated from the initial year of Ral-pa-can, 817 minus 242.' This brings us to Śaka 498=576 A.D.

It is to be noted here that according to Tibetan tradition Amśuvarmā rather than Mānadeva figures as the founder of the era of Śaka 498.

For the present, it does not matter who the founder was. It is sufficient that there is an era of Śaka 498 and all astronomical elements in the data appearing in the inscriptions referring to the epoch are verified.

Thus far it is good. But difficulties appear in regard to the identification of intercalary months in years they appear in.

If it was Chaitrādi concurrent year there was no problem and all dates could be verified in all elements. But as the Sūryaghat Śivalinga inscription has proved whatever era was adopted in the inscriptions the years were Kārtikādi and we find from the inscriptions coming after 879 A.D. the years are all Kārtikādi. Now the whole problem rests on whether the intercalations shown are verified according to Sūrya or Brahma Siddhānta under true or mean system and whether the Pauṣa-Āṣāḍha intercalation followed Nārada or Bhāradvāja system or whether Kārtikādi year system was followed at all.

Shankaraman Rajavamsi, a research scholar of the Archaeological Department, has tried to show that Brahma Siddhānta works successfully provided the epoch year is pushed back by 22 years earlier to 78—22=56 A.D. He has produced a table, and the years showing intercalated months agree fully well with the data in the table of Kanusvami Pillai in his book 'Indian Ephemeris 700-1800 A.D., Vol. I'. Rajavamsi has verified the data with the Nārada's method.

But Brahmagupta, the author of the Siddhānta, composed his work in 628 A.D. and it is improbable that his way of showing doubling of months might have been known to astronomers before that date.[7]

Now an attempt has to be made with reference to Sūrya Siddhānta to verify the intercalated months of the old era and to see whether it is possible under the mean or true system. We have also to find out whether Bhāradvāja or Nārada was followed. So long the people are used to take the dates in the first group in terms of the Śaka era. We have therefore to examine the various systems of calculations involved in it. But the subject of verification is so intricate that there is nothing final to come to satisfactory conclusion in this respect.

In India the Śaka era starts from Chaitra. It may be amānta or pūrnimānta. There are the Kārtikādi Śaka years also, which appear in south Indian records. But in view of a particular inscrip-

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tion already cited we have to accept the Kārtikādi year system. With this the five months are common. But 7 months belong to a different year and this year lies behind the year starting since Chaitra. I have done a close examination of all the elements in it. But it seems to be a much too difficult job to make the data agreeable with the epoch year of Śaka era.

It is a fact that the era called Nepāla Samvat introduced in October of 879 A.D. was Kārtikādi and amanta (expired) and inscriptions of the period show Pauṣa-Āṣāḍha intercalations, some of which are verified under the method of Bhāradvāja and others, a few under that of Nārada. The Sūrya Siddhānta was followed all the while in respect of reckoning.

In the case of inscriptions of Amśuvarmā (or Mānadeva era) we have seen that the number of verifiable dates is limited to two but they also seem to adopt similar conditions, Kārtikādi and amānta year (expired) working out Pauṣa-Āṣāḍha intercalation in the Sūrya Siddhānta calendar. The dates are all verified with all particulars. But here we are not talking of intercalated months.

Now as it automatically follows the character of the calendar of the earlier group of inscriptions was the same as in the two eras following.

The Era of the Earlier Group of Inscriptions

There are 67 inscriptions bearing dates in the old era. However, there is not one instance of date particulars with a week day which means that when we talk of verification, only the intercalated months wherever they occur will come for consideration.

If it is the Śaka era adopted in the earlier group of inscriptions then it follows from the experience of the records following that the years are Kārtikādi and they are all expired ones and they are amānta (new moon to new moon). It also follows that reckoning was done under principles of the Sūrya Siddhānta. But the question of verification remains. The following table will give us an idea of the months intercalated with months shown against them:

Intercalary months of Inscriptions Kārtikādi	Expired years Chaitrādi	True or apparent Chaitrādi concurrent years	Mean Chaitrādi
395 (Āṣāḍha)	394 (Bhādra)	395 (Bhādra)	395 (Āśvina)
435 (Pauṣa)	435 (Āṣāḍha)	397 (Bhādra)	397 (Āśvina)
449 (Āṣāḍha)	448 (Kārtika)	436 (Āṣāḍha)	436 (Jyeṣṭha)
479 (Āṣāḍha)	478 (Bhādra)	449 (Kārtika)	449 (Pauṣa)
487 (Āṣāḍha)	486 (Āśvina)	479 (Bhādra)	479 (Kārtika)
517 (Āṣāḍha)	576 (Bhādra)	487 (Āśvina)	487 (Pauṣa)
519 (Āṣāḍha)	579 (Āṣāḍha)	517 (Bhādra)	517 (Āśvina)
		520 (Āṣāḍha)	520 (Āṣāḍha)

The dates are calculated with the principles of the Sūrya Siddhānta. The expired year column is from Kanuswami Pillai's Ephemeris and the other two are from R. Sewell's 'Indian Calendar'. The Sūrya Siddhānta reckoning is accepted for trial on the understanding that Brahma Siddhānta was yet unknown to Indian astronomers.

If we want to verify all the data by a stroke of pen on the basis of the principles followed in regard to the inscriptions of the Amśuvarmā (or Mānadeva) era and the later eras, we might be disillusioned. It appears that as in the Amśuvarmā (or Mānadeva) era, the epoch year was Śaka 1 expired year in round number but actually 5 months earlier expired, which means that in terms of the C.E. it was the month of October of the year 78 A.D. instead of October 79 A.D. Thus the Śaka years for intercalation would be 395, 435, 449, 479, 487, 517 and 519 with all the months shown in columns doubled. But we shall antedate the beginning of the years by 5 months. It is so also in the case of S. 449, where Kārtika is doubled. It will appear a bit complicated. But then if S. 449 had already

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started in Kārtika of Śaka 448, the year had changed after Āśvina and we had begun a new year in Kārtika within the same Śaka year in advance, which is 450. This would not affect the position of double Āṣāḍha in S. 449 and the problem will be solved.

At any rate by antedating the year, we come to the position required for verification. We shall reopen the question of verifying the intercalated months in the old era in its entirety in a new book, which is being written at the moment. I do not think that anything more to suggest in this connection is possible with the materials at our disposal today.

Inscriptions in the Appendix

We have added some inscriptions in the Appendix. Two of them belong to Aśoka, the great Mauryan king of India and the rest are from within the Valley of Nepal.

The Aśokan inscriptions are on the pillars, one broken into 3 pieces with no idea of Situ but the inscribed part lying in a village called Niglihava and the second still in the same position but capital lost standing in the slight tilt at the village of Lumbini. The pillars lie within a distance of 12 miles east to west and follow a reverse order in the Appendix.

Among the inscriptions of the Nepal Valley, the stele No. 3 lies in Musumbahal (South Kathmandu) but for No. 4 we have no rubbing and Nos. 5 and 6 lie inside a small temple close to the southern doors of the main temple of Nārāyaṇa at Changu. One of these is inscribed on the pedestal of the image of Ganeśa and the other is on a slab of stone. Inscriptions Nos. 7 and 8 belong to the temple area of Pasupatinatha.

The reading of the inscriptions of the Changu and Pasupati are given at the proper place.

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7. Also see Pūrṇimā, a Nepali Quarterly, Vol. 34.

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APPENDICES

V

The following lines are inscribed on a slab of stone lying in a corner of the Chhinamastikā temple situated to the south west of the main temple within the compound at Changu. There is no date. Some letters are damaged. The first line is almost totally damaged.

१ .....व्व वृत्य य ह.....
२ .....वृव्यमिहपित्रो रत्र पू हा(जा) र्थम् शिव पद धार्म सुप्रतिष्ठापितः रत्रेथा सुरवल महीं जित्वा महापद चतुभ्य
३ .....धरात्वं-क्ते यं तीव्र मोहम् शमयति ..... जायतु सुधनेन लो कु ६०
४ .....अत्र माता पित्रोः प्रेम्ना पुण्यं क्षेत्रं प्रदत्तम् पञ्च शते मानि

VI

This is the one line inscription on the pedestal of an image of Ganeśa within the same temple.

ऊम् नमो श्री गनेशाय

VII

Lines are inscribed on a slab of stone attached to the northern wall of a small temple by the side of the Jalaśayana Viṣṇu image situated just in front of the main temple of Pasupatinath a few steps south east of it.

१ ऊं स्वस्ति श्रीपद पुरण्दर....म्....लोक....लोक
२ सव्व सत्वो द्भुजा सुपरिकरा सव्वंपूर्वङ्गमह्यं देव्या द द्या....

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VIII

This inscription on a slab of stone is also placed quite adjacent to the above site. The stone lies as a support to one of the door seals lending just south of the main temple of Pasupatinath in a much damaged condition at the margin and letters are not clear. The first line is almost totally damaged.

१ .....
२ .....रक्तं पतो.....
३ .....रणराज.....
४ .....पयत
५ .....रिहत्य वर णतो
६ .....देहात्फुरक....
७ .....रूदाचन....
८ ....रलं..... तुला
९ .....पूर्वङ्गं विवा....
१० होतार विद्य....
११ ....कः केतुकर....
१२ ....

Appendix nos. V, VI, VII and VIII had been referred to in a news report by some people but the texts and photographs have never appeared so far.

IX

Lines inscribed on the pedestal of a bronze image of Viṣṇu published in an American magazine 'Archives of Asian Art', Vol. XXV, 1971-72, p. 61. This inscription is read and also published by Dhanavajra Vajracharya in his book 'Lichchhavi Kalkā Abhilekha', p. 590.

१ ऊं सम्वत् १०० ७० १ आषाढ मास शुक्लपक्षे द्वादश्याङ्के दलक ग्रामे श्रीहेतुजीव
२ पति.....श्रीधरमित्र श्रीसोममित्र
३ .....स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये श्रीभगवद....
४ नारायण[स्वामि] प्रतिष्ठापित

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ADDENDA

The subject of verification of intercalated months requires further examination even for the present and hence we add a few more paragraphs here.

When we look into the data of the inscriptions more closely and compare them with our conclusions it appears that the matter is not so simple as we thought it to be in spite of our emphasis on its complex nature. A closer examination reveals that there is still a snag at least in 2 places.

These are the Pauṣa intercalations in S. 435 and S. 519. From the attached table it is evident that under the true or mean system and worked by Bhāradvāja or Nārada methods the Pauṣa intercalation in S. 435 or 519 is not available if we antedate the year by six months to render it the Kārtikādi year i.e. we push back the beginning of the year to Kārtika, which according to Chaitrādi Calendar would be a past year. But these years in the present context are 436 and 520, where no intercalary months exist. Let us examine the situation with a little more thoroughness taking into account the intercalated Āṣāḍha. The years involved are those which have all Āṣāḍha intercalations under the Nārada-Bhāradvāja system but otherwise intercalated months as shown in brackets. These years by themselves do not show any intercalated months but the year earlier in each case shows a doubled month e.g. there is doubled Bhādra in 394, Kārtika in 449, Āśvina and Phālguna in 486, and Bhādra in 517. But they are here as against the same months intercalated in the year following, a fact which totally disagrees with the real position. The same position appears both in the expired and concurrent years, whether worked out under the Nārada system or Bhāradvāja system it makes no difference because the discrepancy appears at one place or another and it is never uniform.

In the ultimate analysis it is to be admitted that the problem of verification falling with the epoch of the Śaka era defies solution. Perhaps as Rajavamsi has done, we shall have to choose another date backwards from the epoch of the Śaka era after some kind of thorough search.

Or we shall have to accept the Chaitrādi character of the year on the supposed ground that the Sūryaghat Phallus inscription is spurious with the year symbol wrongly given so that it could be without doubt suggested that the year of the earlier group of inscriptions was Chaitrādi.

We shall discuss the problem in greater details in the next volume.

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